THE TWELVE GODS
OF
GREECE AND ROME

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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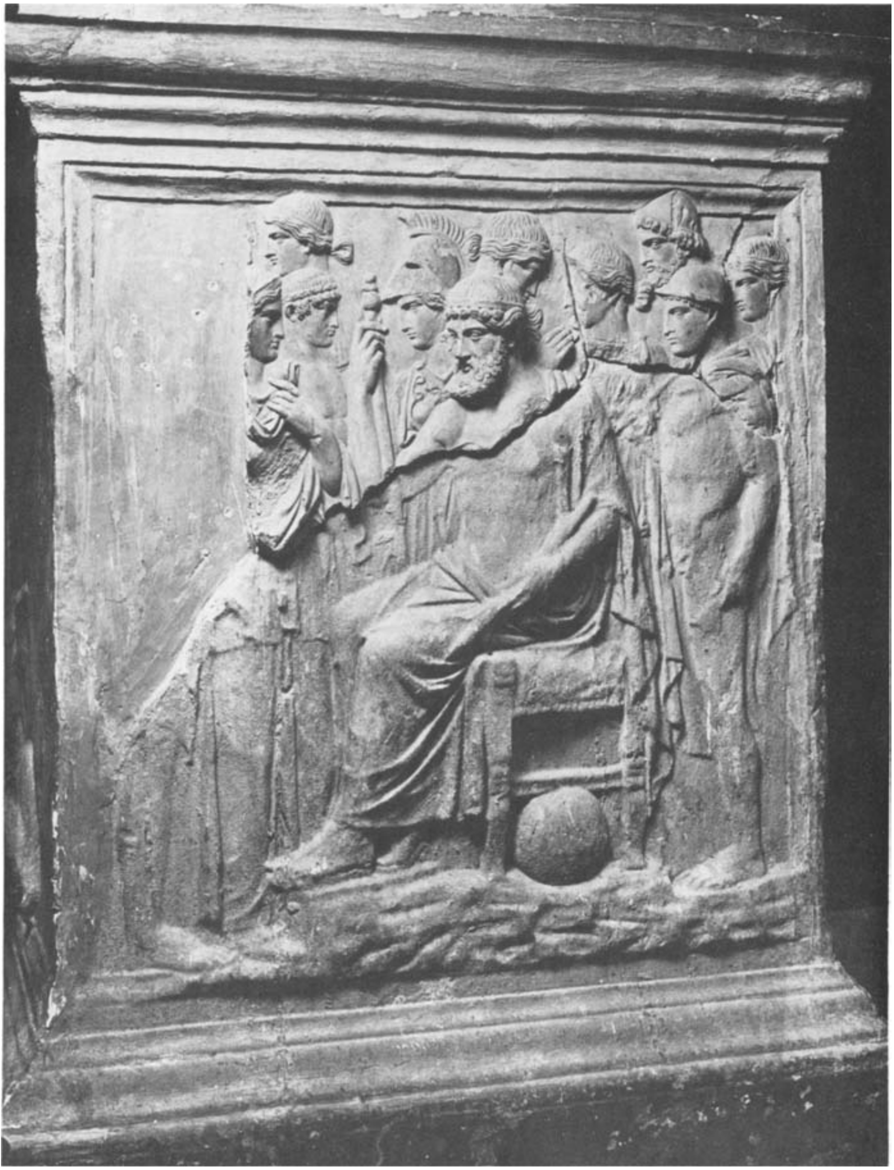

CHARLOTTE R. LONG

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 101 PLATES AND TWO MAPS

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IN MEMORY OF

MY PARENTS

ERNEST WALTERS RIDER, 1890-1953
AND
IRENE DECKER RIDER, 1891-1968

AND OF MY SON

NICHOLAS HERBERT LONG, 1960-1977

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
Aachener Kunstblätter	Aachener Kunstblätter des Museumsvereins
ABV	J.D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters.* Oxford 1956.
ActA	Acta Archaeologica
AdI	Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
ANM	Athens, National Archaeological Museum
AnnArchArabSyr	Annales archéologiques Arabes Syriennes
AntCl	L'Antiquité classique
AntDenk	Antike Denkmäler
AntK	Antike Kunst
AntP	Antike Plastik
AnzWien	Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
ArchDelt	Archaiologikon Deltion
ArchEph	Archaiologike Ephemeris
ArchRep	Archaeological Reports
ArtB	Art Bulletin
ARV^2	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters.* 2nd edition. Oxford 1963.
ASAtene	Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene
Athenian Agora	The Athenian Agora; Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
AthMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Athen
AZ	Archäologische Zeitung
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BdA	Bollettino d'Arte
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
Belleten	Belleten Türk Tarih Kurumu
Ber	Berichte (followed by location of institution)
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BIFEA	Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français des Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul
BonnJbb	Bonner Jahrbücher
BrBr	H. Brunn-F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer Sculptur* with texts ed. P. Arndt. Munich 1888-1932.
BullComm	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma
BullMusImp	Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano (usually bound in with BullComm)
ByzSt	Byzantine Studies
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	Classical Journal
CronArchStorArte	Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte
CSCA	California Studies in Classical Antiquity
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*

DAI	Dissertation Abstracts International
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EA	P. Arndt-W. Amelung, eds. *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*. Munich 1893-1940.
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*
EAD	Exploration archéologique de Delos
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
G&R	Greece and Rome
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
II	*Inscriptiones Italiae*
ILN	Illustrated London News
IstMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JWarb	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London
KairoMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MadMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Madrid
MelRome	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome
MemAPS	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society
MonAnt	Monumenti Antichi
MonPiot	Monuments et memoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Fondation Piot
NS	Notize degli Scavi di Antichità
N.S.	New Series
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
ÖJH	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
PAAR	American Academy in Rome. Papers and Monographs
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PP	Parola del Passato
ProcAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
ProcSBA	Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology
QTNAC	Quaderni ticinese di numismatica e antichità classiche
RA	Revue archéologique
RAECE	Revue archéologique de l'est et du centre-est
RE	K. Pauly-G. Wissowa, eds. *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	Revue des études anciennes
REG	Revue des études grecques
REL	Revue des études latines
RendLinc	Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome
RevBruxelles	Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RömMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Rom
SB	Sitzungsberichte (followed by location of institution)

SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TransRSL	Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, London
WPr	Winckelmanns Program
WS	Wiener Studien
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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PART ONE

CATALOGUE, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

CATALOGUE OF REPRESENTATIONS

Aigai, Macedon

1. Images of Twelve Gods carried in procession to theater. Lost.

Diodorus Siculus XVI.92.5, 95.1 = T 23. O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 787 B 28; L. Cerfaux-J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, 124-25; F. Taeger, *Charisma* I, 174-76; E. Badian, Phoenix 17 (1963), 240-50; P. Crum, *Philip of Macedon and the City State*, Chapter IV; J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, 307 note 58; G. T. Griffith in N. G. L. Hammond-G. T. Griffith, *History of Macedon* II, 682-83, 695.

Portable figures, remarkable for their splendor, carried with a statue of Philip II in festivities preceding Philip's projected invasion of the Persian Empire. Probably Greek Twelve but names of gods not given.

Date: 336 B.C.

Alexandria, Egypt

1. Statues of Twelve Gods in Tychaion. Lost.

Libanius, *Descriptiones* 25 = T 24 A. E. Will, BCH 75 (1951), 239-40; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 392-93 note 417.

Twelve Gods associated with the city goddess Tyche, with Alexander as founder of the city, with municipal ordinances, and some portraits of rulers. Deities not named, presumably Greek Twelve. Cult of Tyche possibly established by Alexander the Great but building as described Roman imperial.

Date: After 331 B.C.-A.D. 391.

2. Marble relief cylinder (H., 0.50 m., D., 0.70 m.) found in Azerita (Ptolemaic palace area). Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum, inv. no. 27064. Figures 1-3.

D. Kiang, AJA 70 (1966), 191: A. Adriani, *Lezioni sull' arte alessandrina*, li, liii, 25, pl. 17, 1; A. Houssein, AnnArchArabSyr 21 (1971), 171-75, pls. 47-48; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 208-209; II, 355 notes 157-59; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 50, 93-94, 103, 136, 189, 243, pl. 52, 1.

Eleven figures extant out of original fifteen(?) from left to right as follows:

a) Frontal standing Athena(?) in chiton and himation.
b) Young god with cloak wrapped about lower body, Hephaistos.
c) Hera in chiton and himation, touching veil.

d) Zeus enthroned, half-draped, with rampant eagle by left foot. Separately attached scepter and thunderbolt now missing.

e) Frontal standing god, nude but for cloak over left arm, right hand on hip, probably Ares or Hermes.

f) Goddess swathed in drapery, seated right on cylindrical altar or base, once with attribute in raised left hand, probably Demeter.

g) Youthful god (Triptolemos?) in himation, leaning on painted staff(?), with legs crossed.

h) Goddess (Kore?), seated left on chair with claw feet.

i) Standing god similar to e), probably Hermes or Ares.

j) Poseidon, half-draped, with dolphin on left forearm, seated on block throne, facing left as counterpart to d) Zeus.

k) Frontal standing goddess in peplos, balancing c) Hera and therefore consort of Poseidon.

Date: Late third to early second century B.C.

ATHENS

1. Vulci, Tomb 145 (Osteria necropolis). Black-figured *kyathos* by Lydos 2 (H., 0.073 m., Rim D., 0.115 m.). Rome, Villa Giulia, not inventoried. Figures 4-6.

M. Robertson, Münchner JbBildKunst 27 (1976), 29-42; F. Canciani-G. Neuman, AntK 21 (1978), 17-22, pl. 6; M. Guarducci, QTNAC 9 (1980), 37-62, pls. 1-4; 10 (1981), 53-69.

Six pairs of deities on exterior of cup from left to right starting at handle:

a-b) Zeus, bearded and clad in himation, holding knobbed staff, with Nike(?), youthful goddess in peplos and himation, hair in ponytail, holding bud or pomegranate.

c-d) Hephaistos bearded, in short chiton and cloak, holding staff, and Aphrodite dressed like Nike, with diadem in hair and holding lotus flower.

e-f) Herakles in lionskin with club on shoulder and Athena wearing helmet and aegis.

g-h) Dionysos, bearded, with ivy wreath and tendrils, holding lotus (Guarducci) or outsized cup (Canciani) following Hermes, bearded, with short chiton and chlamys, petasos, winged boots, and kerykeion.

i-j) Poseidon, bearded and dressed like Zeus, holding trident, with Demeter wearing crown of wheat and holding flower.

k-l) Ares bearded and dressed like Zeus, carrying lance or sword, with goddess of whom upper part is missing, possibly Hera.

Dipinto: Λυδὸς ἔγραφσεν δõλος ὂν Μυδέαςς εὐλέx[τ]ρο.
Date: 530-520 B.C.

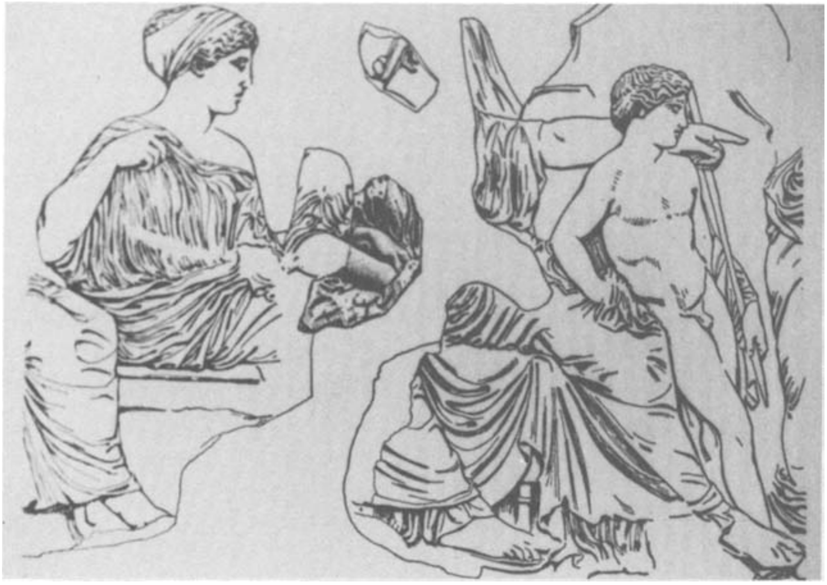
2. Thasos, Artemiseion. Sherds of red-figured cup by Epiktetos (Pres. W., 0.108 m., H., 0.035 m., original D., 0.196 m.). Thasos, Limenas Museum, not inventoried. Figure 7.

J.-J. Maffre-F. Salviat, BCH 100 (1976), 781, fig. 28; J.-J. Maffre, *Thasiaca* [= BCH Supplement V], Paris 1979, 63-69, no. 21.

Fragment of rim with two pairs of gods identified by attributes and meeting. Maffre estimates a maximum of seven deities per side. The extant gods are from left to right:
a) Artemis with bow.
b) Apollo playing lyre.
c) Hermes with petasos turned up in back, chlamys, and kerykeion.
d) Arm of Dionysos with female leopard.
Dipinto dedication: ’Απολλόδωρος ὁ Διφίλō ἀν[
Date: 520-510 B.C.

3. Parthenon, East frieze. Assembly of gods (Blocks IV-VI, H., 1.015 m.). London, British Museum, and Athens, Acropolis Museum plus National Museum, storage inv. no. 270 (small fragment of Aphrodite with left hand of Artemis). Figures 8-12 plus text figure.

Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 775-79, B 12 with earlier bibliography; H. Knell, Antaios 10 (1968/1969), 38-54; G. Despinis, *Kernos* = Bakalakis Festschrift, Thessalonike 1972,



35-42; E. G. Pemberton, AJA 80 (1976), 113-24; F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries*, 110-21, pls. 171-75; 177-82 with additional bibliography; idem, *Hephaistos*, passim; A. Linfert, AthMitt 94 (1979), 41-47; J. H. Kroll, AJA 83 (1979), 349-52; H. Kenner, AnzWien 118 (1981), 273-307.

Twelve seated deities accompanied by two standing lesser gods, watching Panathenaic procession and peplos ceremony. Gods on left: Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, Ares, (Nike or Iris), Hera, Zeus. Gods on right: Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, (Eros).

Date: ca. 442-438/437 B.C.

4. Painting(s) of Twelve Gods by Euphranor in Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Lost.

Valerius Maximus VIII.11.5; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXV.50.129; Lucian, *Imagines* 7; Pausanias I.3.2-4; Eustathius, *Comentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 145.11; J. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* nos. 1790-93 and here T 15. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 780 B 15; R. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* [= Athenian Agora 3], T 30; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder*, 116-19; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 235; R. Vasić, AJA 83 (1979), 345-49; O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, 50-51, 54-57.

Part of a program which included paintings of the Battle of Mantineia and Theseus with Demos and Demokrateia. Exhibited near the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora. Twelve associated with Zeus Eleutherios and later with imperial cult. Gods attested: Zeus, Poseidon, probably Hera, possibly Hephaistos.

Date: shortly after 362 B.C.

5. Cylindrical marble altar(?) (H., 0.44 m., D., 1.78 m.) from northern part of agora. Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1731. Figures 13-16.

L. von Sybel, AthMitt 4 (1879), 337-50; I. Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, 158-63, pl. 26, fig. 110; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 780 B 14; G. Becatti, ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939-1940), 92-93; M. Crosby, Hesperia Supplement 8 (1949), 95; G. Lippold, *Griechische Plastik*, 247 note 4; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 144-45, 167 no. 29; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, 459, figs. 579-80; H. A. Thompson-R. Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* [= Athenian Agora 14], 184 note 90; E. G. Pemberton, AJA 80 (1976), 122; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 244; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum*; *Collection of Sculpture*, *Catalogue*, 125, no. 1731.

Top in so far as preserved quite smooth and level; hence an altar rather than a base. Originally there were probably twelve figures, of whom eight are extant, arranged in pairs from left to right:

a-b) Fully draped and veiled standing goddess, probably Aphrodite (Pemberton) or Amphitrite with Poseidon, bearded, nude but for cloak flung about loins, seated on rock.

c-d) Demeter seated on cylindrical altar proffering wheat to Athena who stands next to her, wearing a strap-like aegis over her right shoulder.

e-f) Zeus enthroned and holding a long scepter with Hera standing beside him, touching her veil.

g-h) Apollo nude but for cloak around left thigh, seated on a rectangular block and playing kithara; frontal torso of Hephaistos(?) clad in exomis.

Date: 350-300 B.C.

6. Hephaisteion, Frieze above pronaos (Parian marble, H., 0.828 m.). In situ. Figures 17-18.

B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, 94-95, 102-104, 112-14, 123-25 with earlier bibliography; H. A. Thompson, Hesperia 23 (1954), 65-66; C. Morgan, Hesperia 31 (1962), 221-35; Thompson, AJA 66 (1962), 341-44; E. Diehl, AA (1963), 748-53; E. B. Harrison, AJA 81 (1977), 139 note 13; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 101-102, 243 no. 5; S. von Bockelberg, AntP 18 (1979), 23-48; currently being reexamined by J. Dörig.

Three deities seated on either side watching battle identified usually as that between Theseus and the Pallantidae for control of Attika. Not the Twelve but possibly their representatives watching out for the welfare of Athens. Gods on left: Athena (holes for attaching her aegis), Hera (veil), and Zeus. Gods on right: Poseidon (middle-aged, muscular, half-draped god), goddess with downcast glance (Amphitrite or Aphrodite?), and Hephaistos (balancing Athena, muscular, half-draped god with hole in left thigh for attaching tongs or hammer).

Date: late fifth century B.C.

AUGUSTA RAURICORUM/AUGST, SWITZERLAND

1. Bronze cylindrical box (H., 0.12 m., pres. L., 0.143 m., original D., ca. 0.30 m.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, inv. no. Misc. 7420. Figure 19.

Körte, AZ 37 (1874), 104; G. Ristow, in *Römer am Rhein*, 243-44, C 199, pl. 90; H. Buschhausen, *Spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, 50-51, A 19, pl. A 21 below; A. Kaufmann-Heinemann, *Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz* I; *Augst*, 109-110, no. 167, pls. 106-108.

Egg-and-dart upper moulding and bead-and-reel bottom moulding. Between these an arcade with arches decorated with laurel fillets resting on ornate columns with quatrefoil in spandrel. Originally twelve arches, of which three are extant, each with a single deity. From left to right:

a) Left forearm and cithara of Apollo.

b) Minerva wearing helmet and aegis and holding spear in left hand; owl perched on stand to her right.

c) Mercury, nude, wearing headgear with trailing ends, holding money-bag and caduceus; accompanied by goat.

Date: A.D. 300-350.

AUGUSTA TREVERORUM/TRIER, GERMANY

1. Polychrome carpet mosaic by Monnus (ca. 5.70 m. square or 5.92 m. with ornamental border; total length including apse at end, 8.76 m.) from room with hypocaust floor in private mansion. Excavated in 1884 under Provinzialmuseum near Palace and Basilica. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, mosaic inv. no. 1231. Figures 20-29.

F. Hettner, AntDenk 1 (1890), 35-38, pls. 47-49; E. Krüger, AA (1933), 700-702, fig. 22; J. C. Webster, *Labors of the Months*, 121, no. 6; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus* II, catalogue no. 304; K. Parlasca, *Römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, 24, 26-27, 41-42, pls. 42-47; W. Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting*, 233; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, no. 141; K.-P. Goethert-K. Goethert-Polaschek in *100 Jahre Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier*, Mainz 1979, 9-96 on mansion in which mosaic was found; L. Dahm, ibid., 97-106 on the restoration of the mosaic.

Mosaic divided by guiloche bands into 53 octagonal or quadrilateral panels. Main panels devoted to Muses and classical writers; subsidiary panels at the edges to the year. In the corners the four male Seasons shown as Amoretti, of whom Summer and Fall are extant, mounted on the animals associated with them; 12 trapezoidal panels on edges probably had zodiac signs though only Leo survives. Square panels above Seasons and two rhomboids on each side contained divine busts labelled with abbreviations for Latin names of months, the gods being those honored by a major festival in the month:

a-c) January-March, missing.

d) APR Deity lost. Not in mosaic as now displayed.

e) Label lost. Caduceus and a bit of chlamys of Mercury.

f) IVN Juno with diadem and scepter.

g) IVL Neptune with trident. (Square panel adjacent to Summer in southwest corner).

h) (August) Beardless deity wearing red garment. Probably Ceres or Diana.

i) SEPTEMB Vulcan, bearded, nude, with tongs.

j) OCTOB Bacchus with thyrsus and wreath. (Square panel next to AVTVMNVS riding panther in southeast corner).

k) ....MB (November) Isis with cow's horns, sistrum.

l) December missing.

Date: late third-early fourth century after Christ.

2. Bronze covering plate (H., 0.084 m., L., 0.164 m.) from iron *scrinium.* Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, misc. inv. no. 39.82. Figure 30.

H. Menzel, *Römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland* II, *Trier*, 121-22, no. 299, pl. 95. with bibliography; H. Buschhausen, *Spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* I, *Katalog*, 49-50, no. A 18, pl. A 21 top.

Broken at left end, but third figure from left appears to be in center, making a row of five deities on one side. Presumably five on opposite side and possibly one on each end, making a total of twelve. Row of deities standing in a portico with spirally fluted columns; pediment with wreath above each intercolumniation. From left to right:

a) Apollo/Sol with radiate crown and laurel tree.

b) Bacchus, nude, standing on plinth, with cantharus or jug in right hand and thyrsus in left.

c) Fortuna with nude torso, legs swathed in drapery, holding rudder with right hand and cornucopia with left; also standing on plinth.

d) Mercury, nude but for winged petasus, holding moneybag and caduceus, with cock to his right and tortoise to his left.

e) Neptune, bearded, half-draped, with dolphin on right forearm and trident(?).

Date: 3rd-4th century after Christ.

BURDIGALA/BORDEAUX, FRANCE

1. Gray marble puteal (H., 0.66 m., exterior circumference 3.42 m.). Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine, inv. no. 60.2.50. Figures 31-34.

É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* II, *Aquitaine*, 134-36, no. 1076 with bibliography; *Bordeaux gallo-romain; un exemple de romanisation en Gaule*, no. 44.

Provincial work based on Roman iconography. Fifteen figures in all, including twelve gods and three divine associates: Vertumnus or Serapis(?) (draped god with basket on head); goddess with billowing drapery; drunken Bacchus leaning on Silenus; Hercules (muscular figure resting right hand on club); winged Victory with billowing drapery; Mercury(?) (youthful god resting right forearm on head and clutching drapery about loins with left hand), Apollo Citharedus between Marsyas and seated nymph or muse, Venus with wholly exposed torso; Neptune with rudder and *ketos*; Diana with bow and dog or doe; nude god advancing right with right arm raised; Jupiter (thick-set god, apparently half-draped, with eagle? on left shoulder).

Date: Antonine-Severan (A.D. 138-235).

CHIRAGAN (MARTRES-TOULOUSE), FRANCE

1. Twelve tondi with busts of deities (Pyrenaean marble, D., 0.74-0.90 m.) from palatial villa. Toulouse, Musée Saint-Raymond. Figures 35-36.

L. Joulin, *Les Établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes*, especially 238-377; (Rachou), *Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d'épigraphie du Musée de Toulouse*, Toulouse 1912, 21, 32-34, no. 34; É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* II, *Aquitaine*, 30-33, no. 892; R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago*, 77-78, 252-53; F. Brommer, *Der Gott Vulkan*, 13, 16, 25.

Found in what seems to have been an official residence along with reliefs of twelve labors of Hercules. Despite variation in diameter, Joulin thought that all belonged to one series by same workshop as Labors and were probably arranged in a series of panels with one tondo above each Labor. Original sequence unknown; my pairing is arbitrary.

a-b) Cybele in mural crown and young god in Phrygian cap, Attis (Espérandieu) or Mithras (Winkes).

c-d) Aesculapius (mature, bearded god with snake) and Hygieia (goddess with snake draped over shoulders).

e-f) Minerva with helmet and aegis; head of Hercules.

g-h) Juno of Juno Ludovisi type; headless nude god with fold of drapery over shoulder, possibly Jupiter.

i-j) Vulcan, half-draped, wearing pileus, with hammer or double axe in background; head of goddess wearing stephane, possibly Venus.

k-l) Headless deities, a goddess in a chiton and himation, and a god with a chlamys fastened on the right shoulder, possibly Mercury.

Date: Late second century after Christ.

CURTI near Santa Maria di Capua, CAMPANIA, ITALY

1. Small limestone statue of mother goddess holding twelve babies (H., 1.00 m.). Capua, Museo Campano. Figure 37.

H. Koch, RömMitt 22 (1907), pl. XIII, 2; A. Adriani, *Sculture in Tufo; cataloghi illustrati del Museo Campano* I, Alexandria, Egypt, 1937, Group III, no. 40; J. Heurgon, *Capoue preromaine* [= BEFAR 154], Paris 1942, 334-37; E. Langlotz-M. Hirmer, *Art of Magna Graecia; Greek Art in Southern Italy and Sicily*, London 1965, 304-305, pl. 168.

Matronly goddess with loose hair, wearing long tunic, seated in hieratic pose on blocklike throne. On each arm she holds six swaddled babies, making twelve in all. Type of seated goddess derived from East Greek, but style and execution Italian.

Date: second century B.C.

DELOS, GREECE

1. Dodekatheon. Twelve stone images mentioned in inscriptions and possibly represented by fragments of seven archaic statues of deities: Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 22 (Leto), and Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. A 4054 (Zeus), A 4092 (Apollo Kitharoidos), A 4077 (Artemis), A 4197 (Athena), and unnumbered (Hera).

Inscriptions: T 26. J. Marcadé, BCH 74 (1950), 181-219; E. Will, *Le Dodékathéon* [= Exploration archéologique de Délos 22], 178; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* [= BEFAR 217], 438; P. Bruneau-J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 43-44, pl. 5. On Leto see also B. S. Ridgway, *Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 110-111, 118.

The group must be earlier than the inscriptions, which are dated to the third and second centuries B.C., but how much earlier is not known. The archaic statues were found in the southwest corner of the Agora of the Italians, adjacent to the Dodekatheon precinct, but no traces of an installation for statues belonging to the archaic period have been discovered in the Dodekatheon itself. Marcadé identified the chief triad on Delos (Apollo, Artemis, Leto), a second triad named on a later altar in the precinct (Athena, Zeus, Hera), and a goddess of kore type.

Date: certainly before third century B.C., possibly ca. 500 B.C. (archaic group).

ELATEIA, PHOKIS, GREECE

1. Painting by Asklepiodoros of Athens. Lost.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXV. 107; J. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* no. 1954 = T 21. O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 786 B 25; V. Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli nuovi scavi*, 182; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder*, 120-21; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 235; R. Vasić, AJA 83 (1979), 345 note 6; O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, 57.

One of a set of three paintings commissioned by the tyrant Mnason, remarkable in Pliny's opinion for the price paid. Possibly based on Euphranor's painting(s), here Athens 4, because the subjects of the other two paintings, local heroes and a battle with the Persians, are equivalent to the other two paintings in Euphranor's program for the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Gods not named.

Date: Third quarter of fourth century B.C.

EPHESOS, IONIA, TURKEY

1. Rectangular marble base from Theater (Marble) Street (H., 0.575 m., W. (side), 0.625 m. L. (back), 1.02 m.). Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, inv. no. I 845. Figures 38-39.

E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 58, pl. 20; F. Eichler, WS 79 (1966), 592-97, figs. 1-2; W. Alzinger, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos* [= Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften 16], Vienna 1974, 20ff, figs. 10, 165; A. Bernhard-Walcher in W. Oberleitner et al., *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake*, 111-12, no. 152, fig. 90; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 247 no. 4.

Private dedication to Augustus, Lucius, Gaius and Agrippa Postumus according to inscription on crowning moulding. Extant portion of front and complete side preserve four archaistic deities, of whom the first three walk left and the last right. Sufficient room on front and sides for twelve figures. On the back an unrelated subject from the Attic repertory—three nymphs approaching the cave of Pan. Types of gods also drawn from Neo-Attic repertory; shown here below emperor. Extant deities are:

On front: a) Goddess walking left, with himation over head and shoulders, which she raises with her right hand, probably Hera or Hestia.

On side: b) Athena walking left, wearing aegis and diagonal himation over chiton and carrying spear and helmet.

c) Ares walking left, wearing muscle cuirass over short chiton, greaves, sword at waist.

d) Poseidon walking right, wearing himation and holding dolphin(?) on right hand.

Inscription: Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῶι καὶ Γαίωι Καίσαρι καὶ Λευκίωι Καίσαρι καὶ Μάρκωι Ἀγρίππαι Μάρκου υἱῶι [... τ] ῶν τέκνων.

Date: 12 B.C.-A.D. 2.

2. Marble portrait head of stephanephoros (H., 0.30 m., W., 0.155 m.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, inv. no. I 837. Figures 40-41.

R. von Schneider, ÖJh 2 (1899), 249 no. 4, fig. 134; J. Inan-E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, 124-25, no. 143, pl. 85, 1-2.

On the crown traces of draped busts with twelve puntilli in the hair above where the heads were attached. Portrait assigned to reign of Hadrian, when there were not yet twelve imperial *divi*; hence busts may have represented Twelve Gods. An inscription from nearby Metropolis belonging to Roman imperial times names a priest of the Twelve Gods: T 46. Cf. also Sardis 1.

Date: Hadrianic (A.D. 117-138).

3. Temple of Hadrian. Frieze block D from restoration of pronaos (marble, H., 0.605 m., L., 1.61 m.). Efes-Selçuk Museum, inv. no. 716. Figure 42.

F. Miltner, ÖJh 44 (1959) Beiblatt, cols. 269-73, figs. 133-34; R. Fleischer, *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 23-71; B. Brenk, IstMitt 18 (1968), 238-58; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine*, 92, fig. 193; R. Fleischer in A. Bammer-R. Fleischer-D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos*, 78-82, pl. 12; C. Foss, *Ephesos after Antiquity*, 70-73 and note 53.

One of four blocks, of which the remaining three have miscellaneous subjects connected with Ephesos. At the top of each block a laurel fillet; below the figures a ledge. On the fourth block are thirteen frontal standing figures from left to right:

a) Roma with helmet and round shield (Fleischer).

b) Selene, archaistic, with veil over head, pectoral.

c) Nude god, youthful, possibly Men or Helios (Fleischer).

d) Apollo, long hair drawn back, right hand resting on head, left holding kithara now broken away.

e) Artemis in peplos with quiver strap crossing chest diagonally.

f) Androklos wearing mural crown with turrets, once holding spear in raised left hand, accompanied by dog.

g) Herakles, nude, strongly muscled, holding club above head. The cut dividing the block into two portions passes through his body.

h) Youthful Dionysos with cloak wrapped about lower body and wreath on head; attributes in hands too indistinct for identification.

i) Youthful god in short chiton and cloak wrapped about body, possibly Hermes.

j) Archaistic Hekate, veiled from head to feet with kalathos on head.

k) Aphrodite wearing chiton and himation and holding a fan or mirror.

l) Ares wearing a military cloak over a muscle cuirass.

m) Athena turned sidewise in order to be fitted in, wearing aegis and helmet and carrying a small round shield.

Date: Execution Tetrarchic (Brenk) rather than Theodosian (A.D. 293-302); reused in reign of Theodosius (A.D. 279-395).

EPIDAUROS, ARGOLIS, GREECE

1. Base of reddish stone (H., 0.51 m., L., 1.05 m., D., 0.52 m.) from Asklepieion. Epidauros, epigraphical collection.

F. Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *IG* IV², no. 287, p. 287, no. 43; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 781 B 19; W. Peek, *Inschriften aus den Asklepieion von Epidauros*, 70, no. 121.

Ring of twelve dots within a circle below dedication.

Inscription: Δυ̣ώδεκ̣[α] Θεῶν.

Date: Fourth century B.C.

2. Marble votive triglyph altar (H., 0.785-0.79 m., L. as restored with three metopes, 2.59 m.). Epidauros, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 28. The best preserved metope, which is known to have been found in the excavation of the Asklepieion in 1884, was formerly exhibited in the National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 1423. Figure 43.

E. Reisch, ÖJh 1 (1898), 79-82, fig. 37; E. Löwy, *EA*, 244 on pl. 1256; I. Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, 369-79, no. 121, pl. LXVIII; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 207, fig. 126; F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 51-52; G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolid* [= BEFAR 199], 402, pl. 100, 1; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 102-103, 244 no. 10.

Metopes carved in one piece with adjacent triglyph; upper moulding treated as crowning moulding of altar with volutes at ends. Three metopes have been restored, from left to right as exhibited:

a) Left side only with frontal standing Ares in muscle cuirass, one hand raised as if grasping spear, other resting on shield.

b) Draped god seated on rock; beside him the right arm of a standing goddess wearing a chiton, bent at elbow with hand raised.

c) Standing god wearing himation and leaning on staff, more probably Hephaistos than Asklepios, holding helmet with Athena who wears a diagonal, straplike aegis and rests her shield on the ground by her right knee.

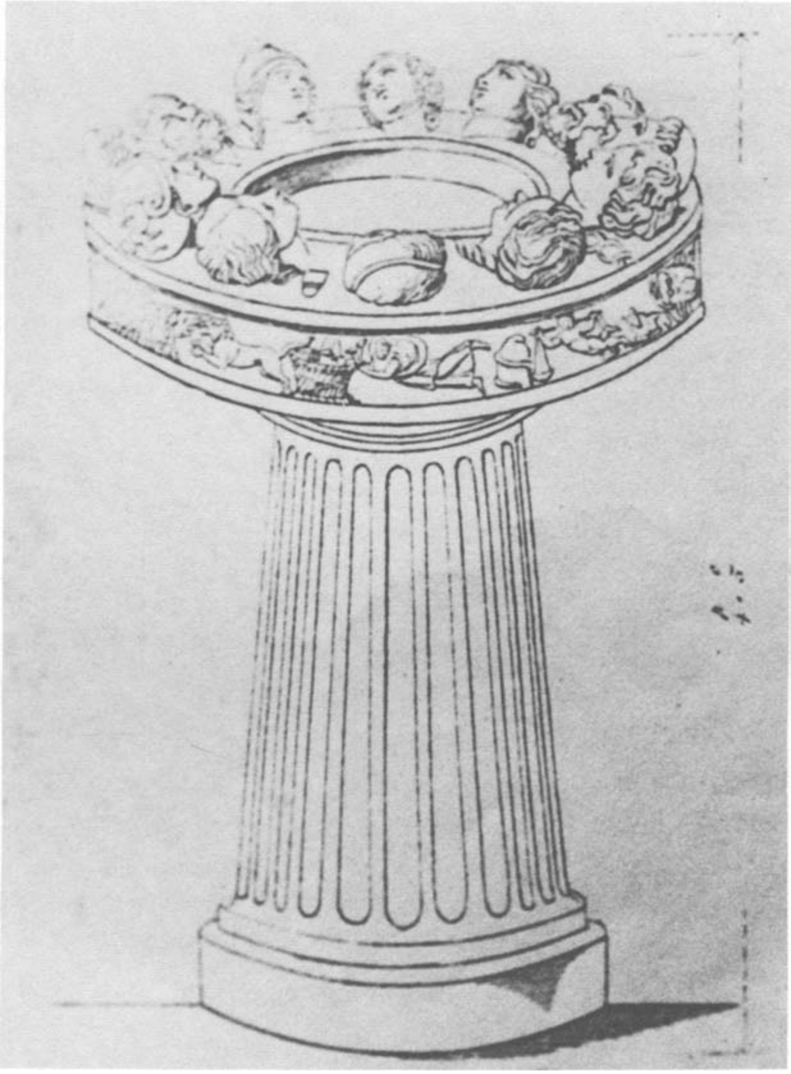
Date: Later fourth century B.C.

GABII, LATIUM, ITALY

1. Low marble relief cylinder (H. of cylinder 0.15 m., of heads, 0.10 m., D., 0.80 m.) called the "Altar" of Gabii. From excavations conducted by G. Hamilton in 1792. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MA 666. Figures 44-49 plus text figure.

E. Q. Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini*, 38-58, pls. 16, 16a, 16b; C. de Clarac, *Catalogue*, 381; W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée du Louvre*, 9-14, no. 2; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 825-26 E. 86; J. C. Webster, *Labors of the Months*, 31, 120-21, no. 5; H. Stern in *Encyclopedia of World Art* sv. *Astronomy and Astrology*, 51, pl. 22; J. Charbonneaux, *Sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre*, 95-96; H.-G. Gundel in *RE* series 2, 19 (1972) sv. *Zodiakos*, cols. 624-25, no. 39; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 105, 246 no. 27.

Found in Gabii in the spring of 1792 by Gavin Hamilton excavating on behalf of Prince Borghese and restored probably by Franzoni (Fröhner), this is one of the pieces in the Borghese collection which was purchased for the Louvre by Napoleon. On top within the ring of divine heads, a shallow sinking with narrow slits at the bottom, presumably to received a toothed metal plaque now lost. Usually identified as a sundial though horizontal sundials were not common in antiquity and this bears



none of the marks of a sundial. Visconti showed it mounted on a fluted pedestal of Luna marble (whereas he identified the material of the cylinder as Pentelic).

Around the sides are carved in low relief the signs of the zodiac, running in order from left to right; between each pair of signs is an attribute of an Olympian so arranged that the sign to the left is that ascribed to the deity in the Roman rustic calendars (T 40 A-B) and that to the right ascribed to the same deity by Manilius (T 40 C). In this sequence

Minerva's owl, Aries, and Venus' dove have been restored, presumably correctly, along with much of Vesta's lamp. One other symbol, the cone wound with a snake should be Vulcan's pileus but could be interpreted as Apollo's omphalos.

The heads on top in counterclockwise order, beginning with the best preserved are:

a) Venus with Cupid behind her right shoulder.

b) Mars wearing a helmet.

c) Diana with a quiver behind her right shoulder.

d) Apollo, nude with long side curls, formerly wrongly identified as Ceres.

e) Goddess with long side curls wearing peplos, by position Vesta.

f) Youthful Mercury with caduceus.

g) Goddess with long, loose hair covered by a veil, probably Ceres, not Vulcan as restored.

h) Neptune with trident.

i) Head wholly restored, most probably originally Minerva.

j) Youthful god with hair to nape of neck, probably a youthful Vulcan like the Hephaistos on Ostia 1, not Apollo as previously identified.

k) Head wholly restored, most probably originally Juno.

l) Head largely restored as well as thunderbolt, but shoulder-length hair suggests restoration as Jupiter is correct.

Date: Hadrianic(?) (A.D. 117-138).

2. The Summer candelabrum base in the Louvre, MA 610, from the Borghese collection was attributed to Gabii by Clarac, but, as Fröhner pointed out, had been seen by Winckelmann earlier in the Villa Pinciana. It is entered here as Rome 9.

HELLÍN, ALBACETE, SPAIN

1. Polychrome carpet mosaic (13 m. square). Madrid, Museo de Arqueologia Nacional. Figures 50-58.

Fernández de Avilés, Archivo Español de Arquelogia 14 (1940/1941), 442f; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus* II, catalogue, no. 377a; H. Stern, MonPiot 54 (1966), 40-59; Brommer, MadMitt 12 (1971), 151-52; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972) sv. *Zodiakos* cols. 653-54, no. 142; J.-G. Gorges, *Les villes hispano-romaines*, 180.

Floor divided by guilloche bands into sixteen large, eight-sided panels with Seasons in central four, months in outer twelve. Nine small medallions with pastoral subjects. The months are arranged in counterclockwise order with their bases touching the outer border. April, May, June, August, September, October, November, and December preserved at least in part with the choice of deity dependent on the chief festival of the month in Rome. By the months the subjects are:

a-c) January-March missing.

d) APR Venus with bare torso and billowing scarf (velificata), riding on man-bull (Taurus).

e) MAI Mercury with wings in hair, chlamys and caduceus, riding on winged genius who carries twins in outstretched hands (Gemini).

f) (June). Male head with yellowish-brown wreath, possibly representing the claws of Cancer.

g) July missing.

h) AVG Diana in hunting garb with spear, crescent on head, riding on centaur holding an arrow (NOT Virgo).

i) SEP Vulcan wearing himation and pileus, bearded, with tongs by left shoulder, riding on winged genius carrying balance scales (Libra).

j) OCT Beardless armed deity wearing helmet, cuirass and long garment, and holding trumpet; riding on man with claws in hair (Scorpio), who empties a basket of grapes. Mars is the tutelary deity of October, but the lack of a beard and long skirt suggest a goddess.

k) NOV Veiled goddess, probably Isis, seated on a centaur who draws a bow (Sagittarius).

l) DEC Goddess with a spear riding a creature with a human face and caprine legs (Capricorn).

Date: A.D. 200-250.

KOMBA, LYCIA, TURKEY

1-25. Votive reliefs of the Twelve Gods, all apparently from a single sanctuary at the upper end of the Akçay valley above the Elmali plain. In various museums, Antalya, Manisa, and Istanbul in Turkey, Lesbos, Rhodes, Vienna, and Boston, as well as private collections.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* [= SB Heidelberg 4 (1913) Abt 5]; idem, *Zwölfgötter* 794-95 B 51, fig. 3; E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II, 3, nos. 724-33; H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, 34-37, 61-63, pl. 5; reviewed by E. Akurgal, Gnomon 25 (1953), 551-52; G. E. Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 78-79, nos. 96-100; E. Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 149, fig. 101; C. C. Vermeule, GJ 60 (1965), 301, 303, fig. 16; C. Brixhe, REG 78 (1965), 61-65; J. and L. Robert, REG 79 (1966), 428-31, nos. 426-27; F. Salviat, RA (1966) fasc. 1, 43-44; denied by J. and L. Robert REG 81 (1968), 521 no. 509; *Christie's Sale Catalogue*, December 2, 1970, no. 94; M. B. Comstock-C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, 182, no. 293; L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 587-93. C. Brixhe will shortly publish another (private communication).

Though by more than one hand, the reliefs have a common format. There are two registers of figures with a dedication to the Twelve Gods in Greek between the two, which is completed below. Some examples have a row of incised circles above the top register, which F. Salviat reads as theta, the first letter of the Greek word for god. The relief may be dedicated to Artemis Kynegetis and their Father as well as to the Twelve. The example in the Manisa Museum names the first of the Twelve Hermes.

In the upper register stand twelve identical male figures wearing a short garment and usually holding a spear in the right hand. These flank a central standing figure set off from the rest by a kind of baldacchino. This central figure may be a male similar to the others or a female with both hands raised or wearing a long skirt. Below twelve wolf/dogs sit on their hindquarters, facing a standing male figure in the center. The latter is smaller than the figures in the upper register and may be another deity or the donor.

Examples:

1. Komba. Lower left half with feet of five gods, part of sixth; five wolf/dogs below. Pres. H., 0.235 m. Pres. W., 0.215 m. Th., 0.055 m.

Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 3-4, B; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 725.

Δώδεκα Θεο̣ [ῖς κατ’ ἐπιταγήν]
Οὐδυ[—

2. Komba. Left half with six gods, place for central figure; six wolf/dogs, central figure below. H., 0.43 m. Pres. W., 0.255 m.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 4, C; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 726.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κα[τ’ ἐπιταγήν]
]ΠΦ[

3. Komba.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 4, D; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 733.

ΑΥΛΛΙΙΝΑ

4. Salardiş brought from Komba. Fragment from upper center with one god to left, central male figure, and three to right. Pres. H., 0.22 m. W., 0.27 m. Th., 0.04 m.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 4, E with drawing; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 731.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ̣’ ἐ[πιταγήν]

5. Antiphellos-Kaş, from Komba. Fragment of right upper half with trace of sixth god on left, central figure, six gods on right. Pres. H., 0.27 m. W., 0.31 m. Th., 0.05 m.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 4, F; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 732.

6. Antiphellos-Kaş from Komba. Fragment of right upper half with circles incised at top; five gods above, five wolf/dogs below. Pres. H., 0.32 m. Pres. W., 0.31 m. Th., 0.09 m.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 5, G; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 728.

ΕΝΟΥΣ Δώδεκα Θεοῖς

7. Ahatli near Komba. Antalya Museum, inv. no. 678. Fragment of right half. H., 0.33 m. Pres. W., 0.58 m. Th., 0.06 m.

G. E. Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 78, no. 98, fig. 20 a; J. and L. Robert, REG 72 (1959), 246, no. 409; L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 590, note 10, fig. 2.

[Δ]ώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
'Αρτέμεις 'Ερμαίου.

8. Korkuteli district. Antalya Museum, inv. no. 212 (Metzger) or 213 (Bean). Nearly complete. Above six gods to left, central male figure, six gods to right; below, six wolf/dogs to left, central male figure; four of original six to right. H., 0.325 m. W., 0.42 m. Th., 0.05 m.

H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, 34-35, no. 15, pl. V; G. E. Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 78, no. 97; idem, *Turkey's Southern Shore*, New York-Washington 1968, 43, figure 2.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
Τροκόνδα[ς].

9. Kaş district. Antalya Museum, inv. no. 200. Right edge broken. Incised circle above each of figures in top register with two above central goddess. Six gods to left with square bodies (or shields); central goddess with both hands raised; five of six gods to right with square bodies. Below six wolf/dogs to left, central male standing on three-legged stool; four of six wolf/dogs to right. H., 0.34 m. W., 0.60 m. Th., 0.04 m.

H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, 35, no. 16, pl. V; G. E. Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 77, no. 96; J. and L. Robert, REG 72 (1959), 246, no. 407.

ὁ κου[ρε]ὸς(?) 'Ερμῆς φιλέου τοῦ Ουσασου κατ' ἀρὰς 'Αρτέμιδι Κι[...
[κ]αὶ δώδεκα Θεοῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶ[ν] (Bean)

10. Elmali. Antalya Museum, inv. no. 678. Right half. H., 0.325 m. Pres. W., 0.43 m. Th., 0.05 m.

Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 79, no. 99; J. and L. Robert, REG 72 (1959), 246, no. 410.

...]ΚΟΕΙΣ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
...]γρεοναυς

11. Antiphellos area. Antalya Museum inv. no. 604. Fragment. Above, four of gods to left and central figure; below six dogs and central male. Pres. H., 0.33 m. Pres. W., 0.23 m.

G. E. Bean, Belleten 28 (1958), 79, no. 100; J. and L. Robert, REG 22 (1959), 246, no. 408.

[Δώδ]εκα Θεοῖς κα[τ' ἐπιταγὴν]
'Αρτε[...

12. Finike. Antalya Museum, unnumbered. Incised circles above each god with two on either side of incised triangle above central goddess. Six gods to left and six to right of central goddess in long skirt. Below six wolf/dogs to left and six to right of central figure dressed like gods above. H., 0.365 m. W., 0.513 m. Th., 0.065 m. Figure 59.

C. Brixhe, REG 78 (1965), 61-65; J. and L. Robert, REG 79 (1966), 428-29, no. 426.

'Αρτέμιδι κυνη(γιτιδι?) καὶ δώδεκ⟨α⟩ Θ⟨ε⟩οῖ⟨ς⟩ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ἀνέστησεν Δράκων.

13. Finike. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5216. Minor damage at edges. Six gods to left and six to right of central male figure; below six wolf/dogs to left and six to right of central male figure. H., 0.51 m. W., 0.56 m.

E. Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 149, fig. 101; *Art Treasures of Turkey* [= Smithsonian Publication 4663], Washington 1966, no. 152.

[Δ]ώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
"Ερως.

14-17. Bean mentioned seeing four fragments of similar reliefs at Gömbe, the modern village near Komba: Belleten 28 (1958), 78. One of these may be L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 590, fig. 4.

18. Myra (Dembre). Present location unknown (Metzger). Lower surface damaged. Six gods to left and six to right of central male figure. Below six dogs to left and six to right of central figure with both hands raised.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 3, A, pl. I; idem, *Zwölfgötter*, 794-95, fig. 3; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 724; H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musee d'Adalia*, 36.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν
...]ας.

19. Manisa Museum. Corners broken off. Above to left six gods, of whom first stands in lower recess below which is incised 'Ερμ(ῆς). Larger male figure in center with feet at same level as Hermes; six gods to right. Below six wolf/dogs to left and six to right of central male figure.

L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 587-93, fig. 1.

η καὶ Δώδεκα Θεοῖς
καὶ ’Αρτέμιδι Κυνηγέ-
3 τι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν ‘Εκάτων
δίς.

20. Levissi. Vienna, Museum storage. Right half with central male figure and six gods to right above; below central male figure and six dogs. H., 0.29 m. Pres. W., 0.24 (bottom).

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 5, I, pl. II; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 729.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ’ ΕΠΑΓΗΝ
...] τὲ ἐπιταγήν.

21. Castellorizo, Lesbos. Mytilene Museum, inv. no. 16. Left half with six armed males and part of central male figure above; six wolf/dogs below. H., 0.38 m. Pres. W., 0.28 m. Th., 0.05 m.

Evangelides, Deltion 4 (1918) Parartema II, 25, fig. 21; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 727; H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, no. 33, pl. V.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς [κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν]
’Ελευθ[έρα?].

22. Castellorizo, Lesbos, probably from Anatolia. Mytilene Museum, inv. no. 17. Center of upper register only with central figure with raised hands; first of six males on right. Pres. H., 0.225 m. Pres. W., 0.165 m. Th., 0.06 m.

O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 5, H; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 730; H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, no. 34, pl. V.

ΛΥΤΩΩ κατὲ ἐπι[ταγήν]

23. Lindos, Rhodes. Formerly Berlin, coll. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Right half with parts of two males on left, central male, and six males on right; below central male and six wolf/dogs. H., 0.36 m. W., 0.36 m. Th., ca. 0.05 m.

F. Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *IG* XII, 1, no. 785; O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 5, K, pl. III; E. Kalinka, *TAM* II, 3, no. 733.

[Δώδεκα Θ]εοῖς κατ' ἐπιταγήν
... λ]ασις.

24. Provenience unknown. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 64/47. Right half with central male figure in baldachino, six males on right; below, six wolf/dogs on right. H., 0.33 m. Pres. W., 0.37 m. Th., 0.06 m.

C. C. Vermeule, CJ 60 (1965), 301, 303, fig. 16; J. and L. Robert, REG 79 (1966), 429-30, no. 427; M. B. Comstock-C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, 182, no. 293; L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 590-91, fig. 5.

... κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
... άρχου.

25. Provenience unknown. New York, private collection. Complete except for upper right corner. Six armed males to left and to right of central armed male in baldacchino above; six wolf/dogs to left and six to right of similar unarmed male below. W., 0.61 m.

Christie's Catalogue, December 2, 1970, no. 94; M. B. Comstock-C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, 182.

Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
Μάσας.

Date: Third century after Christ.

KYZIKOS, BOSPHOROS, TURKEY

1. Temple of Hadrian. East pediment. Lost.

Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.23 C; John Malalas, *Historia Chronica*, XI.279.3-11 = T 45. *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys* ed. E. W. Bodnar-C. M. Mitchell, 27-28, 30-31, lines 219-57, 302-36; 62 note 33, figs. 3-5; T. Reinach, BCH 14 (1890), 517-45; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 793 B 47; B. Ashmole, JWarb 19 (1956), 179-91; H. P. Laubscher, IstMitt 17 (1967), 211-17; M. J. Price-B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, 109-16.

Bust of Hadrian in medallion in center of pediment. According to Cyriacus of Ancona, there were in his day a spendid image of Jupiter and other gods in the pediment. Since Hadrian here was named the Thirteenth God, he may have been shown in the midst of the Twelve.

Date: A.D. 123-139.

LAODIKEIA, SYRIA

1. Gold diadem of Sol Invictus (L., 0.22 m., H., 0.021 m.). Köln (Cologne), Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. no. 74.383. Figures 60-61.

F. Altheim, Welt als Geschichte 5 (1939), 300-302; idem, *Die Soldatenkaiser*, 281-84 (same text); G. H. Halsberghe, *Cult of Sol Invictus*, 160-61; J. Br(acker), Kölner Römer-Illustierte 1 (1974), 104, figs. 210-12; idem, AA (1974), 79.

Thin gold strip with rounded ends, increasing in height to apex in center. Ends roughly pierced for ribbon fasteners. Decorated by pressing center over a matrix showing the head of Sol Invictus radiate flanked by those of his horses, all within a gable, and the ends over another matrix showing a row of standing gods below a laurel fillet. Because of the narrowness of the strip, the lower parts of the gods were omitted; because of the careless work, parts of the upper moulding were included above the last figure on the left and the first three on the right. The two matrices used may have been parts of a relief plaque in the form of a naiskos similar to the Naiskos of Kybele (Unknown Provenience 2, figure 136).

Ten gods embossed on left end, arranged in pairs, male and female; first eight of those on left repeated on right end. Originally twelve Olympians(?). The extant deities are:

a-b) Jupiter/Zeus with huge thunderbolt and scepter (not Neptune/ Poseidon as Bracker) and Juno/Hera(?) with long scepter.

c-d) Minerva/Athena with spear and shield; deity with legs wrapped in drapery, bare chest, right hand raised and clenched, possibly Vulcan/Hephaistos wearing a himation rather than Venus/Aphrodite as Bracker.

e-f) Neptune/Poseidon, bearded, half-draped, with rudder (not Asklepios as Bracker) and Ceres/Demeter holding a flaming torch.

g-h) Apollo in citharode costume holding his instrument; goddess with right hand raised, veil over head, identified as Rhea by Bracker, possibly Diana/Artemis from her position.

i-j) Mars/Ares wearing a waist-length cuirass over knee-length chiton, with standard and shield; slender goddess like a xoanon, by position Venus/Aphrodite.

Date: Diadem made in Syria during reign of Aurelian, A.D. 270-275; matrices used probably not much earlier.

Lebadeia/Livadia, Boiotia, Greece

1. Limestone votive relief (H., 0.335 m., L. at bottom, 0.925 m., L. at top, 0.905 m., Th. at bottom, 0.165 m., Th. at top, 0.135 m.). Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 3942. Figure 62.

O. Walter, ÖJh 31 (1939), 59-80, fig. 23; F. Brommer, *RE* suppl. 8 (1956), sv. *Pan*, cols. 983, 995, 1003; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*² II, 642, pl. 10, 3; J. A. Haldane, Phoenix 22 (1968), 20 note 8; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture, Catalogue*, 136-37, no. 3942; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 36, 76, 80, fig. 27; idem, *CCCA* II [= EPRO 50], 131-32, no. 432, pls. CLIX-CLX; G. Sanders in M. J. Vermaseren, *Orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* [= EPRO 93], 273.

Back and bottom of relief quite rough; sides somewhat smoother; protruding ledges above and below figures. The lower right half of the relief contains a draped table or altar with offerings and four small worshippers, of whom the second figure seems to be a beardless male in a himation. From left to right the deities are:

a) Kybele with a mural crown seated on a draped throne and holding a phiale; beside her a seated lion.

b) Persephone acting as mystagogos, wearing peplos and himation, holding a key and leading in a veiled figure.

c) The veiled figure, either Demeter or possibly a heroized dead person (Walter), in the role of myste.

d) Dionysos in short chiton and buskins, holding kantharos and thyrsos.

e) Pan with goat legs, beard, and horns, holding a rectangular (Greek-type) syrinx and pedum.

f) Hekate with hair knotted on top her head, wearing long peplos and holding two torches.

g) Chthonic god, Zeus Meilichios or Trophonios, half-draped, provided with cornucopia in left hand and two snakes.

h-j) Three Kouretes behind the table or altar, with round shields and helmets.

k-l) Dioskouroi in piloi and chlamydes.

Date: Third century B.C. or later.

Magnesia on the Maeander, Ionia, Turkey

1. Procession and banquet with xoana of the Twelve Gods in connection with sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis. Images lost.

O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, 82-84, no. 98, especially lines 31-46 = T 7. O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 792-93 B 42; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, 88-92, no. 32.

Term xoana indicates wooden statues but not necessarily ancient ones; wood possibly used to make statues more easily portable. Deities presumably the Olympians, for whom the Magnesian tribes were named. Ceremony hardly earlier than transfer of population in fourth century; specific occasion instituted by decree following end of hostilities with Miletos, possibly in imitation of Roman lectisternium.

Date of inscription: 196 B.C.

MARBACH, GERMANY

1. Votive sandstone relief of Mercury (H., 0.55 m., W., 0.75 m., Th., 0.09 m.). Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum. Figure 63.

É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général ... de la Germanie romaine*, 437, no. 695; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 814-15 C 75; E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* [= EPRO 40], 200-201, no. 157, pl. 86; M. J. Vermaseren, *Kult der Kybele und des Attis im römischen Germanien*, 14, fig. 4.

Prominence of Mercury indicative of Celtic religious origin but iconography used is Roman. Inclusion of precisely twelve deities possibly derived from Roman Di Consentes, though gods not Olympians.

Relief divided into two registers. In the center, occupying the full height of both registers, is Mercury, nude but for his chlamys. He holds the caduceus and moneybag and has a cock and a goat(?) by his feet. To his left in the lower register are a Dioscurus in pileus and chlamys, equipped with spear and horse, and Mars holding a spear(?) in his raised left hand; to Mercury's right in the lower register are Hercules resting his club on a stone and possibly having his lionskin draped over his left arm, and the second Dioscurus, a mirror image of the first. In the upper register, to Mercury's right, are Cybele(?)—a seated figure holding a rounded object on the lap and perhaps wearing a mural crown,—Jupiter with long scepter, Juno(?) draped and holding a short scepter, and Ceres clutching sprays of wheat before her chest; to Mercury's left, Fortuna with a cornucopia(?), a young nude god (Apollo or Sol), and Silvanus with his dog.

Date: second century after Christ.

MATISCO/MÂCON, FRANCE

1. Gilded silver statuette of Tyche/Fortuna Panthea (H., 0.14 m.) found in hoard with coins of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268). London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Figure 64.

H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum*, 9-10, no. 33, pl. 5; F. Chapouthier, *Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 78, no. 71; 311; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire*, 72, fig. 6; É. Thevenot, RAECE 5 (1954), 281-83; S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine*, 151, fig. 264.

This is the only known pantheistic statuette with exactly eleven divine busts. The type is Gallic but the emphasis on the number twelve both in the total number of deities and in the facets of the base may reflect the Roman Twelve Gods, especially in their relation to the months and the universe.

Tyche/Fortuna clad in chiton and himation and wearing a turreted crown pours a libation on a flaming altar. In her left hand she holds twin cornucopias with busts of Ceres and Bacchus. To the front of the wings are attached busts of the Dioscuri, each surmounted by a star. On a crescent fastened to the wingtips are busts of the weekday or planetary gods: veiled Saturn, radiate Sol, Luna wearing a crescent, helmeted Mars, Mercury with wings in his hair, Jupiter bearded and wreathed, and Venus wearing a diadem.

Date: Antonine to Severan (A.D. 160-235).

MEGARA, MEGARIS, GREECE

1. Statues by Praxiteles in the Sanctuary of Artemis Soteira. Lost.

Pausanias I.40.3 = T 20. O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 785-86, B 24; G. Becatti, ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939-1940), 85-137; idem, BdA 36 (1959), 193-200; contra, R. Carpenter, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949), 71-74; G. Lippold, *Griechische Plastik*, 235.

Pausanias' doubt that these were by the famous Praxiteles may be set aside: The sculptor's period of activity coincides with the general promotion of the cult by Athens and later Philip II of Macedon. Deities not named. Association with Artemis Soteira paralleled by association with Zeus Eleutherios in Athens.

Date: Fourth century B.C.

NEAPOLIS/NABLUS, ISRAEL

1. Gold diadem of Kybele/Astarte (original L., ca. 0.35 m., max. H., 0.052 m.). Jerusalem, Israel Museum, inv. no. 76.63.50 (formerly in Jonas collection). Figures 65-66.

R. Jonas, PEQ 94 (1962), 118-28.

Purchased by Jonas in Jerusalem in 1940 and said to have come from Nablus region (ancient Neapolis). Gold strip increasing in height to apex in center, with gold wire loops attached at either end. Figures individually embossed.

In the center a naked Kybele/Astarte, standing and flanked by rampant lions, crescent and star by her shoulders. Next to her on either side Hekate with her torch and Hermes Kadmilos. Between this central group and the radiate head of Helios next to each end there were on either side six deities. To the left of the central group:

a) Marsyas seated crosslegged and playing double pipes.

b) Half-draped god seated on a throne.

c) Standing deity with knee-length garment, possibly Hephaistos in exomis.

d) Deity with legs swathed in drapery seated upon a rock.

e) Missing figure, presumably standing.

f) Zeus enthroned, holding thunderbolt extended in right hand and long scepter in left.

To the right of the central group:

g) Hera enthroned, raising her drapery at her right shoulder.

h) Apollo in citharode costume, holding his instrument.

i) Athena, apparently wearing helmet, with spear in her raised right hand and left hand resting on round shield.

j) Poseidon, half-draped, seated upon a rock with his dolphin(?) on his extended right forearm.

k) Artemis drawing an arrow from her quiver.

l) Draped deity advancing left.

Date: Antonine-Severan (A.D. 160-235).

OSTERBURKEN, GERMANY

1. Mithraic relief of yellowish sandstone (H., 1.76 m., W., 1.70 m., Th., 0.19 m.), probably from Mithraeum. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 1436. Figures 67-68.

É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Germanie romaine, 131-34, no. 200;* O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 815 C 76; M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II, 117-19, no. 1292, figs. 340-42; V. M. Strocka, Fundberichte aus Schwaben, N.S. 18 (1967), 129-30; L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* [= EPRO 11], 361-62; E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* [= EPRO 40], 192-95, no. 148a.

Mithraic relief of Campbell's type VIII with the group of the Twelve Gods in the center top panel (which represents the heavens) between Sol and Luna and above the band of the zodiac signs on the rim of Mithras' cave. Jupiter enthroned in the center with eleven deities arranged on either side of him in two registers, a composition similar to Marbach 1.

In the lower register from left to right:

a) Venus, nude, with her right hand on her head, holding mirror.

b) Minerva with helmet, spear and shield.

c) Juno with her himation drawn over her hair.

d) Jupiter, half-draped, enthroned, with left hand raised as if holding scepter.

e) Apollo, nude but for cloak over shoulders, with legs crossed, resting his cithara on a rectangular altar.

f) Mars in helmet and muscle cuirass over short chiton, resting left hand on shield and raising right to head as if in salute.

g) Muscular Hercules with his club partly hidden behind Mars.

In the upper register from left to right, the upper halves of the following:

h) Diana drawing an arrow from her quiver.

i) Bearded god, either Pluto with a scepter in his raised right hand or Vulcan with a hammer.

j) Veiled goddess, the consort of the bearded god.

k) Winged Victory carrying palm and placing wreath on Jupiter's head.

l) Neptune with his trident.

Inscription: D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) MERCATORIVS CASTRENSIS IN SVO CONST(ituit).

Date: A.D. 231 (Strocka).

Ostia, Latium, Italy

1. Marble Dodekatheon cylinder (H., 0.44 m., D., 0.50 m.) from Sanctuary of Attis. Ostia Antica, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 120. Figures 69-73.

G. Becatti, ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939/1940), 85-137; idem, BdA 36 (1951), 193-200; C. Picard, REL 23 (1945), 44-47; idem, MonPiot 49 (1957), 52, fig. 3; R. Carpenter, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949), 71-74; P. E. Arias, *EAA* III (1960), 235, fig. 290; W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, 34-35, no. 3025; M. J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, 117-18, no. 331; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 50, 92, 94, 103, 105, 136, 138, 151, 172, 195, 245, pl. 52, 2. According to F. Zevi in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* [= AbhGöttingen 3rd series, 97], Göttingen 1976, 61-62, F. Carinci will publish the base shortly in Studi Miscellanei.

Flat-bottomed channel 1 cm. wide and ca. 5 mm. deep running around top surface 7 cms in from edge. Plain taenia with bead-and-reel moulding masking transition to drum above and leaf pattern below feet of gods with plain taenia at bottom.

Circle of gods continuous but Zeus centered below dedicatory inscription on rim. From left to right around the cylinder, beginning with Hermes the deities are:

a) Hermes with chlamys and petasos.

b) Veiled and draped goddess on a cylindrical altar, here probably Hestia rather than Demeter.

c) Apollo in citharode costume holding kithara.

d) Artemis in long peplos with quiver behind her shoulder.

e) Athena in helmet and aegis.

f) Zeus enthroned, with eagle below his seat, holding thunderbolt in right hand, scepter (partly painted, partly in round) in raised left hand.

g) Hera, standing, lifting the edge of her himation which covers her hair.

h) Demeter, with long side curls, posed like Athena and probably once identified by spray of wheat (painted) in her raised hand.

i) Half-draped, bearded god, probably Poseidon, once resting his right hand on a (painted) rudder.

j) Aphrodite, a shapely goddess touching her veil with her left hand.

k) Ares, nude but for cloak draped over left shoulder and forearm, probably with (painted) spear in right hand.

l) Opposite Zeus and next to Hermes, Hephaistos, beardless, with cloak wrapped around thighs and left arm, resting right hand on knobbed staff.

Inscription: Δώδεκα Θεῶν.

Date: Claudian-early Flavian (A.D. 40-80, Fuchs).

2. Architectural frieze (H., 0.296 m., L., ca. 1.50 m.). Ostia Antica, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 18853. Figure 74.

M. L. Veloccia Rinaldi, in Soprintendenza alla antichità di Ostia, *Museo Ostiense; nuove immissioni* (supplemento alla *Guida*, 1962), 15-16, pl. 2, 1.

Left end of block hollowed to fit around column; right end vertical; apparently left of two blocks fitted between a pair of columns. A second block, probably from same structure, shows Birth of Dionysos. Six widely spaced deities, from left to right:

a) Next to gnarled olive tree, Minerva in helmet and aegis, with fluttering drapery, touching tree with right hand and extending left with shield and spear.

b) Large snake advancing toward Minerva, followed by Vulcan in exomis with right arm stretched out toward Minerva, holding tongs against left arm.

c) Neptune, half-draped and bearded, standing frontally, with trident in right hand and dolphin nestled on left.

d) Mars, also frontal, wearing short chiton, muscle cuirass, with narrow scarf over arms; spear in right hand and left resting on shield.

e) Venus velificata in fluttering drapery.

f) Bacchus, nude, leaning on a triangular post with his right hand resting on his head and a cantharus(?) dangling from his left.

Date: Antonine, A.D. 137-192.

PHERAI, THESSALY, GREECE

1. Acropolis. Front block of altar with six stelai in relief (H., ca. 0.675 m., pres. W., 0.98 m., pres. Th., 0.47 m.). Volo, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E 1270. Figure 75.

S. G. Miller, CSCA 7 (1974), 231-56.

Extant on the block are half a pointed stele in relief plus five complete stelai. Presumably the half stele was completed on the adjacent block to the left. On the stelai were inscribed the names of six goddesses. Subsequently the names were erased and reinscribed below in retrograde form; this was then erased and a third row added with the order of the goddesses reversed. Their names are; Themis, Aphrodite, Athena, Enodia, Demeter, and Histia (Hestia).

Inscription: [Θέ]μις 'Αφροδίτη 'Αθήνα 'Ενοδία Δημήτηρ 'Ιστία

Date: Later fourth century-early third century B.C.

POMPEII, CAMPANIA, ITALY

1. Compitum of the Via dell'Abbondanza (IX.11.1) (H. of aedicula, 2.05 m., W., 2.10 m.). In situ. Figures 76-80.

V. Spinazzola, NS (1911), 418, fig. 2; 420, fig. 2a; idem, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi di Via dell'Abbondanze (anni 1910-1923)*. 175-85; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 807-808, C 67; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 1062, fig. 857; K. Schefold, *Wände Pompejis*, 288; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 50, 74, 136, 173, 236 no. 15.

Shrine painted on exterior house wall behind fountain with rectangular trough and small rectangular altar attached to wall. Remains of last sacrifice found on altar when excavated. Painting divided vertically into two areas of which that to right seems later. Left end of left side damaged. Left side: Fictive shed roof supported at each end by fictive Corinthian column of which right column is extant; painted shelf below with the Twelve Gods standing in a row:

a) Jupiter (Spinazzola) with covered head crowned with oak, a long scepter in the raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left.

b) Juno (Spinazzola) wearing diadem and veil, with long tunic covered by a white mantle, holding scepter and patera.

c) Mars (Spinazzola confirmed by faint traces) in short tunic and body armor, with Oscan helmet and small round shield.

d) Minerva with gold helmet and shield, white aegis, green tunic and reddish-brown mantle.

e) Hercules, bearded, brown, and muscular, holding a cup in his right hand and a yellow club in his left, with a greenish lionskin draped over his left arm.

f) Venus in a long purple tunic with a white mantle and veil; having a small Cupid peeking over her right shoulder.

g) Mercury, half-draped, with moneybag and caduceus.

h) Proserpina with a white mantle over her purplish-brown tunic, which closely envelops her, wearing a gold kalathos on top of her veil.

i) Vulcan in a white exomis with purple bands at the edges, wearing boots.

j) Ceres wearing a purple and white striped tunic, holding a long yellow torch, and crowned with golden wheat.

k) Apollo in a long purple mantle over a white tunic, with a pointed red quiver top and a red cithara.

l) Diana in a yellow tunic with red edges, with a red quiver and conical lid, holding patera and spear.

Below the shelf with the Twelve Gods a panel with the partly effaced representation of the Genius Augusti between Lares. When excavated this had been defaced by an electioneering dipinto solliciting votes for G. Gavius Rufus. This has now disappeared, leaving the figures discernible.

On the right side two panels, one above the other. Above, the four Vicomagistri making an offering on an altar with a Lar on each side; below, an Agathos Daimon (snake) approaching fictive offerings above the actual altar.

Dipinto: C·GAVIVM·RVFVM·II·V(irum)·I(uri)·D(icundo)·O(ro)·V(os)·F(aciatis)

Date: Left side Neronian (A.D. 54-69) with Flavian alterations (A.D. 70-79).

2. Compitum on exterior wall of House of Graces facing Vicolo dei XII Dei (VIII.3.9-10) (H., 0.79 m., W., 3.27 m.). In situ but barely discernible. Discovered August 12, 1818. Figure 81.

Annali dell'Istituto (1850) 206 ff, pl. K, RP 5, 2; G. Fiorelli, *Pompeianorum Antiquitatum Historia* III, Naples 1864, 211 on discovery; W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, 5-6, no. 7; R. Peterson *Cults of Campania* [= PAAR 1], 226; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 808 C 67; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 1066, fig. 856; V. Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli nuovi scavi*, 118-19; K. Schefold, *Wände Pompejis*, 220; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 74, 236 no. 14.

The following account is based on Helbig's careful description of what could be seen in the 1860's.

Lower register: Altar piled with fruit approached from either side by a large snake, the Agathos Daimon. Laurel shrubs between coils; above the left snake two figures in long garments, one holding a sistrum; vessels, including a bottle, behind left snake; traces of other figures above right snake.

Upper register: Twelve Gods painted in a row, with a laurel tree at each end:

a) Vesta in a green tunic and mantle with radiate crown, holding a long scepter and a patera and having her donkey by her side.

b) Diana in hunting garb with her spear, bow, quiver and dog(?).

c) Apollo in an abandoned pose with his red mantle falling off, leaning on his unsupported cithara.

d) Ceres in a long white tunic with a wreath of wheat in her hair, carrying a yellow torch.

e) Minerva in a red and green tunic, with helmet, spear and shield.

f) Jupiter, apparently beardless, nude but for the mantle over his left shoulder and forearm, with an oak wreath and a long scepter.

g) Juno, also with a long scepter, raising her right hand to her shoulder as if to touch a non-existent veil.

h) Beardless Vulcan in a red exomis and pileus, holding hammer and tongs.

i) Venus Pompeiana, fully draped with a modius on her head, holding a branch in her right hand, and resting her left hand with a scepter on a rudder.

j) Beardless Mars, wearing a cuirass over a short tunic, with helmet and shield.

k) Neptune, the only bearded god, nude but for a cloak draped on his left shoulder and forearm, holding his trident and stepping on a rock.

l) Mercury with winged petasus and feet, wearing chlamys and carrying moneybag and caduceus.

Date: Flavian (A.D. 70-79).

3. Painted medallions (D., 0.22 m.) found in a room with a yellow wall, south of Strada Consolare (Regio VI) in eighteenth century. Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. nos. 9518-21. Figures 82-85.

W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, 200, no. 1005 with earlier bibliography; H. Roux-L. Barré, *Herculaneum et Pompei, recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc. découverts jusque'à ce jour et reproduits d'après* Le Antichità di Ercolano, ... V, Paris 1862, 106-10, pls. 57-59; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures ...*, 334, 1-14, 17-18, 21-22; K. Schefold, *Wände Pompejis*, 161; EAA Suppl. 1960 (1975), fig. 621; P. Meyboom, in *Hommages Vermaseren* II, 786 and note 25, pl. CLXII (weekday gods); F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 58, 74, 173, 236 no. 11.

Each of the eighteen medallions extant has a divine bust set against a blue background within a yellow frame. Seven contiguous medallions have the planetary or weekday gods arranged in the order of the days of the week beginning with Saturn. The rest are preserved as separate square panels. Of these four depict the male Seasons, one the Genius Augusti (in toga with cornucopia and patera of fruit), one a personification of August(?). Bacchus and four Olympians in this context probably tutelae of months:

a) Diana, nude, holding bow (inv. no. 9521).

b) Jupiter, bearded, with scepter (inv. no. 9521; another Jupiter of similar type among the planetary gods on inv. no. 9518).

c) Venus, nude, wearing radiate crown (a mistake in iconography: this is the planetVenus who should be with the planetary gods, whereas the latter include the Olympian type, draped and wearing a diadem with Cupid peeking over her right shoulder).

d) Vulcan, wearing white pileus and carrying hammer (inv. no. 9520).

e) Bacchus, nude, with ivy wreath and thyrsos (inv. no. 9520).

Date: Flavian (A.D. 70-79).

Rome, Italy

1. Lectisternium. Representations of the Twelve Gods placed on couches for banquet. Lost.

Livy XXII.9-10; XL.59.7-8 = T 34. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 54-55; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 802-806 C 63-64; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 253; R. Schilling, *Religion romaine de Vénus* ... [= BEFAR 178], 206-209; J. Gagé, *Apollon romain* [= BEFAR 182], 168-79 especially on earlier lectisternia; G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 305, 476-77, 567-68; B. Combet-Farnoux, *Mercure romain* [= BEFAR 238], 328-33, 348-50, 394-95, 397-401.

Lectisternium of 217 B.C. an innovation after disaster at Lake Trasimene, designed to keep Rome safe from Hannibal. Repeated as late as reign of Marcus Aurelius. Couches set up in public for pairs of deities: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, Mercury and Ceres. Not stated whether or how gods were represented. In lectisternium of 179 B.C. deities may have been symbolized by their heads alone; in A.D. 79/80 by their attributes.

Date: 217 B.C. on.

2. Images of Twelve Gods carried in pompa circensis. Lost.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus VII.72.1-13; Ovid, *Amores* III.2.43-57; Dio Cassius XLVIII.31 = T 35. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 111-12; O.

Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 806-808 C 65; F. Bömer, *RE* 42 (1952), sv. *Pompa*, 1985; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 248-51; G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 572.

Despite traditional antiquity of custom, literary evidence relates to first century B.C. or thereafter. Portable statues placed on biers (fercula) and carried by four men from Capitolium through Forum to Circus Maximus and there set up for games. General appearance known from representations of similar processions as indicated in text. Twelve Gods not necessarily carried as a group because in 40 B.C. the statue of Neptune (usually one of the Twelve) could be singled out to be removed from the procession on account of his being commonly associated with Sextus Pompey. According to Dionysius, the multitude of deities included those known to the Greeks as the Twelve, i.e., Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, etc.

Date: Part of Ludi plebei which were established by 216 B.C. (Livy XXIII.30.17).

3. Forum, Portico of Di Consentes. Gilded bronze statues of the Twelve Gods. Lost. Figure 86 (Portico).

Varro I.1.4; *CIL* VI, no. 102 [= H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinea Selectae* II, no. 4003] = T 36. O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 801 C 58; 832-33 F 92. On the structural remains of the portico see especially M. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy*, 127; *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, 97, 100.

Di Consentes twelve in number, six male and six female, unnamed but almost certainly the twelve Olympians. Origin and date of statues unknown but exhibited in Forum Romanum in first century B.C. Extant portico dates from Flavian era, restored along with statues by Vettius Praetextatus in A.D. 367.

Date: First century B.C.-after A.D. 367.

4. Square marble base (H., 0.74 m., W. and Th., 0.74 m.) with frieze of Olympians. Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. no. 1961, presented by Benedict XIV in 1753. Figures 87-91.

Codex Pighianus f 14 b [= O Jahn, BLeipzig 20 (1868), no. 76]; Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings, British Museum I, folio 131 [= C. C. Vermeule, TAPS, N.S. 50 (1964) fasc. 5, no. 148, fig. 56]; H. Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 344, no. 4a, pl. 88; R. Herbig, RömMitt 42 (1927), 141, fig. 5; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, Critica d'Arte 7 (1942), 108, pl. 46, 5 on Ares; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 145, 166 no. 14, 168; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 104, 255 no. 4, pl. 53, 1.

Reliefs drawn in sixteenth century when all four faces were preserved; block subsequently split vertically, leaving one face intact with the adjacent two figures on the face to the left and part of a single figure on the face to the right. Originally three figures on each side enclosed by a mitered frame and standing on an irregular base moulding representing clouds (less probably rocky ground). Those figures known only from the drawings are marked with an asterisk.

Side A (totally lost).

a*) Zeus/Jupiter enthroned right with winged thunderbolt in right hand, long scepter in raised left.

b*) Hermes/Mercury in chlamys and winged petasus, holding kerykeion/caduceus. Left arm and legs omitted by Pighi.

c*) Goddess in peplos and scarf, hair knotted at nape, leaning on fluted colonnette with legs crossed. Aphrodite/Venus by elimination.

Side B (left figure lost).

d*) Youthful god in himation, leaning on tripod stand, probably originally Apollo with lyre (not drawn) resting on tripod but possibly Dionysos/Bacchus as Jahn.

e) Goddess enthroned right with himation drawn over head, holding long scepter in raised left hand. Possibly Leto/Latona in the company of Apollo and Artemis/Diana or Hestia/Vesta among the Olympians.

f) Artemis/Diana, dressed like c, resting left forearm on rectangular pillar (originally with bow?) and raising right hand to shoulder as if drawing an arrow from her quiver.

Side C.

g) Hephaistos/Vulcan, a young nude god with chlamys draped over upper arms and with a hole in his right hand, possibly for the attachment of a hammer, holding a long staff or spear in his left hand (drawn as torch).

h) Ares/Mars, similar in type but wearing helmet; chlamys draped over his lefth hand, extending his right to the staff or spear of Hephaistos/Vulcan.

i) Hera/Juno leaning on a pillar and touching her veil with her right hand.

Side D (mostly lost).

j) Poseidon/Neptune, nude, in profile rather than in three/quarters back view as drawn, holding trident in raised right hand (shaft only extant). The drawing shows a dolphin by his left leg, which is not preserved and for which, as for the left arm, there seems insufficient space.

k*) Athena/Minerva, standing right with round shield behind left leg, holding spear with left hand and wearing helmet and aegis. Snake in front.

l*) Demeter/Ceres, standing left, holding wheat in right hand; himation covering hair.

Date: 150-86 B.C. (Fuchs).

5. Square marble base with Birth of Zeus (H., 1.02 m., W. and Th., 0.88 m.). Rome Capitoline Museum, inv. no. 1944, presented by Benedict XIV in 1743 (formerly in Villa Savelli-Paolucci at Albano). Frontispiece.

H. Stuart Jones, *Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino*, 276-77, no. 3a, pl. 66; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, 927, pl. 7; E. Simon, in Helbig, *Führer*[4] II, 204-206, no. 1400 with additional bibliography; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 104, 244 no. 5, pl. 53, 2.

Single panel on each face surrounded by a frame as Rome 4, with clouds or rocky ground below the figures. On side A, the birth of Zeus(?) with Rhea lying on the ground; on side B, Rhea presenting the swaddled stone to Kronos enthroned; on side C, Rhea seated while two Corybantes clash sword and shield before infant Zeus. On side D, Zeus enthroned among the Olympians:

Foreground: bare right leg of Poseidon, apparently in water to left of rocky land; Hera in peplos, holding extraneous fold of drapery at left shoulder; Zeus, half-draped, enthroned with orb of universe between the legs of throne, holding long scepter in right hand and thunderbolt in left; Hermes, wearing petasos and chlamys, with moneybag in left hand and staff (of kerykeion?) on right shoulder.

Middle ground (half-length figures): Severe-style nude Apollo; Athena in Corinthian helmet, peplos and aegis; Artemis(?) in peplos, with hair knotted at back, hand at right shoulder as if drawing arrow from quiver; similar goddess without attribute overlapping right frame (Hestia?).

Background (heads only): Nose and chin of Ares facing right; Aphrodite with hair knotted at nape, facing left; Demeter(?) facing right; Hephaistos, bearded and wearing pilos.

Date: Hadrianic (A.D. 117-138).

6. Fragment of marble altar (pres. H., 0.81 m., pres. L., 0.75 m., pres. Th., 0.77 m.) found near Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Rome, Antiquarium Forense, inv. no. 3706. Figures 92-94.

E. Reisch, ÖJh 1 (1898), 83; F. Hauser, text to *EA* pl. 818; E. Lissi, RendLinc, series 8, 12 (1957), 50-57; I. Iacopi, *L'Antiquarium Forense*, 89, fig. 87; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 49, 104, 136, 245 no. 12, pl. 53, 4.

Upper part of half of rectangular covered altar with bracket in form of frontal eagle at upper corner. The extant deities are:

Side A, right end:

a) Mercury/Hermes advancing left wearing chlamys and petasos.

b) Venus/Aphrodite velificata, pulled along by Mercury/Hermes.

Side B (complete):

c) Archaistic Neptune/Poseidon, half-draped, with dolphin on his extended right hand, advancing left.

d) Goddess in peplos and himation, pulling up fold of himation(?) with right hand and holding long scepter, advancing left.

Side C (left end):

e) Archaistic Vulcan/Hephaistos, bearded and half-draped, holding double axe against right shoulder and seizing tail of Athen's garment with left hand.

f) Minerva/Athena advancing right in archaistic running stance, wearing helmet and chiton, with swallowtail scarf end by right elbow.

Date: Antonine, ca. A.D. 150-175.

7. Colosseum area. Fragment of Luna marble architectural frieze (H., 1.05 m., pres. W., 1.25 m.). Rome, Capitoline Museum, Braccio Nuovo (Museo Mussolini), inv. no. 1570. Figure 95.

D. Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, 62-64, no. 2, pl. 40, fig. 164; H. von Steuben in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, 488-89, no. 1703; M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, 79-80, fig. 314; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 106, 244 no. 1.

Top, left, and bottom edges of block preserved; ledge below figures. At the left edge part of a laurel tree suggesting the presence once of an adjacent block with Apollo. The extant deities are:

a) Winged Diana advancing left, wearing hunting boots and peplos drawn up above knees, drawing arrow from quiver with right hand and grasping bow with left.

b) Frontal standing goddess in peplos with himation over hair and left arm and also drawn across right side of body by left hand. Probably Juno or Vesta.

c) Separated from goddess by tree trunk, bare knee and lower leg of Vulcan advancing left with hammer in right hand.

Other blocks from this frieze belong to a Gigantomachy.

Date: Antonine (A.D. 160-192).

8. Ara Borghese, a marble candelabrum base (H., 1.80 m., bottom W., 1.38 m., top W., 0.98 m., H. of upper register, 0.59 m., base W. of upper register, 1.00 m.). Drawn (probably in Rome) ca. 1550; in Borghese collection as early as 1767; brought to Paris by Napoleon. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MA 672. Figures 96-98.

Codex Pighianus f. 292 a-b, 293 [= O. Jahn, BLeipzig 20 (1868), no. 93]; J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti inediti* (1767-1768) in *Sämtliche Werke* ed. J. Eiselein, Donauöschingen 1825, VII, 299-303, no. 15; E. Q. Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini*, 158-68, suppl. pls. a-c; C. de Clarac, *Catalogue*, 378; *Musée de sculpture* II, 170-82, pls. 172-74; W. Fröhner, *Notice sur la sculpture antique du ... Louvre* I, 3rd edition, 3-9, no. 1; F. Hauser, *Neuattischen Reliefs*, 54, no. 77; E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 58; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de statuaire* I, 65; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 799 B 54; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 1056, fig. 852; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 105, 246 no. 26, fig. 41.

Three-sided candelabrum base with two figural registers on each face: Side A. Charites or Graces below. In upper register:

a) Zeus, frontal, half-draped, with thunderbolt in lowered right hand.

b) Hera with long scepter, hand on veil.

c) Poseidon, half-draped, with trident in right hand.

d) Demeter with barley in right hand (drawing).

Side B. Three Horai or female Seasons below. In upper register:

e) Apollo in citharode costume with plektron in lowered right hand, kithara (drawing).

f) Artemis with bow in left hand. Right hand mistakenly shown raising drapery at right shoulder instead of drawing arrow from quiver.

g) Hephaistos facing right, wearing himation, with tongs in right hand. Drawing shows him bearded.

h) Athena frontal, wearing peplos and aegis, with shaft of spear by raised right arm.

Side C. Moirai or Fates below. In upper register:

i) Ares in muscle cuirass advancing right with spear and round shield.

j) Aphrodite facing left, in chiton and himation, holding dove on left hand.

k) Hermes, frontal, nude but for chlamys over left arm and shoulder, with wings on ankles and kerykeion.

l) Frontal draped goddess with long scepter, Hestia by elimination.

Date: Archaistic Neo-Attic, first century B.C.-second century after Christ.

9. Marble candelabrum base (H., 0.60 m., L., 0.60-0.68 m.) with summer month gods. In basement of Villa Pinciana in Rome 1767/1768; brought to Paris with other pieces in Borghese collection by Napoleon. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MA 610. Figures 99-101.

J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Inediti* (1767/1768), in *Sämtliche Werke* ed. J. Eiselein, Donauöschingen 1825, VII, 293-98, no. 11; E. Q. Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini*, 169-74, suppl. pls. d-f; C. de Clarac, *Catalogue*, 331; *Musée de sculpture* II, pl. 130, 20; W. Fröhner, *Notice sur la sculpture antique du ... Louvre*, 3rd edition, 24-28, no. 5, correcting Clarac on provenience; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de statuaire* I, 89, no. 21; 90, no. 80; (E. Michon), *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, 28; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* I, pl. III, 22; II, 252 no. 6.

Three-sided candelabrum base with a single deity on each face, mounted on a figure symbolizing a zodiac sign:

a) Neptune/Poseidon with horse and dolphin on left forearm riding on triton with attached crab legs and claws (Cancer), not Mercury.

b) Jupiter, bearded, with eagle, riding on centaur with leonine fringe at backs of forelegs and leonine tail and coiffure, equipped with panther skin over left shoulder and hare in right hand (Leo); star in upper left corner of background.

c) Draped goddess, originally with scarf billowing behind head (velificata), riding on girl in clinging drapery (Virgo). Venus or Diana in the guise of Luna.

Date: Roman Imperial, probably second century after Christ.

Sardis, Lydia, Turkey

1. Marble portrait head of priest (H., 0.17 m., W., 0.14 m.) from tomb at Manisa. Manisa Museum, inv. no. 2238. Figures 102-103.

J. Inan-E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, 165-66, no. 219, pl. 121, 3-4; G. M. A. Hanfmann-N. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis* [= Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 2], 100-101, no. 93.

Under-life-sized head of man wearing diadem with twelve attached busts, all apparently male, with tetrarchic beards, coiffures, and pillbox hats. Since the number is excessive for the tetrarchs and the heads are all alike, they might represent a native college of gods similar to the Lycian Twelve (cf. Komba).

Date: Tetrarchic (A.D. 293-305).

Tartus (Antaradus?), Lebanon

1. Bronze statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (H., 0.164 m.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 22267. Figures 104-105.

A. de Ridder, *Catalogue de la Collection de Clercq* III, 143-45, 252, nos. 218, 363, pls. XXXV-XXXVI; idem, MonPiot 12 (1905), 67-78, pl. VII; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de statuaire* IV, 12, 4; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, 574-76, fig. 443 a-b; Y. Hajjar, *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek* [= EPRO 59], 284-86, no. 233, pls. XC-XCI; idem in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* [= EPRO 93], 213-33.

Native Syrian god represented in Egyptianizing fashion with layered wig and miniature double crown, wrapped in shroud divided into fourteen panels, of which ten contain divine busts; two additional medallions on chest representing Sol and Luna with crescent. On the front of the shroud the remaining weekday gods in three registers:

a-b) Saturn veiled with sickle in field; Jupiter bearded with scepter in field.

c-d) Mars, helmetted with spear; Venus with diadem and scepter.
e) Mercury in winged petasus and chlamys.

On the back of shroud below an eagle with a thunderbolt and winged sun disk:

f-g) Neptune, bearded, with trident; Ceres, veiled, with scepter.
h-i) Minerva with helmet and spear; Diana with quiver behind shoulder.
j) Hercules, bearded, with lionskin and club.

Date: Roman Imperial.

TEGEA, ARKADIA, GREECE

1. Limestone multiple herm with six bearded male heads (H., 0.70 m., W., 0.75 m., Th., 0.20 m.). Tegea Museum inv. no. 216. Figure 106.

A. Arbanitopoulos, ArchEph (1906), 47-50; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *IG* V, 2, no. 72; S. G. Miller, CSCA 7 (1974), 249; V. Domazou, *Tegea*, Athens 1973, 55, no. 216; F. A. Cooper, Hesperia 44 (1975), 225 note 5.

Six jointed shafts, each topped by a male head with beard and shoulderlength wavy hair, possibly representing male half of a set of Twelve Gods.

Inscription: ἀνέθηκε.

Date: Late fourth-early third century B.C.

2. Limestone multiple herm with three deities preserved (H., 0.20 m., pres. L., 0.22 m., max. Th., 0.14 m). Tegea Museum, inv. no. 1293. Figure 107.

K. Rhomaios, ArchEph (1911), 156-59; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *IG* V, 2, no. 73; S. G. Miller, CSCA 7 (1974), 249.

Left edge preserved; right broken. Three joined shafts preserved out of at least four with heads of deities in high relief at top, now largely broken away. The deities named are:

a) ΖΕΥΣ Base of neck only, apparently frontal.
b) ΠΟΣΕΙ/ΔΑΝ Base of neck with long wavy locks to left.
c) ΔΑΜ(Α)/ΤΗΡ Base of neck with rounded mass to left.

Date: Third century B.C.

THASOS, GREECE

1. Sherds of Red-Figured cup by Epiktetos found in Artemiseion. See Athens 2.

THESSALONIKE, GREECE

1. Arch of Galerius. Panel of emperors enthroned (Laubscher B II 21, H., ca. 1.20 m.). In situ. Figure 108.

K. F. Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique,* Paris 1890; H. P. Laubscher, *Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* [= Archäologische Forschungen 1], 69-78, pls. 45, 1; 51; 58-60, 1; M. S. P. Rothman, ByzStud 2 (1975), 19-40; eadem, AJA 81 (1977), 427-54.

Panel carved in situ on threô blocks comprising entire width of pier, separated from panel above by moulding with foliate scroll pattern and from Victories below by torus moulding carved with laurel leaf fillet. Ledge beneath figures. Below, from left to right:

a) Oceanus, half-draped, reclining, with half-length nude goddess (Tethys according to Laubscher) beside him who holds a cornucopia symbolizing the bounty of the sea. Kneeling Province.

b) Bust of Caelus velificatus.

c) Bust of sky goddess velificata. Second Province.

d) Tellus or Gaia, a half-draped reclining goddess balancing Oceanus, with two putti.

Above, from left to right:

e) Isis, largely broken away but identified by her sistrum.

f) Virtus, helmetted and dressed like an Amazon, carrying a trophy and leading a horse (to be associated with emperor rather than with Dioscurus).

g) Dioscurus in pileus and chlamys.

h) Serapis in long tunic and cloak, with modius on top of head. In the center the four rulers: Constantius Chlorus in cuirass and paludamentum, receiving petition from kneeling Province; Diocletian enthroned above Caelus and crowned by two Victories; Maximian enthroned above sky goddess and crowned by one Victory; Galerius standing and dressed like Constantius Chlorus.

Beyond these:

i) Jupiter, half-draped.

j) Second Dioscurus.

k) Mars Victor in helmet and cuirass, carrying trophy and leading horse (of second emperor).

l) Fortuna in peplos and himation, holding cornucopia.

Date: A.D. 297 or shortly thereafter.

TIBUR/TIVOLI, ITALY

1. Marble relief cylinder (H., 0.835 m.) known as the Albani Puteal. Formerly in Medici collection in Villa on Pincio and conjectured by

Lanciani to have been found at Tivoli. Given by Duke Cosimo III (1670-1723) to Cardinal Albani; purchased by Clement XII in 1733 (1728, Vermeule) for Capitoline Museum. Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. no. 1019. Figures 109-14.

Codex Pighianus f. 294 [= O. Jahn, BLeipzig 20 (1868), no. 102]; Codex Berolinensus f. 53; Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings, Windsor 8303-8305 [= C. C. Vermeule, TAPS N.S. 50 (1960), fasc. 5, 18, figs. 41-43]; R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* II, 116; H. Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 106-109, pl. 29; E. Schmidt, *Archaistisches Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 25, no. 26; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 798-99 B 53, fig. 4; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 48 note 21, 179 C 1, no. 3; idem in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, 97-98, no. 1244.

Archaistic relief with procession of eight gods meeting procession of four. The longer procession from back to front consists of:

a) Venus in chiton and himation, carrying a flower.

b) Mars in muscle cuirass over short tunic, carrying Corinthian helmet and round shield.

c) Diana in chiton and himation, carrying bow.

d) Apollo, nude but for narrow scarf with swallowtail ends over his left shoulder, playing cithara.

e) Hercules wearing lionskin and carrying club and bow.

f) Minerva, in chiton and himation, carrying helmet and spear.

g) Juno with himation covering hair.

h) Jupiter leading procession, wearing himation, with thunderbolt in right hand and long scepter in left.

In the shorter procession from first to last:

i) Vulcan, nude, carrying double axe.

j) Neptune, nude but for scarf over arms with swallowtail ends, carrying trident and dolphin.

k) Mercury, also nude but for petasus, with caduceus and goat.

l) Goddess wearing chiton and himation and carrying a long scepter. Her proximity to Mercury suggests Vesta.

Date: Flavian-Hadrianic (A.D. 70-137, Fuchs).

2. Pair of marble candelabrum bases (H., 2.16 m., 2.02 m.) known as the Barberini Candelabra. Found in 1630 during excavation of the Villa of Hadrian. Rome, Vatican Museums, inv. nos. 551, 547, from Palazzo Barberini. Figures 115-20.

Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings, Windsor 8784-89 [= C. C. Vermeule, TAPS N.S. 50 (1960), fasc. 5, 55]; H. Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, 7, 152; W. Amelung, *Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II, nos. 412-13, pls. 60-61; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs* III, 395, 3, 5; 396; F. Hauser, *Neuattischen Reliefs*, 63-64, nos. 92-93, 151-54, 169; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 136 and notes 77-78; 181 e no. 13; idem in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, 108-109, no. 143; S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, 140-42, fig. 141; M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, 213-14, figs. 850-55.

Three-sided bases with a single standing deity on each face. On inv. no. 551:

a) Zeus of early classical type with thunderbolt and scepter.

b) Hera with scepter, standing on Ionic base like statue.

c) Hermes in three-quarters back view with chlamys draped about shoulders, petasos, holding tortoise in right hand, goat with left, standing on Ionic base.

On inv. no. 547:

d) Ares with chlamys draped about shoulders, in three-quarters back view, wearing helmet, with spear in left hand.

e) Athena, in three-quarters back view, wearing peplos, aegis, and helmet, with snake wrapped around body and drinking from patera in Athena's right hand. The goddess stands on a plinth.

f) Aphrodite in three-quarters frontal view, wearing peplos over chiton, with fluttering cloak resting on left shoulder, standing on plinth and holding flower in left hand.

Each base has one divine pair plus an extra deity, all Olympians. Though not identical, they were designed by the same artist (Bieber) and are sufficiently alike to have been used together. Originally there may have been four bases with all twelve Olympians, but there is no trace of the other two.

Date: Hadrianic (A.D. 117-138).

TUSCULUM, LATIUM, ITALY

1. Archaistic marble relief (H., 0.57 m., W., 0.64 m.) said to be from Roman villa. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 841. Figure 121.

F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 53, no. 37.

Slab complete, but dowel holes in edges show part of longer frieze, perhaps Twelve Gods (Poulsen). Three deities extant, all well-known Neo-Attic types, walking in procession to right:

a) Mars in muscle cuirass over knee-length chiton, wearing greaves, with swallowtail scarf over elbow, carrying helmet, spear, and round shield.

b) Goddess in chiton, with himation covering hair.

c) Neptune in himation, carrying dolphin(?) on right hand and probably originally with painted trident in left.

Date: Neo-Attic, probably Julio-Claudian (27 B.C.-A.D. 69).

VULCI, ETRURIA, ITALY

1. Attic Black-Figured kyathos from tomb. See Athens 1.

YAZILIKAYA, TURKEY

1-2. Hittite rock reliefs in natural rock clefts serving as sanctuary (H. of individual figures in Chamber A, 0.77-0.88 m., H. of those in Chamber B, 0.74-0.81 m.). In situ. Figures 122-123.

K. Bittel et al., *Yazilikaya*, Leipzig 1941; E. Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, 119, 120, pls. 75, 79, 80; K. Bittel, *Hattusha*, 101, 110, pls. 18, 24b; idem, *Bogazköy-Hattusha* IX, *Yazilikaya*, 125-28, nos. 1-12, pls. 12-13; 160-61, nos. 69-80, pls. 44-46; 252, 255; E. Masson, *Panthéon de Yazilikaya; nouvelles lectures*, Paris 1981, 33, nos. 1-12.

In Chamber A, where a procession of gods meets a procession of goddesses, they walk at the end of the male procession; in Chamber B they are shown in a separate panel, walking in procession. Twelve identical male deities, wearing pointed hats, kilts, and boots with turned-up toes, each carrying a sickle-shaped blade over his left shoulder.

Date: Before 1200 B.C. (Bittel).

UNKNOWN PROVENIENCE

1. Baltimore Twelve-Gods relief (pres. H., 0.38 m., L., 1.195 m., Th., 0.066 m.). Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 23.40. Figure 124.

E. Schmidt, text to BrBr pl. 660; idem, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 57; C. M. Havelock, AJA 68 (1964), 57 note 48; F. Brommer, *Der Gott Vulkan auf provinzial römischen Reliefs*, 49-52; idem, *Hephaistos*, 257, 258 no. 8; D. Willers, *Anfängen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland*, 31-32, 56-58; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 790-92 B 39, fig. 2.

Procession of Twelve Gods advancing right, arranged in pairs:

a-b) Goddess in chiton and himation with patera in right hand, lily in raised left, probably Vesta; Mercury wearing pileus and chlamys, carrying caduceus in lowered left hand.

c-d) Venus in chiton with himation covering hair, pulling skirt to side like a kore, with thumb and forefinger of right hand pressed together as if holding a flower; Mars in crested helmet, muscle cuirass over short, pleated chiton, narrow scarf with swallowtail ends over arms, carrying spear over right shoulder.

e-f) Ceres wearing stephane, peplos, and shawl covering hair and right shoulder, holding spray of wheat in right hand and long scepter with lily finial in left; Vulcan, bearded, nude but for narrow scarf with swallowtail ends over arms, with staff in left hand.

g-h) Goddess dressed like Ceres and similarly provided with long scepter but no distinguishing attribute, by elimination Juno but possibly consort of Neptune; Neptune, bearded, with chlamys draped over both shoulders, holding trident with elaborate prongs.

i-j) Minerva in crested helmet with visor, aegis and chiton, carrying spear against right shoulder; owl with wings spread perched on left forefinger; Jupiter, bearded, clad in himation, with thunderbolt in right hand and long scepter in left.

k-l) Diana in chiton and chlamys(!), with quiver behind right shoulder and bow in left hand; Apollo also seemingly in chlamys over chiton, playing cithara.

Date: Archaizing, most probably fifth century B.C. rather than archaistic (because of almond eyes).

2. Cairo naiskos of Kybele (stucco, H., 0.137 m., W., 0.095 m.). Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Greco-Roman collection, provisional inv. no. 26.6.20 no. 5. Figures 125-26.

K. Schauenburg, *Helios*, 21-22, fig. 8; C. Picard, MonPiot 49 (1957), 41-65, pl. 5; idem, RHR 151 (1957), 124-26; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 127, pl. 171.

Oblong tablet with façade of shrine in low relief, made by pressing matrix on stucco. Surface pitted; figures at edges clearer than those in center. Low Greek pediment with rampant lions on acanthus for corner acroteria, radiate head of Helios in center; Kouretes (helmetted figures with round shields and spears, long chitons) running up slope of roof; within pediment couchant lion and lioness facing indistinct central object; triglyph frieze supported by Ionic columns. Within shrine: Hermes Kadmilos standing, with kerykeion, chlamys, and petasos; Kybele wearing polos rather than mural crown, enthroned, with phiale in right hand and tympanon with Macedonian star in raised left, having seated lions beside the throne and a couchant lion beneath her feet; Hekate standing, wearing peplos, with quiver behind right shoulder, holding two torches. Below, in a framed panel forming the basement of the shrine, the Twelve Gods:

a-b) Artemis with left hand at shoulder (reversed image of Artemis drawing arrow from quiver?); Apollo in citharode costume holding kithara.

c-d) Athena with spear and round shield resting on ground; Dionysos (Schauenburg) or Hephaistos in himation with hammer(?) in raised left hand.

e) Standing god, nude but for chlamys over left arm, probably Hermes though no discernible attribute.

f-g) Seated deities, probably Hera with both hands raised and Zeus bearded with long scepter in raised right hand.

h-i) Persephone, draped, with twin torches, and Demeter, also draped, with wheat(?) in raised right hand.

j) Ares, nude, with spear and round shield resting on ground; the counterpart of Athena.

k-l) Two draped goddesses advancing left, the second holding an object which could be a mask or a bunch of grapes.

Date: Hellenistic (Ptolemaic, not later than third century B.C., Picard).

3. Cleveland Dodekatheon cylinder (marble, H., 0.80 m., original D., ca. 0.82 m.). Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 15.559 (formerly 348.15). Figure 127.

E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 24-25, pl. 10, 2; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 47, 126, 174 no. 4; M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 185-86, fig. 805.

Museum tradition that it was acquired by the Venetian collector G. Nani in Corfu unsubstantiated. Regarded by W. Fuchs as carved in Italy. One-sixth of original circumference preserved with parts of three figures, the equivalent of two complete figures with adjacent space; hence originally twelve figures. Three deities extant, walking left in procession:

a) Youthful, muscular god, nude but for chlamys over arms, holding short rod diagonally in front of chest, either Hephaistos with his hammer or Hermes with his kerykeion.

b) Archaistic Athena in chiton, with cloverleaf aegis on chest, holding helmet in left hand and spear in right.

c) Bare instep and long staff belonging to a third god, probably Zeus with scepter or Poseidon with trident.

Date: Neo-Attic, first century B.C.

4. Marble statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (H., 0.65 m.). Venice, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 67.

EA series IX (1920), no. 2154; B. Forlati, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia*, 35 no. 11; Y. Hajjar, *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek* [= EPRO 59], 415, no. 321, pl. CXXVII; idem in M. J. Vermaseren ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* [= EPRO 93], 219.

Surface worn, apparently from immersion in water, but shroud divided in front into panels containing eleven busts. Deities not identifiable. Possibly related in concept to Tartus 1.

Date: Roman Imperial.

5. Marble relief with procession of at least four deities (H., 0.565 m., W., 0.805 m.). Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College Museum, Jewett Arts Center, inv. no. 1907.66. Figure 128.

> H. Philippart, *Collection d'antiquités classiques aux États-Unis* [= Suppl. to Rev. Bruxelles, 1928], 49; C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture; Masterpieces in Public Collections in the United States and Canada*, 197, no. 163.

Part of vertical border preserved at left edge; protruding ledge at base. Archaistic deities walking right, alternately female and male. The extant figures from left to right are:

a) Diana/Artemis in short chiton to knees, carrying bow in right hand and raising left to draw arrow from quiver behind left shoulder.

b) Mercury/Hermes in three-quarters back view, with chlamys fastened on right shoulder and covering left arm and side, holding caduceus in raised right hand, wings on ankles.

c) Bare-headed goddess in peplos, holding flower in extended left hand, finial-like attribute on right palm. Venus or Ceres?

d) Bare right leg and chlamys of god, probably Mars/Ares.

Date: Neo-Attic, first century B.C. (Vermeule). Philippart doubted the authenticity. The piece does have peculiarities: The Mercury/Hermes could be derived from that on the Ara Albani, but the latter figure was originally bearded, as the drawing in the Codex Pighianus shows: O. Jahn, BerLeipzig 20 (1868), 193, no. 77, pl. V, 4. Diana/Artemis is reversed, but this could be done in antiquity. Without certain proof of forgery, I have elected to follow Vermeule.

FORGERY

1. Small bronze disk (D., 0.159 m.) formerly (1939) in collection of the Rev. Bernardino Nardi, Osimo, Italy. Figure 129.

> S. Ferri, BullMusImp 10 (1939), 39-40; H. G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, col. 625, no. 39 (a).

Said to be from Ephesos. Twelve divine heads with attributes arranged in circle around central bearded male head, all being in relief.

The order of the heads and of the attributes is the same as that on the top of Gabii 1 as it was restored in the late eighteenth century. I have determined that the original order of heads on Gabii 1 was different. Consequently this disk must be a modern adaptation of Gabii 1 as restored, not genuinely ancient. I have not been able to learn where it is now.

GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

ANATOLIA

Lycia

1. Xanthos. Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos (Lycian pillar-tomb). Lower part in situ; sculptures in British Museum in London, Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. Local limestone. H. of inscribed shaft, 4.04 m. W. at base 1.705 m. Th., 1.505 m. Two inscriptions in Lycian on all four faces plus twelve lines of Greek on the north face (c), lines 20-31.

Kalinka-Heberdey, *TAM* I, Vienna 1901, no. 44; F. W. König, *Stele von Xanthos* I, Vienna 1936, 79-81; Meiggs-Lewis, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969, no. 93; P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos* I; *Les piliers funéraires*, Paris 1958, 79-105, basic publication of monument; W. A. P. Childs, AnatSt 31 (1981), 62-72, recent scholarship on monument and current status of Lycian inscriptions; C. Deltour-Levie, *Les piliers funéraires de Lycie*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, 163-67.

ἐ]ξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην [’Α]σίας δίχα πόν[τ]ος ἔνεμ[ε]ν,
ο]ὐδείς πω Λυϰίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηϰ(ε)ν
δ]ώδεϰα θεοῖς ἀ v. 2 γορᾶς ἐν ϰαθαρῶι τεμένει,
..]εων ϰαὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον.
....]ις ὅδε ‘Αρπάγο υἱὸς ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα
χε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυϰίων τῶν τότ’ ἐν ἡλίϰιαι,
πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀϰροπόλεις σὺν ’Αθηναίαι πτολιπόρθωι
π]έρσας συνγενέσιν δῶϰε μέρος βασιλέας·
ὧν χάριν ἀθάνατοί οἱ ἀπεμν(ή)σαντο διϰαίαν.
ἑπτὰ δὲ ὁπλίτας ϰτεῖνεν ἐν ἡμέραι ’Αρϰάδας ἄνδρας,
Ζηνὶ δὲ π(λ)ε͂στα τροπαῖα β(ρ)οτῶν ἔ[στ]ησεν ἁπάν(τ)ων,
ϰαλλίστοις δ’ ἔργοις Κα[ρ]ίϰα γένος ἐστεφάνωσεν.

ca. 400 B.C.

[Ever since the sea divided Europe from Asia
None of the Lycians hitherto has dedicated such a monument (stele)
To the Twelve Gods of the Agora in (their) pure temenos,
... and this eternal memorial of war.
... is, son of Harpagos, best in wrestling of all the Lycians of his age,
Having sacked many citadels with Athena, Destroyer of Cities,
Gave his kinsmen the rank of king,
For which the immortal gods bestowed just favor on him.
He slew seven hoplites, men of Arkadia, in a day

And set up the most trophies to Zeus of all mortal men
And crowned the house of Kheriga[1] with the fairest deeds.]

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[1] See Chapter I, note 8.

Komba

See Komba 1-25.

EGYPT

2. Herodotus (ca. 485-ca. 425 B.C.), *Histories* (ed. C. Hude, 3rd edition, Oxford n.d.).

A. II.4.1-2. ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὡρέων ἐς αὐτόν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄστρων ἔλεγον.... Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὡρέων ἐς τὠυτὸ περιιὼν παραγίνεται. δυώδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῷα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλύψαι.

[As for all human activities, so they (the Egyptians) said, agreeing with themselves, the Egyptians first of all men discovered the year, dividing the twelve parts of the seasons into it. They said they found this out from the stars. ... Each year the Egyptians add to the twelve thirty-day months five days beyond the number, and for them the circle of the seasons as it passes comes around to the same point. They said that the Egyptians first recognized the eponyms of the Twelve Gods (for the months) and the Greeks borrowed from them, and that they also first assigned altars and images and temples for the gods and carved living beings in stone.]

B. II.43.1. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν. τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἴδασι οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι.

[Concerning Herakles I heard this story, that he was (one) of the Twelve Gods. Concerning the other Herakles, whom the Greeks know, I was unable to hear (anything, i.e., learn anything) anywhere in Egypt.]

C. II.43.4. ἀλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλέης· ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεά ἐστι ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι.

[But the Egyptians have an ancient god, Herakles. As they say, it was 17,000 years before the reign of Amasis when the Eight Gods produced the Twelve Gods, of whom they regard Herakles as one.]

D. II.46.1. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι.

[The Mendesians reckon Pan to be one of the Eight Gods and they say that these Eight Gods were born earlier than the Twelve Gods.]

E. II.82.1. καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἑκάστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐστί, ...

[And these other things are discoveries of the Egyptians: each month and each day belong to some one of the gods, ...]

F. II. 145.1. Ἐν Ἕλλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο.

[Among the Greeks, now, Herakles and Dionysos and Pan are considered to be the newest of the gods but with the Egyptians Pan is very ancient and (one) of the Eight Gods said to be the first, while Herakles is of the second set called the Twelve and Dionysos of the third, who were born from the Twelve Gods.]

3. Scholion on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* IV.257-62 c (ed. C. Wendel, Berlin 1935, 274 lines 17-18). Cf. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 822 E 82.

... τὰ μὲν ιβ´ ζῴδια θεοὺς βουλαίους προσηγόρευον, τοὺς δὲ πλάνητας ῥαβδοφόρους.

[... (the Egyptians) call the twelve zodiac signs councillor gods by name, and the planets attendants (literally, holding a magistrate's rod).]

4. Diospolis = Thebes

Scholion on Homer, *Iliad* A 425 (ed. H. Erbse, Berlin 1969, 121 lines 32-36).

R. Bömer, *RE* 42 (1952) sv. *Pompa*, no. 140. Cf. also Eustathius' comment on the passage: M. van der Walk, ed., *Eustathii ... Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes* I, Leiden 1971, 196 lines 22-28.

δωδεκάτῃ δὲ τοι αὖθις: φασὶν ἐν Διοσπόλει μέγιστον εἶναι Διὸς ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ λαμβάνοντας τὸ ξόανον Αἰθίοπας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγχωρίων θεῶν κατά τινα χρόνον περινοστεῖν τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύας καὶ πολυτελεῖς ποιεῖν πανηγύρεις ἐπι δώδεκα ἡμέρας, ὅτι καὶ τοσοῦτοι οἱ θεοί.

[On the twelfth day again: They say that in Diospolis there is a very large temple of Zeus, from which the Ethiopians take the wooden image along with those of the other native gods at a certain time and go about the area of Libya and hold lavish festivities for twelve days, because the gods too are the same number.]

5. Herakleopolis

Papyrus. Complaint by Ptolemaios son of Glaukios against Argeios to Ptolemy (VI) and Cleopatra (II). Vatican Gr. 2303 verso = Vat. F.

U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* I, Berlin 1927, no. 16; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 822 E 82.

καὶ
Σοὶ δὲ ἡ Ἶσις καὶ ὁ Σάραπις [[θ]] οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ οἱ ἐν
Ἡρακλέους πόλει δῴησαν κυριεύ[ειν] πάσης
χώρας ἧς ὁ Ἥλιος ἐφορᾶι καὶ τοῖς τέκν[οι]ς ὑμῶν
διὰ παντός. [[εὐτυχεῖν]]
156 B.C.

[May Isis and Sarapis and the Twelve Gods in Herakleopolis grant to you (Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II) to rule the whole land which Helios gazes upon and to your children forever [[to enjoy good fortune]].]

MESOPOTAMIA

6. Diodorus Siculus (1st century B.C.), *Bibliotheca Historia* (ed. F. Vogel, I, Leipzig 1908).

II.30.7. (The Chaldaeans) τῶν θεῶν δὲ τούτων κυρίους εἶναί φασι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἑκάστῳ μῆνα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ζῳδίων ἓν προσνέμουσι.

[(The Chaldaeans) say that the chief of these gods are twelve in number, to each of whom they assign a month and one of the twelve so-called zodiac signs.]

GREECE
(Cults attested before 27 B.C.)

ASIA MINOR

Ionia

7. Magnesia on the Maeander. Decree concerning the cult of Zeus Sosipolis, inscribed on anta of Temple of Zeus Sosipolis.

O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin 1900 reprinted 1960, no. 98; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, no. 32, with additional bibliography.

... δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι
δήμωι· τὸν στεφανηφόρον τὸν ἀεὶ γινόμενον μετὰ τοῦ ἱέ-
ρεω καὶ τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λευκοφρυην(ῆ)ς ἐξά-
[γ]ειν τὴμ πομπὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῆι δω-
δεκάτηι καὶ θύειν τὸν ταῦρον τὸν ἀναδεικνύμενον,
συμπομπεύειν δὲ τήν τε γερουσίαν καὶ τοὺς
ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούς τε χειροτονητοὺς καὶ
τούς κληρωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους καὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ
τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς τὰ Λευκοφρυηνὰ νικῶντας καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς νικῶντας τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας·
ὁ δὲ στεφανηφόρος ἄγων τὴν πομπὴν φερέτω ξόα-
να πάντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ὡς καλλίσ-
ταις καὶ πηγνύτω θόλον ἐν τῆι αγορᾶι πρὸς τῶι βωμῶι
τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, στρωνύτω δὲ καὶ στρωμνὰς τρεῖς ὡς
καλλίστας, παρεχέτω δὲ καὶ ἀκροάματα, αὐλητήν, συρι-
στήν, κιθαριστήν· παριστανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκονόμοι ἐν
τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Ἀρτεμισιῶνι τῆι δωδεκάτηι ἱερεῖα τρία,
[ἃ] θύσουσι τῶι τε Διὶ τῶι Σωσιπόλει καὶ τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι
[τ]ῆι Λευκοφρυηνῆι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι, τῶι μὲν
[Διὶ] κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον, τῆι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, τῶι δὲ Ἀπόλλ[ω]-
νι ἀττηγόν, θύοντες τῶι μὲν Διὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διό[ς]
τοῦ Σωσιπόλιος, τῆι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τ[οῦ]
βωμοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· ...
... τὸ δὲ
[ψ]ήφισ[μα τόδε] εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν [τῆς πόλεως].

197/196 B.C.

[... Decree of the Boule and Demos. The stephanephoros at any time with the priest and priestess of Artemis Leukophryene is to lead the procession (*pompe*) on the twelfth day of the month of Artemision and to sacrifice the designated bull. Also to march are the Gerousia, the priests, the elected archons and those chosen by lot, the ephebes and the young men and the boys, the victors in the Leukophryena (games in honor of Artemis Leukophryene) and the other victors with wreaths. Let the stephanephoros leading the procession bring wooden images of all the Twelve Gods in the finest dress possible and let him construct a tholos in the agora by the altar of the Twelve Gods and prepare three couches in the finest possible way, and let him also furnish entertainment, a flutist, piper and citharode. And let the stewards present on the twelfth day of Artemision three victims which they shall sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis and Artemis Leukophryene and Apollo Pythios: to Zeus a ram of the best quality, to Artemis a nanny goat, and to Apollo a billy goat, sacrificing to Zeus on the Altar of Zeus Sosipolis, to Artemis and Apollo on the Altar of Artemis. ... This decree is for the protection (of the city).]

Aeolis

8. Achaion Limen

Strabo (64/63 B.C.-A.D. 21 or later), *Geography* (ed. H. L. Jones, VI, London-Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

XIII.3.5 (622) ..., εἶτ' Ἀχαιῶν λιμήν, ὅπου οἱ βωμοὶ τῶν δώδεϰα θεῶν, ...

[Then the Harbor of the Achaians where the altars of the Twelve Gods are.]

9. Elaia/Pergamon

Inscription honoring Attalos III of Pergamon (138-133 B.C.). Found near Elaia but thought to be from Pergamon.

M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* I, Berlin 1890, no. 246; W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* I, Leipzig 1903, no. 332; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 793 B 45; J. Hopp, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden* [= Vestigia 25], Munich 1977, 111-12. Provenience: Wilhelm, ÖJh 17 (1914) 18; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 66 and REG 81 (1968) 503-504, no. 441; G. E. Bean, Belleten 21 (1965) 586-88.

... ὁ δῆμος βασιλέα Ἄτταλον Φιλομήτορα ϰαὶ Εὐεργέτην θεοῦ βασ[ιλέ]|ως Εὐμένου Σωτῆρος ἀρετῆς ἕνεϰεν ϰαὶ φρονήσεως τῆς συναυξούσης τὰ πρά[γμα]τα ϰαὶ μεγαλομερείας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν'. ὅταν δὲ παραγίνηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, [στε]|φανηφορῆσαι πάντα ἕϰαστον στεφανηφόρον τῶν Δώδεϰα Θεῶν ϰαὶ θεοῦ βα|σιλέως Εὐμένου, ϰαὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ϰαὶ τὰς ἱερε[ί]ας ἀνοίξαντας τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν θε|ῶν ϰαὶ ἐπιθύοντας τὸν λιβανωτὸν εὔχε[σ]θαι νῦν τε ϰαὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον | διδόναι βασιλεῖ Ἀττάλωι Φιλομήτορι ϰαὶ Εὐεργέτηι ὑγίειαν σωτηρίαν νίϰην | ϰράτος ϰαὶ [ἐπὶ γῆ]ς ϰα[ὶ ϰατὰ] θά[λατταν] ϰ[α]ὶ ἄρχοντι ϰαὶ ἀμυνομένωι, καὶ τὴν βα|σιλείαν αὐτοῦ διαμ(έ)ν[ε]ιν [εἰς] τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα ἀβλαβῆ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφα|λείας. ...

138/135 B.C.

[... The Demos to King Attalos Philometer Euergetes son of the divine king Eumenes Soter because of his virtue and concern for building up his realm and his munificence toward his subjects. Whenever he arrives in our city, the stephanephoros of the Twelve Gods and of the royal god Eumenes, the priests, and the priestesses are to wear a crown, each and every one, opening the temples of the gods and burning frankincense to pray to the gods now and forever to give King Attalos Philometer Euergetes health, safety, victory, power both in ruling and in defending himself, both on land and at sea, and to preserve his kingdom forever unharmed in all security.]

Troas

10. Mount Lekton

Strabo, *Geography* (ed. W. Leaf, Cambridge 1923).

XIII.1.48 (605). ... ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεκτῷ βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν δείκνυται, καλοῦσι δ' 'Αγαμέμνονος ἵδρυμα· ...

[... On Mount Lekton an altar of the Twelve Gods is shown, and they call it a foundation of Agamemnon. ...]

BITHYNIA/THRACE

11. Hieron of the Bosphoros

A. Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century B.C.), *Argonautica* (ed. G. W. Mooney, London 1912).

II.531-33. ἐκ δὲ τόθεν μακάρεσσι δυώδεκα δωμήσαντες
βωμὸν ἁλὸς ῥηγμῖνι πέρην καὶ ἐφ' ἱερὰ θέντες,
νῆα θοὴν εἴσβαινον ἐρεσσέμεν. ...

[From there, having built to the Twelve blessed (Gods)
An altar on the opposite shore of the sea and placing offerings on it,
They embarked in the swift ship and rowed. ...]

B. Scholion on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* II.531-32 (ed. C. Wendel, Berlin 1935, p. 172; F. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, Berlin 1923, no. 31, frag. 47; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 840 L 103).

βωμὸν ἁλὸς ῥηγμῖνι πέρην: ἐν δὲ τῷ πέραν, φησίν, αἰγιαλῷ τῆς 'Ασίας, διαπλεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν, βωμὸν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἐδομήσαντο. φανερὸν οὖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἱερόν ἐστιν οὕτω καλούμενον ἐν τῷ πέραν τῆς Εὐρώπης τῆς Ἀσιάδος. Τιμοσθένης[1] δέ φησι τοὺς μὲν Φρίξου παῖδας βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀργοναύτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. Ἡρόδωρος[2] δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ φησι τεθυκέναι τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας, ἐφ᾽ οὗ Ἄργος ὁ Φρίξου ἐπανιὼν ἐτεθύκει. εἰσι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ οὗτοι· Ζεύς, Ποσειδῶν, Ἅιδης, Ἑρμῆς, Ἥφαιστος, Ἀπόλλων, Δημήτηρ, Ἥρα, Ἑστία, Ἄρτεμις, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.[3]

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[1] Fl. 270-240 B.C. E. A. Wagner, *Die Erdbeschreibung des Timosthenes*, Ph. D. dissertation, Leipzig 1888, 69 frag. 28.

[2] Fl. ca. 400 B.C. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, no. 31, frag. 47 with notes pp. 507-508.

[3] List reconstructed by Wendel. Ms. L omits Hera and substitutes Ares for Artemis; Ms. P gives the Olympians paired male and female.

[Altar on the opposite shore of the sea: On that (shore) opposite, he says, to the shore of Asia, sailing across to it, they built an altar to the Twelve Gods. It is clear, therefore, that it is in Europe. Indeed even up to now there is a so-called Hieron on the European shore opposite the Asiatic. Timosthenes (fl. 270-240 B.C.) says that the sons of Phrixos founded an altar of the Twelve Gods and the Argonauts one of Poseidon. But Herodorus (fl. ca. 400 B.C.) says that the Argonauts sacrificed on the altar on which Argos son of Phrixos had sacrificed as he was returning. These are the Twelve Gods: Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hermes, Hephaistos, Apollo, Demeter, Hera, Hestia, Artemis, Aphrodite and Athena.]

C. Polybius (ca. 203?-ca. 120 B.C.), *Universal History* (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Leipzig 1889, vol. 2).

IV.39.5-6 (365). ἄρχει δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος τὸ κατὰ Καλχηδόνα διάστημα καὶ Βυζάντιον, ὁ δεκατεττάρων ἐστὶ σταδίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ καλούμενον Ἱερόν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τόπου φασὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἀνακομιδὴν Ἰάσονα θῦσαι πρῶτον τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς· ὁ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ δώδεκα στάδια πρὸς τὸ καταντικρὺ κείμενον Σαραπιεῖον τῆς Θρᾴκης.

[From the mouth of the Propontis the distance to Kalchedon and Byzantion is fourteen stades from the so-called Hieron of Pontos where they say Jason first sacrificed to the Twelve Gods on his return from Kolchis. This is situated on the shore of Asia twelve stades from the Sarapeion of Thrace which lies opposite on the European (side).]

D. Inscription concerning the priesthood of the Twelve Gods. Marble stele with pediment formerly in the Mordtmann Collection, Istanbul, found in the area of Anadolu Kavak. Chalcidian dialect.

E. Curtius, Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie (1877), 474-76; F. Hiller von Gaertringen in W. Dittenberger, ed., *SIG*, 3rd edition, III, Leipzig 1920, no. 1010; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, no. 2 with additional bibliography.

Νικομάχου τοῦ ΘΥ [---]
[Τύχαι ’Αγα]θᾶι. ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ἱερωτε[ίαν]
[τῶν θεῶ]ν τῶν δυώδεκα ἱερωτευσεῖ ἐ[πὶ]
[ζωᾶς λ]αζόμενος τῶν θυομένων πάν[των]
[τὰ] δέρματα καὶ τὰς κωλέας, ὅσα καὶ τ[οὶ]
[θια]σῶται θύωντι τοῖς δυώδεκα θεοῖς ἐν τ[ῶι]
[κοι]νῶι τῶι Νικομαχείωι. ποταγόντω δὲ τ[οὶ..]
[...το]ὶ ἑκαστάκι γινόμενοι τὰ ἱερεῖα ἃ κα [δέηι]
[θυσιὰ]ζειν ποτὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῶν θε[ῶν]
[τῶν] δυώδεκα καὶ ποιούντω τὰν θυσίαν
[καὶ τὰν σπονδά]ν, αἰ δέ κα [μ]ὴ ποτάγ[ωντι - -]

3rd century B.C.

[To Nikomachos son of Thy ...
Good Fortune. Whoever purchases the priesthood of the Twelve Gods shall be priest for life, taking the hides and the hindquarters of all sacrificed (animals), as many as the members sacrifice to the Twelve Gods in the association of Nikomachos. Let them supply ... each time the offerings which it is suitable to sacrifice at the altar of the Twelve Gods and make the sacrifice and the drink offering, but let them not supply ...]

E. Dionysius Byzantinus (2nd century after Christ), *Anaplus* (ed. R. Güngerich, Berlin 1927, 27).

75. Post, *inquit D.*, Scletrinam existunt Milton promontorium, ... et Fanum, cunctum contra frontem Fani Asiatici situm; aiunt hic Iasonem litasse duodecim diis. haec Fana sunt oppidula iuxta Ponti ostium posita; est etiam templum deae Phrygiae, sacrum illustre et publice cultum.[1]

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[1] Latin paraphrase made by Petrus Gillius from MS which he had in 16th century.

[Dionysius says) that after Scletrina there are the Milton promontory and the Hieron, all situated directly opposite the Asiatic Hieron; they say that here Jason sacrificed to the Twelve Gods. These Hiera are villages located by the mouth of Pontos; there is also a temple of the Phrygian Goddess, a notable shrine and with a public cult.]

F. Nicephorus Xanthopulus (14th century after Christ), *Ecclesiae Historia* VIII.55: See T 56 D.

Greece proper, Peloponnesus

Argolis

Epidauros.
See Epidauros 1.

Arcadia

12.Thelpousa

Pausanias (mid 2nd century after Christ), *Graeciae Descriptio* (ed. M. H. Rocha-Pereira, II, Leipzig 1977).

VIII.25.3. ... ἔστι δὲ ἐν Θελπούσῃ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν τῶν δώδεκα· τούτου τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἔδαφος ἔκειτο ἤδη.

[... In Thelpousa there is a temple of Asklepios and a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods. Most of this already lay on the ground (i.e., in ruins).]

Elis

13. Olympia

A. Pindar (518-438 B.C.), *Odes* (ed. B. Snell, Leipzig 1955).

Olympia V.1-7. Ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν
τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ, Ὠκεανοῦ θύγατερ, καρδίᾳ γελανεῖ
ἀκαμαντόποδός τ᾽ ἀπήνας δέκευ Ψαύμιός τε δῶρα·
ὃς τὰν σὰν πόλιν αὔξων, Καμάρινα, λαοτρόφον,
βωμοὺς ἓξ διδύμους ἐγέραρεν ἑορταῖς θεῶν μεγίσταις
ὑπὸ βουθυσίαις ἀέθλων τε πεμπαμέροις ἁμίλλαις,
ἵπποις ἡμιόνοις τε μοναμπυκίᾳ τε. ...

452 B.C.

[Daughter of Ocean, receive with smiling heart the sweet flower of high deeds of valor and wreaths from Olympia for the unwearied mule chariot and receive the gifts of Psaumis.

Raising up your city, Kamarina, the nourisher of people, he has honored the six twin altars in the supreme festivals of the gods with bull sacrifices and five-day contests, with teams of horses and mules and single horse races.]

B. Scholia on Pindar, *Olympia* V.10 (ed. A. B. Drachmann, Leipzig 1903, 141-42).

10a. βωμοὺς ἕξ: ἀφ᾽ ἱστορίας τοῦτο εἴληφεν· ἱστορεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἓξ βωμῶν Ἡρόδωρος[1] γραμματικός· ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμώνυμον τὴν χώραν ἔθετο. ἔθηκε δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόθι καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς βωμοὺς ἓξ τῷ ἀριθμῷ σύμβολον τῶν ιβʹ θεῶν, καὶ πρῶτον τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ᾧ σύμβωμον ἐποίησε τὸν

Ποσειδῶνα· δεύτερον Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς· τρίτον Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· τέταρτον Χαρίτων καὶ Διονύσου· πέμπτον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ · ἕκτον Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας. καὶ ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦγον τὴν ἑορτὴν βουθυσίας ποιοῦντες καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελοῦντες.

[1] Ca. 400 B.C. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, Berlin 1923, no. 31, frag. 34 a.

[Six altars: He took this from history. For Herodorus the Grammarian recounts concerning the six altars: Coming into Elis (Herakles) founded the sanctuary in Olympia of Olympian Zeus and made Olympia the district homonymous with the god. He set up here for him and for the other gods altars, six in number, a token of the Twelve Gods, and first that of Zeus Olympios whose colleague he made Poseidon; the second of Hera and Athena, the third of Hermes and Apollo; the fourth of the Charites and Dionysos; the fifth of Artemis and Alpheios; the sixth of Kronos and Rhea. And for five days they conducted the festival making bull sacrifices and carrying out contests.

10b. βωμοὺς ἕξ: Ἡρόδωρός[1] φησι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἱδρύσασθαι δώδεκα θεῶν ἀγάλματα, συμβώμους δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἓξ βωμοὺς κατασκευάσαντα. c. ἄλλως· Ὀλυμπίασι βωμοί εἰσιν ἓξ δίδυμοι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀνιδρυμένοι, ἑνὸς ἑκάστου βωμοῦ δύο θεοῖς καθωσιωμένου· πρῶτος Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· δεύτερος Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς· τρίτος Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· τέταρτος Χαρίτων καὶ Διονύσου· πέμπτος Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ· ἕκτος Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας· ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδωρος.

[1] Ca. 400 B.C. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, Berlin 1923, no. 31, frag. 34 b.

[Six altars: Herodorus says that Herakles set up in Olympia images of the Twelve Gods, and made them share six altars. c. Otherwise: At Olympia there are six twin altars founded for the Twelve Gods, each single altar dedicated to two gods. The first is of Zeus and Poseidon; the second of Hera and Athena; the third of Hermes and Apollo; the fourth of the Charites and Dionysos; the fifth of Artemis and Alpheios; the sixth of Kronos and Rhea. So Herodorus says.]

C. Pindar (518-438 B.C.), *Odes* (ed. B. Snell, Leipzig 1955).

Olympia X.43-50. ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐν Πίσᾳ ἔλσαις ὅλου τε στρατόν
λᾴαν τε πᾶσαν Διὸς ἄλκιμος
υἱὸς σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος πατρὶ μεγίστῳ·
περὶ δὲ πάξαις Ἄλτιν ὅγ᾽ ἐν καθαρῷ
διέκρινε, τὸ δὲ κυκλῳ πέδον
ἔθηκε δόρπου λύσιν,
τιμάσαις πόρον Ἀλφεοῦ

μετὰ δώδεκ’ ἀνάκτων θεῶν· καὶ πάγον
Κρόνου προσεφθέγξατο· ...

Ca. 470 B.C.

[Then, having collected the whole army and all the booty in Pisa, the strong son of Zeus (Herakles) measured the holy grove for his supreme father. Having established the Altis on a pure site, he set it apart, and he made the plain round about a place for eating, having honored the Alpheios ford with the twelve sovereign gods, and he named the hill Kronos’.]

D. Scholia on Pindar, *Olympia* X.58 (ed. A. B. Drachmann, Leipzig 1903, I, 325-26).

58a. τιμάσαις πόρον ’Αλφεοῦ: πρώτῳ τῷ ’Αλφειῷ ἔθυσεν ⟨ὡς⟩ ἐγχωρίῳ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν τιμᾶται. ...

58b. τιμάσαις πόρον ’Αλφεοῦ μετὰ δώδεκ’ ἀνάκτων θεῶν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταριθμεῖται τοῖς ιβ´ θεοῖς. ...

[a. Having honored the Alpheios ford: He sacrificed to Alpheios first (as) a native god, for he is honored with the Twelve Gods.
b. Having honored the Alpheios ford with the twelve sovereign gods: For he himself also is numbered among the 12 gods.]

O. Weinreich mentions a late scholion on *Olympia* 11.61 (sic!) which relates the Dodekatheon to the Kronion: *Zwölfgötter* 782 B 21 (end). As Weinreich observes, the term Dodekatheon is late. It was not used for the fourth-century sanctuary at Thelpousa (T 12, pace Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 838 K 101), nor those on Delos (T 26) and Kos (T 29) before the second century B.C. The epigraphical references from Hierapytna (T 30) also are dated to the second century B.C. The one double altar located by Pausanias (T 13 F), that of Dionysos and the Charites, was near the Pelopeion and so in the middle of the Altis. It appears from Pausanias’ list that the six double altars were no longer regarded as a group dedicated to the Twelve Gods and hence that they probably did not stand together within a distinct temenos. Certainly, as Weinreich concludes, they were not situated on the Hill of Kronos.

The altars were also mentioned by Hermeias in his commentary on Plato’s *Phaedrus* (T 19 A).

E. Apollodorus (2nd century B.C.), *Bibliotheca* (trans. J. G. Frazer, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1921).

II.7.2.(141). (Herakles) ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα, Πέλοπός τε βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο, καὶ θεῶν δώδεκα βωμοὺς ἓξ[1] ἐδείματο.

[1] Conjecture accepted by Heyne, Bekker, Hircher, Wagner, Frazer. ἑξῆς: Ms. A, Westermann.

[(Herakles) also established the Olympic games, and founded the altar of Pelops and built six(?) altars of the Twelve Gods.]

F. Pausanias (mid 2nd century after Christ), *Graeciae descriptio* (ed. M. H. Rocha-Pereira, II, Leipzig 1977).

V.14.4, 6, 8, 10. Φέρε δή, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τοὺς βωμούς· ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῆι ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἥντινα Ἠλεῖοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. ... τρίτα δὲ [- - -] ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ[1] καὶ αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία. ... 6. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατειλεγμένους Ἀλφειῶι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ. ... 8. ... μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῶι, διότι Ἑρμῆν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ εὑρέτην εἶναι κιθάρας Ἑλλήνων ἐστιν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος. ... 10. ... πρὸς δὲ τῶι τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῶι, ...

[1] Dindorf first noted a lacuna here. It is usually filled with the names of one or more of the pairs of deities listed by Herodorus (see T 13 B). Buttmann's conjecture, supplying only Zeus Laoitas and Poseidon Laoitas from V.24.1, which was accepted by W. H. S. Jones-H. A. Ormerod (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, II, London-New York, 1926 460), is the most likely.

V.24.1. Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαοίτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαοίτα ⟨δὲ⟩[2], παρὰ τούτων τὸν βωμὸν Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ βάθρου δῶρον μὲν τοῦ Κορινθίων δήμου, ...

[2] Omitted by some manuscripts.

[Come then, as we have made mention of the greatest altar, we shall also go through the altars in Olympia *in toto.* My account will proceed in the order in which the Eleans are accustomed to sacrifice on the altars.
... and third (- - -) upon one altar this sacrifice also is established. ... 6. and after those mentioned they sacrifice to Alpheios and Artemis on one altar. ... 8. ... and after this is an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common because the story among the Greeks concerning these is that Hermes was inventor of the lyre and Apollo of the kithara. ... 10. ... By the temenos of Pelops there is (an altar) of Dionysos and the Charites in common, ...
(Pausanias V.24.1)
By the altar of Zeus Laoitas and Poseidon Laoitas is a Zeus on a bronze base, a gift of the people of Corinth.]

G. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (*Homeric Hymns*, ed. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, E. E. Sikes, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1936, no. IV).

126-29. ... αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων εἰρύσατο πίονα ἔργα
λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας
κληροπαλεῖς· τέλεον δὲ γὲρας προσέθηκεν ἑκάστῃ.

[And then
Hermes joyful of heart drew the fat work (animals)
On a smooth flat stone and cut twelve portions,
Casting lots; and he added a perfect gift to each.]

GREECE PROPER, ATTICA

Athens

14. Altar of the Twelve Gods. Situated in Agora to east of Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and south of Panathenaic Way.

A. Thucydides (5th century B.C.), *History* (Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* [= Athenian Agora 3], Princeton, N.J., 1957, T368).

VI.54.6-7. καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοὔνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοὐπίγραμμα· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱὸς
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

Archonship of Peisistratos the Younger 522/521 B.C.

[Others of them began the annual archonship for the Athenians, among them Peisistratos the son of the tyrant Hippios, named for his grandfather, who dedicated the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora as archon and that of Apollo in the Pythion. The one in the Agora was later lengthened by the Athenian people, concealing the dedication of the altar. The dedication of the one in the Pythion is clear even now in faint letters reading thus:

This memorial of his archonship Peisistratos son of Hippios
dedicated in the temenos of Pythian Apollo.]

B. Herodotus (ca. 485-ca. 425 B.C.), *Histories* (Wycherley, T364, T365).

II.7.1. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἔς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου.

VI.108.4. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευσαν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἱρὰ ποιεύντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι ἱκέται ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς.

[There is a road to Heliopolis from the sea, close in length to the road from Athens leading from the Altar of the Twelve Gods to Pisa and to the Temple of Zeus Olympios.

(Herodotus VI.108.4)

Now the Lakedaimonians gave this advice to the Plataians, and they did not reject it but, when the Athenians were making sacrifice to the Twelve Gods, sat as suppliants upon the altar and gave themselves (to the gods).]

C. Lykourgos (4th century B.C.), *Leokrates* (Wycherley, T366).

93. τίς γὰρ οὐ μέμνηται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν νεωτέρων οὐκ ἀκήκοε Καλλίστρατον, οὗ θάνατον ἡ πόλις κατέγνω, τοῦτον φυγόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἀθήναζε τεύξεται τῶν νόμων, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καταφυγόντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθανόντα;

Ca. 355 B.C.

[For who among the older men does not recall or who of the younger men has not heard of Kallistratos? Condemned to death by the city, he fled. When he learned from the god in Delphi that, if he came to Athens, he would encounter the laws, he arrived and fled for refuge to the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Nonetheless he died at the hands of the city.]

D. Diodorus Siculus (1st century B.C.), *Bibliotheca* (Wycherley, T363).

XII.39.1. τῶν δὲ συνεργασαμένων τῷ Φειδίᾳ τινὲς διενεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ Περικλέους ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν θεῶν βωμόν.[1]

[Some of the co-workers of Pheidias, at odds with the enemies of Perikles, sat on the altar of the gods.]

E. Plutarch (ca. A.D. 46-after A.D. 120), *Nikias* (Wycherley, T367).

13.2. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προῦπτα καὶ καταφανῆ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἥ τε τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπὴ μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἑνὸς ὃν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγηίδος φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότ' οὔσης Ἀνδοκίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ τις ἐξαίφνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἶτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον.

415 B.C.

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[1] Wycherley takes this as a reference to the Altar of the Twelve Gods. See his commentary on the text and suggested emendations by other scholars.

[Nor did the fact that the omens were visible and unconcealed turn them aside, the mutilation of the herms one night when all had their extremities cut off except one which they call the herm of Andokides, a dedication of the tribe Aegeis set in front of what was then the house of Andokides, and what happened about the Altar of the Twelve Gods. For some man suddenly leaping up on it then bestrode it and castrated himself with a stone.]

F. Ps. Plutarch, *Vitae X Oratorum* (*Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* ed. G. N. Bernardski, V, Leipzig 1893; Wycherley; *Testimonia*, T 698, 559).

847 A. κεῖται δ' ἡ εἰκὼν (of Demosthenes) πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυεύκτου πεποιημένη. ... D. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ... αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος αἰτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ Δημοχάρους· ...

280/279 B.C.

[The statue (of Demosthenes) made by Polyeuktos is set near the roped-off area and the Altar of the Twelve Gods. ... Later the Athenians, ... after he died, in the archonship of Gorgias dedicated the statue in the Agora, when his nephew Demochares demanded the gifts for him.]

G. Dedication by Leagros. Base of Pentelic marble found beside west foundation of peribolos wall of Altar of Twelve Gods. Agora I 1597.

Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 378 with bibliography.

[Λ]έαγρος ⁝ ἀνέθεκεν ⁝ Γλαύκονος
δόδεκα θεοῖσιν.

490/480 B.C.

[Leagros son of Glaukon dedicated (this) to the Twelve Gods.]

H. Accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 429/428 B.C. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, inv. no. 5767.

IG I^2 ed. by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin 1924, no. 310 line 64; SEG 10 (1949), no. 225; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 370; *IG* I^3 ed. D. Lewis, Berlin 1981, no. 383 line 327.

Δόδεκα Θε]οῖς: XX

429/428 B.C.

[(To the Twelve G)ods: 20]

I. Milestone found near outer gate to Acropolis.

IG II/III^2, 2, 2, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1931, no. 2640; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 374.

[ἡ πόλις] ἔστ[η]σ[έν με β]ροτ[οῖς] μνημεῖον ἀληθὲς
  [πᾶσιν] σημαίνε[ιν μέ]τ[ρον] ὁδοιπορίας·
[ἔστιν γὰρ τ]ὸ μεταχσὺ θεῶμ πρὸς δώδεκα βωμὸν
  [πέντ' ἐπὶ?] τεσσαράκοντ' ἐγ λιμένος στάδιοι.
  5th century B.C.

[(The city) set (me), a true record (for all) men,
to indicate (the length) of the journey.
The distance to the Altar of the Twelve Gods
from the harbor (is five and?) forty stades.]

J. Dedication by an athletic victor. Found on Salamis near the harbor; possibly from Athens.

IG I^2 ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin 1924, no. 829; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T371.

[- -] Σ Ḳαλαίσχρο [- -]
[τ]οῖ(ς) δόδεκα θεοῖ[ς][1]
[νῖ]και
HIσθμοῖ
Νεμέαι
HIσθμοῖ
Νεμέαι

2nd half of 5th century B.C.

[———s, son of Kalaischros, to the Twelve Gods.
Victories: at the Isthmus, at Nemea, at the Isthmus, at Nemea.]

K. Dedication by an Athenian trierarch (naval commander). Athens, Epigraphical Museum, no. 10380.

IG II/III^2, 3, 1 ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1935, no. 4564; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T376.

Φῖλιππος 'Ιασιδήμο Κολωνῆθεν ἀνέθηκ[ε]
τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ τῆι 'Αγαθῆι Τύχηι.
  Ca. 370 B.C.

[Philippos, son of Iasidemos, of the deme Kolone dedicated (this)
to the Twelve Gods and Good Fortune.]

L. Right half of dedicatory base now in Roman Agora, Athens.

S. N. Koumanoudes, Polemon 6 (1957), sym. 26-27, fig. 9; SEG 16 (1959), no. 172.

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[1] A. E. Raubitschek reads [τ]οῖ δοδεκαθέοι: Hesperia 8 (1939), 157. However the term Dodekatheon is not used elsewhere until the second century B.C. Cf. T 26 A 4. Delos, T 29 A 3. Kos; T 30 A. Hierapytna.

[- -] PIKO
[- -]εὺς
[δώδεκα θ]εοῖς
[- - ἐπο]ίησεν.
Mid 4th century B.C.

[... RIKO ... -eus ... (to the Twelve G)ods. ... made (it).]

15. Painting(s) by Euphranor in Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios
See also Athens 4.
A. Pausanias (mid 2nd century after Christ), *Graeciae Descriptio* (ed. M. H. Rocha-Pereira, I, Leipzig 1973).

I.3.3-4. στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς (τοὺς) δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶι τοίχωι τῶι πέραν Θησεύς ἐστι γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Θησέα εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίοις ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύσθαι· ... Ἐνταῦθα ἐστι γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἳ βοηθήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν. ... ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραφεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῶι ναῶι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶιον ἐπίκλησιν· ...

[In back is built a stoa having paintings: the gods called the Twelve; on the opposite wall Theseus is painted and Democracy and Demos. The painting shows that Theseus is the one who ordained equal government for the Athenians. ... Here there is also painted the deed of the Athenians about Mantineia (the battle of Mantineia) where they were sent to help the Lakedaimonians. ... These paintings were painted by Euphranor for the Athenians, and nearby in the shrine he made the Apollo called Patroos.]

B. Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23/24-79), *Natural History* (trans. H. Rackham, IX, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1952).

XXXV.40.129. opera eius (i.e., Euphranor) sunt equestre proelium, XII dei, Theseus, in quod dixit eundem apud Parrhasium rosa pastum esse, suum vero carne.

[His (Euphranor's) works are a cavalry battle, 12 Gods, Theseus, about which he said the same subject by Parrhasios was nourished on roses but his on meat.]

C. Valerius Maximus (1st century after Christ), *Factorum ac Dictorum Memorabilium Libri* IX (ed. K. F. Kempf, 2nd edition, Leipzig 1888 reprinted 1966).

VIII.11.5. Ceterum natura, quem ad modum saepe numero aemulam virium suarum artem esse patitur. ita aliquando inritam fesso labore dimittit, quod summi artificis Euphranoris manus senserunt. nam cum Athenis XII deos pingeret, Neptuni imaginem quam poterat excellentissimis maiestatis coloribus complexus est, perinde ac Iovis aliquanto angustiorem repraesentaturus. ...

[But Nature, as I often recount, lets Art rival her strength. Thus she sometimes dismisses her, baffled by weary labor, which the hands of the very great craftsman Euphranor felt. For, when he was painting the 12 Gods in Athens, he enveloped the figure of Neptune with the finest colors of majesty as if he would portray Jupiter as somewhat baser.]

D. Lucian (2nd century after Christ), *Imagines* (*Opera*, ed. G. Dindorf, Paris 1840; ed. C. Jacobitz, Leipzig 1901; ed. M. D. Macleod, II, Oxford 1974).

7. ... καὶ δὴ παρακεκλήσθω Πολύγνωτος καὶ Εὐφράνωρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Ἀετίων· οὗτοι δὲ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὁ μὲν Εὐφράνωρ χρωσάτω τὴν κόμην οἵαν τῆς Ἥρας ἔγραφεν, ...

[Let Polygnotos be summoned and that noted Euphranor and Apelles and Aetion. Let these divide the work and let Euphranor color the hair as he painted that of Hera, ...]

E. Dio Chrysostom (ca. A.D. 40-after 112), *Orationes* (ed. G. de Budé, Leipzig, 1919, II, 36).

XXXVII.43. ... (τί γὰρ ἐκώλυε μέγαν εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα; τί γὰρ ἀρτίπουν, ὥσπερ τὸν Εὐφράνορος Ἥφαιστον;)[1]

[1] Connected with Euphranor's painting(s) of the Twelve Gods by O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, Leiden, 1980, 57. The context, however, suggests a statue rather than a painting.

[... (For what would hinder the statue's being large? Or sound of foot like the Hephaistos of Euphranor?)]

F. Eustathius (12th century after Christ), *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. M. H. van der Valk, I, Leiden 1971, p. 223, 7-12).

145.11-15. Φέρεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἱστορία, ὅτι Εὐφράνωρ Ἀθήνησι γράφων τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς καὶ ἀπορῶν πρὸς οἷον ἀρχέτυπον γράφει τὸν Δία παρήει ἐν διδασκάλου καὶ ἀκούσας τῶν ἐπῶν τούτων "ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἔφη ὡς ἤδη ἔχει τὸ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀπιὼν ἔγραφεν. οἱ δέ φασιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δύο στίχων ὁρμηθεὶς Φειδίας ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐποίησε τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δία οὕτω χαμπτόμενον.[1]

[1] This anecdote seems to contradict the observation made by Valerius Maximus and is of little historical value.

[There is a story that Euphranor, when he was painting the Twelve Gods in Athens and was at a loss concerning which prototype he should use for the Zeus, was by a school and, when he heard the words "ambrosial locks" etc., said that now he had the prototype and went away and painted. But some say that Pheidias the sculptor starting from these two lines so made the Zeus in Olympia relenting (to the request of Thetis).]

16. Association with the State

A. Xenophon (ca. 430-ca. 354 B.C.), *Hipparchicus* (*Opuscula* ed. E. C. Marchant, Oxford n.d.).

3.2. Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἴομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ [περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ][1] περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες. ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ...

[1] Deleted by Herwerden. The dance is to be performed by the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora.

[Now I think processions would most gratify the gods and the spectators if, as many sanctuaries and images as there are in the Agora, beginning from the Herms, they should go in a circle around these, honoring the gods. And in the Dionysia, the dancers gratify both the other gods and the Twelve by dancing. And when, having gone around, they are by the Herms again, ...]

B. Plato (ca. 429-347 B.C.), *Laws* (*Opera* ed. J. Burnet, V, 1, Oxford 1907 reprinted 1937).

745 D-E. νείμασθαι δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας δώδεκα μέρη, τὴν τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας εἰς ἴσα ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ δώδεκα μέρη συνταξάμενον, ἀπογραφῆς πάντων γενομένης· καὶ δὴ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δώδεκα θεοῖς δώδεκα κλήρους θέντας, ἐπονομάσαι καὶ καθιερῶσαι τὸ λαχὸν μέρος ἑκάστῳ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ φυλὴν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάσαι.

828 B-D. ... ὁ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἐρεῖ δώδεκα μὲν ἑορτὰς εἶναι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς, ὧν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ ἑκάστη ἐπώνυμος ᾖ, θύοντας τούτων ἑκάστοις ἔμμηνα ἱερά, χορούς τε καὶ ἀγῶνας μουσικούς, τοὺς δὲ γυμνικούς, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον προσνέμοντας τοῖς θεοῖς τε αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ὥραις ἑκάσταις, γυναικείας τε ἑορτάς, ὅσαις χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν προσήκει καὶ ὅσαις μή, διανέμοντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσους αὖ θεοὺς οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτοις ἑπομένων οὐ συμμεικτέον ἀλλὰ χωριστέον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλούτωνος μηνὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδόντας, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς

ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον ὡς ὄντα ἀεὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἄριστον· κοινωνία γὰρ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι διαλύσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ᾗ κρεῖττον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν σπουδῇ λέγων.

[Suppose then that the men are apportioned in twelve parts, as equally as possible with respect to their other property, of all of which an account has been made. Then suppose after this that the twelve divisions made are named for the Twelve Gods, and they dedicate the assigned division to each god and name it a tribe.]

[For it will be the law for there to be twelve festivals for the Twelve Gods for whom each tribe is named, making monthly sacrifices to each of these, dances and musical contests and gymnastic, according to what is fitting to honor the gods themselves and suitable for each season, and women's festivals arranging what is fitting for those apart from men and those not apart. Besides this the (cult) of the chthonic deities as well as the supernal, as it should be called, and the accessories of these must not be confused but separated, in the twelfth month of Plouton offering according to the law, and it should not be repugnant for military men (to worship) such a god but he must be honored as being always best for the race of men. For the union of soul and body is not better than the loosing, as I would say in all seriousness.]

C. Decree about the sale of public property in Lemnos. Found on the Athenian acropolis. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, no. 1241.

IG II/III^2, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1913, no. 30; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 372. For another fragment from the same decree see B. C. Meritt, Hesperia 37 (1968) 266-67, no. 2.

- - καὶ τοῖ[ς] δώδεκα θεοῖς ἐ[ὰν συνενέγκηι Ἀθηναίοις - -]
[θυσίαν ποιήσε]σθαι καθότι ἂν τῶι [δ]ήμ[ωι δοκῆι - -]
386/385 B.C.

[... and to the Twelve Gods i(f it is expedient for the Athenians) (there shall be made sacrifices) just as (seems best) to the Demos ...]

D. Treaty between the Athenians and the Arcadians, Achaians, Eleans and Phliasians. Fragment A found on south slope of acropolis between Theater of Dionysos and Odeion of Herodes Attikos. Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1481.

IG II/III^2, 1, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1913, no. 112; H. Bengtson, ed., *Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, Munich-Berlin 1962, no. 290; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 373.

... εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸγ κήρυκα αὐτίκα μ-
άλα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀλυμπίωι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιά-
δι καὶ τῆι Δήμητρι καὶ τῆι Κόρηι καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα [θ]-

εοῖς καὶ ταῖς Σεμναῖς θεαῖς, ἐὰν συνενείγκηι Ἀ[θη]-
ναίων τῶι δήμωι τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχία[ς, θυ]-
[σί]αν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσεσθα[ι] τελουμένων [τούτω]-
[ν κα]θότι ἀν τῶι δήμωι δοκῆι. ...

Archonship of Molon, 362/361 B.C.

[... The herald shall at once pray especially to Zeus Olympios and Athena Polias and Demeter and Kore and the Twelve Gods and the Semnai, if the Athenian Demos assents to the opinions concerning the alliance, and he shall make sacrifice and solemn procession when these are accomplished just as seems best to the Demos.]

E. Decree sending cleruchs to Potidaia. Fragment A found on Athenian acropolis, now in National Museum, inv. no. 850.

IG II/III^2, 2, 1, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1913, no. 114; M. N. Tod, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, Oxford 1948, no. 146; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, p. 121.

... e[ὔ]ξ[ασθαι μὲν] τὸ[ν κήρυκα α]-
[ὐ]τίκα μάλα τοῖς δώδεκα θ[εοῖς καὶ ταῖς Σεμναις θεα]-
[ῖ]ς καὶ τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ, ἐὰν σ[υνενέγκηι Ἀθηναίοις πέμψ]-
[α]σι τοὺς κληρούχους ἐς Ποτ[είδαιαν, καθὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγ]-
[έλλουσ]ι οἱ ἥκοντε[ς δημοσίαι παρὰ τῶν ἐκκ Ποτειδα]-
[ίας, θυσίαν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσθαι, ...]

Archonship of Molon, 362/361 B.C.

[... Then the herald is at once to pray especially to the Twelve Gods and the Semnai and Herakles, if the Athenians assent to send the cleruchs to Potidaia according as those coming officially from Potidaia report to them, and he is to make sacrifice and solemn procession, ...]

F. Dedication by the Boule. Base of Eleusinian marble, reused in Roman period. Found in barracks outside city.

IG II/III^2, 3, 1, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1935, no. 2790; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 375.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνέ-
θηκεν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς στεφανωθεῖσα
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνε-
κα καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

Archonship of Agathokles, 357/356 B.C.

[The Council in the archonship of Agathokles dedicated (this) to the Twelve Gods after they were honored by the Athenian Demos for their virtue and justice.]

See also 27. Imbros.

G. Aelius Aristides (A.D. 117 or 129-189), *Oratio III* [= XLVI Dindorf], *On the Four* (*Opera quae exstant omnia* ed. C. A. Behr, I, 3, Leiden 1978).

1. Plato on condemnation [= *Opera* ed. W. Dindorf II, Leipzig 1829, p. 328, incorrectly cited by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 835 H 96, as p. 323].
452. ... ταχύ γ' ἂν εἰ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἔσχεν εἰκάσαι τοὺς καταγνόντας, ἀπέσχετ' ἀν τῶν ἁλόντων τὸ μὴ οὐ κακῶς εἰπεῖν.

[Perhaps, if he had been able to liken the condemners to the Twelve Gods, he would have refrained from defaming those who were convicted.]

2. The character of Alkibiades [= *Opera* ed. W. Dindorf II, p. 369 lines 5-10, incorrectly cited by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 781 B 17 and 835 H 96, as p. 389].
575. ἔπειτα πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐγίγνονθ' οἱ λόγοι μὴ ὅτι Περικλέους ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὑπερφρονήσαντα, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ὥσθ' ὅ γε Αἰσχίνης[1] φησὶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι κἂν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἥδιστα ἐπετίμησεν.

[1] Ca. 390-after 330 B.C.

Composed A.D. 161-165 (C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristeides and the Sacred Tales*, 129).

[Then there were stories regarding the man (Alkibiades), to say nothing of his having lightly scoffed at Perikles, such that Aischines says about him, that he would have found fault with the Twelve Gods with the greatest pleasure.]

H. Philip II (?) and Alexander as the Thirteenth God.

1. Apsines (3rd century after Christ), *Ars Rhetorica* (*Rhetores Graeci* ed. L. Spengel I, Leipzig 1853, 333-34, 2nd edition by C. Hammer, 1894, 221).
... ἔγραφεν ὁ Δημάδης τρισκαιδέκατον θεὸν νομίζειν τὸν Φίλιππον· ἀντειπὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἡττήθη· καὶ γράφει καὶ νεὼν ἱδρύσασθαι Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.
338 B.C. if historical; more probably a confusion with Demades' proposal that Alexander be honored as the Thirteenth God in 324 B.C.

[Demades moved that they consider Philip the Thirteenth God; Demosthenes who spoke against it lost; and he also moved that they dedicate a temple to Philip and other such things.]

2. Aelian (ca. A.D. 170-235), *Varia Historia* (ed. R. Hercher, Leipzig 1866).

5.12. Οὐ δύναμαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὴ οὐ φιλεῖν ταῦτα. ἐκκλησίας οὔσης Ἀθηναίοις παρελθὼν ὁ Δημάδης ἐψηφίσατο θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τρισκαιδέκατον. τῆς δὲ ἀσεβείας ὁ δῆμος τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μὴ ἐνεγκών, ζημίαν ἐτιμήσαντο τῷ Δημάδη ταλάντων ἐκατόν, ὅτι θνητὸν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὄντα ἐνέγραφε τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις.
324 B.C.

[I am unable not to approve these (actions) of the Athenians. When the Ekklesia was in session, Demades going before the Athenians voted that Alexander be the Thirteenth God. The Demos, not enduring the excess of the impiety, fined Demades 100 talents because he enrolled Alexander, who was mortal, among the Olympians.]

3. Athenaeus (fl. ca. A.D. 200), *Dipnosophistarum* (ed. G. Kaibel, II, Leipzig 1887, 60).
VI.251 B. ... Θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πῶς τοῦτον μὲν ἄκριτον εἴασαν, Δημάδην δὲ δέκα ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν, ὅτι θεὸν εἰσαγήσατο Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ Τιμαγόραν δ' ἀπέκτειναν, ὅτι πρεσβεύων ὡς βασιλέα προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν.
324 B.C. For the debate see K. M. T. Atkinson, Athenaeum 51 (1973) 310-17.

[But I wonder at the Athenians, how they left this man not put on trial but fined Demades ten talents because he introduced Alexander as a god and they killed Timagoras because on an embassy (to Alexander) he prostrated himself before him as king (of Persia).]

I. Inscription on seat in Theater of Dionysos.

IG II/III^2, 3, 1, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1935, no. 5065; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T377; M. Maass, *Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen*, Munich 1972, 132, pl. XVIII.

ἱερέως δώδεκα θεῶν.
2nd century after Christ.

[Of the priest of the Twelve Gods.]

17. Attic Comedy, Chiefly Oaths by the Twelve Gods
A. Aristophanes (ca. 450-ca. 385 B.C.), *Equites* (*Aristophane* ed. V. Coulon, trans. H. Van Daele, I, Paris 1923).
235-236.

Παφλαγών. Οὗτοι μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς χαιρήσετον,
ὁτιὴ 'πὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυνόμνυτον πάλαι.

424 B.C.

[Paphlagonian: By the Twelve Gods you two shall not rejoice
because you have conspired for a long time against the
Demos.]

——, *Aves* (*Aristophane* ed. V. Coulon, trans. H. Van Daele, III, Paris 1946).

95-96.

Ἔποψ. Τίνες εἰσί μ' οἱ ζητοῦντες;
Εὐελπίδης. Οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ
εἴξασιν ἐπιτρῖψαί σε.

414 B.C.

[Hoopoe: Who are looking for me?
Euelpides: The Twelve Gods seem to have afflicted you.]

Scholia on *Aves* 95 (*Scholia Aristophanica* ed. W. G. Rutherford, I, London 1896, p. 436).

οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ κ.τ.λ.: δύναται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔποπος λέγειν "οὗτοι ζητοῦσίν σε ἐπιτρῖψαι διὰ τὴν ὄψιν," δύναται δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν λέγειν "ἐοίκασιν οὗτοι ἡμᾶς ἐπιτετριφέναι ὧδε ἐλθόντας".
οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ κ.τ.λ.: ἐκφοβεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ προσωπεῖον.

[The Twelve Gods etc.: Possibly he says about the hoopoe, "These seek to afflict you because of your appearance," or possibly about themselves, "They seem to have afflicted us coming thus."
The Twelve Gods etc.: For his mask frightens them.]

——, *Pythagoristes* (*CAF*, ed. T. Kock, II, Leipzig 1884, 280, frag. 11).
1-9.

εἶτ' οὐ δικαίως ἔστ' ἀπεψηφισμένος
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν δώδεκ' εἰκότως τ' Ἔρως;
ἐτάραττε κἀκείνους γὰρ ἐμβάλλων στάσεις,
ὅτ' ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν· ὡς δὲ λίαν ἦν θρασὺς
καὶ σοβαρός, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερά,
ἵνα μὴ πέτηται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,
δεῦρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδευσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς κάτω,
τὰς δὲ πτέρυγας ἃς εἶχε τῇ Νίκῃ φορεῖν
ἔδοσαν, περιφανὲς σκῦλον ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

[Is it not then justly that Eros was condemned
By the Twelve Gods and fittingly?
For he disturbed them, inspiring quarrels,
When he was among them; because he was too bold
And insolent, they cut off his wings,

So that he might not fly back to heaven,
and sent him hither into exile to us down below,
And the wings which he had they gave to Nike
To wear, manifest spoils of war.]

B. Amphis (mid-4th century B.C.), *Gynaikokrateia* (*CAF*, ed. T. Kock, II, Leipzig 1884, 238, frag. 9).

1-5. ἤδη ποτ' ἤκουσας βίον
ἀληλεμένον; B. ναί· τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἐστὶν σαφῶς·
ἄμητες, οἶνος ἡδύς, ᾠά, σησαμαῖ,
μύρον, στέφανος, αὐλητρίς. A. ὦ Διοσχόρω,
ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν διελήλυθας.

[First speaker: Did you ever yet hear of a livelihood's having been ground up?
Second speaker: Yes, this is plainly so in the familiar case: cakes, sweet wine, eggs, sesame, perfume, wreath, flute-girl.
First speaker: Dioskouroi, you have run through the names of the Twelve Gods.]

C. Menander (342/341-291/290 B.C.), *Samia* (*Menandri Aspis et Samia*, ed. C. Austin, 2 vols., Berlin 1969-1970).

305-307. (ΔΗ.) ἄκουε δὴ νῦν, Παρμέν[ων·
ἐγὼ σε μαστιγοῦν, μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεού[ς,
οὐ βούλομαι διὰ πολλά.

Ca. 310 B.C. (C. Dedoussi, in *Ménandre*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 16, Geneva 1969, 160).

[Demeas: Listen now, Parmenon. I don't wish to whip you, by the Twelve Gods, for many reasons.]

——, *Kolax* (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*, ed. C. Austin, Berlin-New York 1973, no. 163).

132-33 (from P. Oxy. 409).

....]..τι[.]αρα πωλῶ; μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα [θε]ούς,
οὐ ..] όμ[ε]νο[ς] διὰ τοῦτον....

[What, then, am I selling? By the Twelve Gods not ...
because of him ...]

Menander to Glycera, Imaginary Letter by Alciphron (2nd century after Christ), (*Letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus*, trans. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1949).

IV.18.8. πλεῖν μὲν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπιέναι μακρὰν οὕτως καὶ ἀπῳκισμένην βασιλείαν οὖσαν, μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς, οὐδὲ ἐνθυμοῦμαι.[1]

[Sail and go away to Egypt, so far and distant a kingdom, by the Twelve Gods, I don't even think of it.]

D. Anonymous Comic Fragment (*CAF*, ed. T. Kock, III, Leipzig 1888, 478, no. 369).
ἅ γ' εἴ τις εἰς τὸ φῶς ἄγοι, σάφ' ἴσθι, τῶν
δώδεκα θεῶν δέοιντ' ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

[If anyone can bring these things to light, know well, they would need the Twelve Gods for protection.]

E. Fragment from New Comedy (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*, ed. C. Austin, Berlin-New York 1973, no. 259 = P. Oxy. 677).
8-9.]ε̣ρος· εἰ νεῖμαι μ[
μὰ τ]οὺς δώδεκα θε[ούς, ...

[... -eros; if I distribute ... by the Twelve Gods ...]

18. The Twelve as Judges
See also 13 G; 17 A, *Pythagoristes*.
A. Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.), *Kat' Aristokratous* (*Demosthenis Orationes* ed. C. Fuhr and I. Sykutris, II, 1, Leipzig 1937, 202-203).
23.66. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὰ παλαιά, ὡς ἡμιν ἀκούειν παραδέδοται, ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δίκας φόνου θεοὶ καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἠξίωσαν καὶ δικασταὶ γενέσθαι διενεχθεῖσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς λόγος· λαβεῖν μὲν Ποσειδῶν ὑπὲρ Ἁλιρροθίου τοῦ υἱοῦ παρ' Ἄρεως, δικάσαι δ' Εὐμενίσιν καὶ Ὀρέστῃ οἱ δώδεκα θεοί.
352 B.C.

[Moreover in antiquity, as tradition has passed down to us, in this one court (the Areiopagos) the gods deemed it worthy to give and to receive justice and to become jurors in each others' quarrels, as the story goes; Poseidon to punish Ares for his son Halirrothios and the Twelve Gods to judge between the Eumenides and Orestes.]

B. Callimachus (ca. 305-ca. 240 B.C.), *Hecale* (Callimachus, *Aetia - Iambi - Lyric Poems - Hecale - Minor Epic and Elegiac Poems - and other Fragments*, text, translation and notes by C. A. Trypanis; Musaeus, *Hero*

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[1] Based on the report that Menander was invited to come to Egypt by Ptolemy II Soter. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* VII.30.31.

and Leander, introduction, text and notes by T. Gelzer, translation by C. Whitman, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1975 fragment 260).

24-27.

τουτάκι δ’ ἡ μὲν ἑῆς ἔρυμα χθονὸς ὄφρα βάλοιτο,[1]
τὴν ῥα νέον ψήφῳ τε Διὸς δυοκαίδεκα τ’ ἄλλων
ἀθανάτων ὄφιός τε κατέλλαβε μαρτυρίῃσιν,
Πελλήνην ἐφίκανειν ’Αχαιίδα· ...

[1] The subject is Athena.

[Then she (Athena) so that she might found a safeguard for her land
Which just lately by vote of Zeus and the rest of the Twelve Immortals
She had taken possession of by the evidence of the snake,
Visited Achaian Pellene.]

C. Apollodorus (2nd century B.C.), *Bibliotheca* (trans. J. G. Frazer, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1921).

III.14.1-2. γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ ὡς εἶπόν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναόν, οὐδε ’Ερυσίχθονα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. ... Ποσειδῶνος δὲ (εἰσάγοντος)[1] ἐν ’Αρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ῎Αρης καὶ ἀπολύεται.

[1] Emended by Scaliger.

[When both quarreled about the land, Zeus settled it and gave as judges not Kekrops and Kranaos, as some say, nor Erysichthon but the Twelve Gods. ... When Poseidon brought suit in the Areiopagos it was decided with the Twelve Gods judging, and Ares was acquitted.]

D. Ovid (43 B.C.-A.D. 17?), *Metamorphoses* (ed. W. S. Anderson, Norman, Oklahoma, 1972).

VI.70-82.

Cecropia Pallas scopulum Mavortis in arce
Pingit et antiquam de terrae nomine litem.
Bis sex caelestes medio Iove sedibus altis
Augusta gravitate sedent; sua quemque deorum
Inscribit facies: Iovis est regalis imago;
Stare deum pelagi longoque ferire tridente
Aspera saxa facit medioque e vulnere saxi
Exiluisse fretum, quo pignore vindicet urbem;
At sibi dat clipeum, dat acutae cuspidis hastam,
Dat galeam capiti; defenditur aegide pectus,
Percussamque sua simulat de cuspide terram
Edere cum bacis fetum canentis olivae,
Mirarique deos; operis Victoria finis.

[Cecropian Pallas (Athena) depicted the crag of Mars on the citadel
and the ancient contest about the name for the land.
Twice six celestial gods with Jupiter in the center, sit on lofty seats
In reverend dignity; each of the gods
Is identified by his appearance: the figure of Jupiter is regal
The god of the sea she makes standing and striking with his long trident
The rough stone and out of the wound in the stone
A spring gushed out, by which pledge he claims the city;
But she gives herself a shield and a spear with sharp point
And a helmet on her head; her chest is protected by the aegis.
And she shows the land struck by her point
Produce as offspring the olive gray with fruit,
And the gods marvel; the end of her work is victory.]

E. Scholion on Aelius Aristeides, *Panathenaikos* 108, 7 (*Aristeides Opera* ed. G. Dindorf, Leipzig 1829, III, p. 67).

ἑτέρα δὲ γίνεται κρίσις ὕστερον μικτὴ τοῦς ἀγωνισταῖς: τὴν τοῦ Ὀρέστου καὶ Ἐριννύων δίκην δώδεκά φασι θεοὺς δικάσαι, οὐ παρούσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἓξ ψήφους θεῖναι δικαιώσεως ταῖς Ἐριννύσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἓξ τῷ Ὀρέστῃ· ἐλθούσης γοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ συμψηφισαμένης τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν ψήφων γενομένων πλειόνων τῇ ὑπεροχῇ, νικᾷ ὁ Ὀρέστης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς θνητὸν θεοῖς ἐξισοῦσθαι.

[Later there was another judgement with parties of mixed status: that of Orestes and the Erinnyes (which) they say the Twelve Gods judged, while Athena was absent. Six of them voted for the Erinnyes, the others for Orestes. At any rate when Athena came and voted with those for Orestes and the votes became more because of her status, Orestes won. For it was not fitting for a mortal to be equal to the gods.]

19. The Twelve Gods and the Universe

Plato (ca. 429-347 B.C.), *Phaedrus* (*Opera* ed. J. Burnet, II, Oxford 1901 reprinted 1941).

246 E-247 A. ... ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῷ δ' ἕπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, κατὰ ἕνδεκα μέρη κεκοσμημένη. μένει γὰρ Ἑστία ἐν θεῶν οἴκῳ μόνη· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐν τῷ δώδεκα ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοι ἄρχοντες ἡγοῦνται κατὰ τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστος ἐτάχθη. ...

252 C. ... Τῶν μὲν οὖν Διὸς ὀπαδῶν ὁ ληφθεὶς ἐμβριθέστερον δύναται φέρειν τὸ τοῦ πτερωνύμου ἄχθος· ὅσοι δὲ Ἄρεώς τε θεραπευταὶ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου περιεπόλουν, ...

253 B. ὅσοι δ' αὖ μεθ' Ἥρας εἵποντο, βασιλικὸν ζητοῦσι, καὶ εὑρόντες περὶ τοῦτον πάντα δρῶσιν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν οὕτω

κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἰόντες ζητοῦσι τὸν σφέτερον παῖδα πεφυκέναι, καὶ ὅταν κτήσωνται, μιμούμενοι αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ πείθοντες καὶ ῥυθμίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ἰδέαν ἄγουσιν, ...

[... The great leader in heaven is Zeus, driving a winged chariot; he passes along first, arranging all things and caring for them; he is followed by an army of gods and divinities, arranged in eleven companies. For Hestia remains in the house of the gods alone; of the rest, as many as are listed in the number of the Twelve as rulers lead the way, in the order in which each was assigned. ...

(252 C) ... Accordingly, of the attendants of Zeus, the one caught can bear more firmly the burden of the winged one; as many as serve Ares drive about him, ...

(253 B) Again those who follow Hera seek royalty and finding him they do everything about him in the same way. Those of Apollo and of each of the gods going along seek that their lover should have a nature like their own god and, when they have won him, themselves imitating (the god) and persuading their lover and disciplining him, they lead him into the practice and likeness of that (god), ...]

A. Hermeias of Alexandria (5th century after Christ), *In Platonis Phaedrum scholia* (ed. P. Couvreur, Paris 1901 reprinted Olms 1971, 135-39).

23. Commentary on *Phaedrus* 246 E.

135 line 26-136 line 4. Ζητητέον δὲ ἐν τούτοις τίς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τίνες οἱ δώδεκα θεοί. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τὰς δώδεκα σφαίρας τοῦ κόσμου ἤκουσαν, τὴν ἀπλανῆ, τὰς ἑπτὰ πλανωμένας καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα· καὶ τὸν μὲν Δία ἔταξαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπλανῆ ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἄγει, τὴν δὲ Ἑστίαν κατὰ τὴν γῆν διὰ τὸ ἀκίνητον. Οἱ δὲ τὰς τῶν σφαιρῶν τούτων ψυχάς. Οἳ δὲ ἔτι τούτων καθαρώτερον τοὺς νοῦς τοὺς ἐπιβεβηκότας ταύταις ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Πρὸς οὓς ῥητέον ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν δώδεκα λέγεται ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐπιτροπεύειν, ἑκάστη δὲ ψυχὴ μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτῆς σφαίρας ἓν ζῷον ποιοῦσα κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὅλων ἐξῆπται.

136 lines 10-15. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ οὕτως ἐξηγοῦνται· Δία μὲν τὸν ἥλιον λαμβάνουσι, τὸν δὲ ὅλον κόσμον φασὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συντετάχθαι· καὶ Ἑστίαν μέν φασι τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει, τὰ δὲ ἕνδεκα τὰ λοιπὰ ζῴδια συνδημιουργεῖν αὐτῷ· στρατιὰν δ' ἀκούουσι τοὺς δεκαδάρχας θεούς, καὶ τοὺς μοιρηγέτας δαίμονας.

136 line 25-137 line 23. Ἡμεῖς οὖν οὕτω λέγομεν κατακολουθοῦντες Πλάτωνι καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις· μετὰ τὴν μονάδα τὴν δημιουργικὴν τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἐξῃρημένον Δία, τρεῖς εἰσι Δίες· Ζεύς, Ποσειδῶν, Πλούτων, τριάς τις αὕτη δίιος μετὰ τὴν ἐξῃρημένην ἐκείνην μονάδα τὸν πρὸ τῶν τριῶν τούτων Δία.

Ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων τῶν τριῶν τέσσαρας ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχει θεοὺς τὸν μέν τινα τὸ εἶναι παρέχοντα, τὸν δὲ ζῆν, τὸν δὲ φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀτρέπτου μονῆς αἴτιον φρουρητικόν τινα θεὸν, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ τοῦ τὰ προιόντα ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχὰς ἀνατείνεσθαι αἴτιον· ὡς εἶναι τρεῖς μὲν αἰτίους τοῦ εἶναι τοὶς πᾶσι καὶ ὑφεστάναι καὶ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ νοῖς, τρεῖς δὲ τοῦ ζῆν, τρεῖς δὲ τοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι καὶ ἄτρεπτα μένειν, τρεῖς δὲ τοῦ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχάς· ὡς γίνεσθαι τρὶς τέσσαρας δώδεκα, τέλειόν τι μέτρον καὶ πᾶν πλῆθος θεῶν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ὁ δωδέκατος ἐκ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ τε τρίτου ὄντος τελείου καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου ὄντος γονίμου πολλαπλασιασθέντων καὶ συγκερασθέντων ἀποκυίσκεται. Τῶν οὖν ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς τριῶν τῶν τὸ εἶναι παρεχόντων ὁ πρῶτος ἐστι Ζεύς· ὥσπερ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐξῃρημένην μονάδα τὴν δίιον ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς τριάδι πάσῃ οὔσῃ διίᾳ ὁ πρώτιστος τῶν τριῶν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα ἡ θεολογία, τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶνα, τὸν δὲ Πλούτωνα καλέσασα· οὕτως τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ὄντων πάντων διίων ὁ πρώτιστος αὐτῶν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεται· συντεταγμένος δὲ ὢν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἕνδεκα ἡγεμονικὴν ἔχει ὡς ἐν συντεταγμένοις τάξιν. Διὸ καὶ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ προσαγορεύεται. Οἱ δὲ δώδεκα οὗτοι ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πάντων τῶν λοιπῶν γενῶν ἅπερ διὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐσήμηνεν ὁ φιλόσοφος. Διαιροῦνται δὲ οἱ δώδεκα οὗτοι εἰς ἓξ ἄρρενας καὶ ἓξ θηλείας· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐτιμῶντο ἓξ ἔχοντες βωμοὺς καὶ κατὰ δυάδα τιμώμενοι. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πατρίων τῶν Ἀττικῶν λέγει ὁ φιλόσοφος. Καὶ τῶν ἓξ ἀρρένων οἱ μὲν τρεῖς εἰσι δημιουργικοί, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς φρουρητικοί· τῶν δὲ ἓξ θηλειῶν αἱ μὲν τρεῖς ζωογόνοι, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιστρεπτικαί. Ἐξάρχει δὲ πάντων μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ Ἑστία. ἰδίως δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀρρένων ὁ Ζεύς, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν ἡ Ἑστία.

138 line 5-139 line 11.

δωδεκάτῃ δέ τοι αὖθις ἐλεύσεται Οὔλυμπόνδε· *Iliad* Α 425 καὶ

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας, *Iliad* Α 423 (Homer) περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τρίτην ἀπόστασιν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα Διὸς λέγει, διὰ τοῦ Αἰθιοπῆας τὸ ἀφανὲς πᾶν καὶ νοητὸν σημαίνων. Ὅτι δὲ πάντα οὗτος ὁ Ζεὺς ἀνάγει ἐπὶ τὸ νοητόν, ὧδε συνῳδὰ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων λέγει· τῷ δ' ἕπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων. — Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ δωδέκατος ἀριθμὸς ἐκ ⟨τοῦ⟩ τελείου ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ τοῦ γενεσιουργοῦ τοῦ τετάρτου κατὰ σύγκρασιν ἀπεγεννήθη, ὅλον τὸν τῶν θεῶν περιέχων θεῖον διάκοσμον, τοῦ δὲ τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου ἀρχαὶ μονὰς καὶ δυάς, εἴη ἂν μονὰς μὲν ὁ αἰθὴρ, δυὰς δὲ τὸ χάος, τριὰς δὲ τὸ ᾠὸν (τέλειον γὰρ ἐστι), τετρὰς δὲ ὁ Φάνης, ... Ἄλλο δέ ἐστιν ὅλον τὸν τῶν θεῶν διάκοσμον εἰς τὴν δωδεκάδα λέγειν ἀπαρτίζεσθαι ὡς τέλειον ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν κατὰ σύγκρασιν ἀπογεννώμενον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἴωθε λέγεσθαι, ἄλλο πάλιν τὸ λέγειν δώδεκα εἶναι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ κόσμου ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει θεωρουμένους· πάντες γὰρ ὑπερκόσμιοί εἰσι· καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἑκάτη τὸν δώδεκα λέγεται συνελίσσειν, ὡς τὰ πέρατα τοῦ θείου ἀριθμοῦ παντὸς ἀφορίζουσα· ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην εἰληχέναι ὡς μετὰ θεοὺς

ὢν καὶ τῶν ἐκθεουμένων. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκ ἐν ἑνὶ ὁ δώδεκα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον τῆς ἐν πᾶσι τάξεως ἐνδεικτικόν. Ἡ δὲ τάξις οὐχ ὡς ἄλλη ἐν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἡ τάξις αὐτῶν ἐστι. Τριττὴ δὲ ἡ τάξις· ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἐξῃρημένη οἵα ἡ ἐν τῷ ἐξῃρημένῳ Διὶ, ἀφ' ἧς τάξεως καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ἐνδίδοται· ἡ ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τεταγμένοις, οἷον ἡ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δώδεκα· ἡ τρίτη ὡς ἡ ἐν μεταδόσει, οἷον ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν δώδεκα καὶ εἰς τὰ καταδεέστερα ἐνδιδομένη καὶ εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀριθμητικῶς ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐφήρμοσαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ δεκάδι ἀριθμοὺς, ἐξελόντες τὰς δύο μονάδας, τήν τε τετάρτην Διίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑστίας, μονάδα μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι δόντες, δυάδα Ἥρᾳ, τριάδα Ποσειδῶνι (διὸ καὶ τριαινοῦχος), τέταρτον Ἑρμῇ, πέμπτον Ἄρῃ, ἕκτον Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἕβδομον Ἀθηνᾷ, ὄγδοον Δήμητρι, ἔνατον Ἀρτέμιδι, δέκατον Ἡφαίστῳ. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀριθμητικῶς οὕτως ἁπλῶς ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἕκαστος δημιουργεῖ καὶ προνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἰδιότητα, ὃ μὲν ἀρεϊκῶς, ὃ δὲ ἀπολλωνιακῶς, καὶ ἄλλως ἄλλος.

139 lines 21-25. ἐν δὲ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τὸ τέλειον, διὸ τοῖς ἀπολύτοις θεοῖς ἀνιέρωται· ἀπόλυτοι δέ εἰσιν, ἰδίως οὗτοι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι δώδεκα, κοινῶς ὑπερκόσμιοι ὄντες, οἳ καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τελειοῦσι· διὸ κἂν μύριοι ὦσι λέγονται δώδεκα καὶ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἓν δώδεκά ἐστι· τελειότητος γὰρ σύμβολον ὁ δώδεκα.

[Among these gods, we should investigate who is Zeus and who are the Twelve Gods. Now some have understood these as the twelve spheres of the kosmos, viz., the unmoving sphere, the seven planets, and the four elements. And they have placed Zeus in charge of the unmoving sphere since he leads all and Hestia in charge of the earth because of its immobility.

But some (have understood) the souls of these spheres.

Still others more correctly the minds which stand over these souls.

To these we must say that each of the Twelve is said to be in charge of the whole kosmos, and each soul making one creature with its own sphere by this very fact is not required to be concerned with the other but itself is connected with them all.

(136 lines 10-15) But there are those who explain (the passage) thus: They take Zeus as the sun and they say the whole kosmos is organized with respect to him; and they say Hestia is the twelfth part in which the sun is when he remains in it and the eleven remaining zodiac signs work with him. They understand the "army" as the gods ruling the decads and the spirits that control fate.

(136 line 25-137 line 23) We (Hermeias) speak thus following closely Plato and the other theologians. With the creative unit, the one and exalted Zeus, are three Zeuses: Zeus, Poseidon, Plouto, this divine triad after that exalted unit Zeus. Each of these three has four gods below him,

one which furnishes being, one which gives life, one guardian god responsible for protection and unmovable stability, and one responsible for their wheeling about and for their attaining to their own realms as they move forward. Thus there are three responsible for existence for all and to provide a basis for bodies, souls, and minds, three for life, three for protection and remaining unmovable, and three for returning to their own realms. Hence three times four is twelve, the complete measure and whole number of gods. For this number, the twelfth, is born from the multiplication and mixture of the third number which is perfect and the fourth number which is productive. Now, of the three among the Twelve Gods who provide being, the first is Zeus.

For just as after the first and exalted monad (that of Zeus) in the whole triad following being of Zeus, the very first of the three is called by the name of Zeus but the names of the others theology changes, calling one Poseidon and one Plouto; thus of the Twelve Gods being all of Zeus, the very first of them is called by the name of Zeus; being marshalled with the remaining eleven, he has the leading rank, as among those drawn up in order. Therefore he is also called the great ruler in heaven. But these twelve are rulers of all the remaining, both the gods within the kosmos and the angels and all the other types that the philosopher has indicated through the spirit.

These Twelve are divided into six male and six female, for they were thus honored in Olympia, having six altars and honored in pairs. And the philosopher says these things also on the basis of his Attic heritage. Of the six males, three are creators and three protectors; of the six female, three are life-giving and three are concerned with return. The leaders of all are Zeus and Hestia; in particular, Zeus of the males and Hestia of the females.

(138 line 5-139 line 11) "On the twelfth day he will come again to Olympos" (*Iliad* A 425), and "For Zeus (has gone) to Okeanos among the blameless Ethiopians" (*Iliad* A 423). (Homer) is speaking about Zeus at third remove among the Twelve, indicating the invisible and intelligible by the Ethiopians. That this Zeus leads all things up to the intelligible Plato too says in harmony with him (Homer), thus, "An army of gods and spirits follows him."

Since the number twelve was produced by mixture of the perfect number three and the productive number four, comprehending the whole divine order of the gods, and the rulers of three and four are the monad and dyad, Aither would be the monad, Chaos the dyad, the third the Egg (for this is perfect), the fourth Phanes, ...

But it is one thing to say the whole divine order is exactly made up of the Dodecad as a perfect number produced by mixture from the first numbers and whatever else is usually said, and another to say that the rulers of the kosmos are twelve when viewed in the same arrangement; for they are all above the kosmos; Hekate on the one hand is said to rotate the twelve as defining the limits of the whole divine number; and Dionysos on the other hand is said to have been allotted the thirteenth as being one of the gods and of those deified. Hence the twelve is not a unit but indicative in another way of the whole arrangement in all (of them). The arrangement is not like something different among other things but the arrangement of the gods is the very being of the gods. The arrangement is threefold: one is transcendent as in the transcendent Zeus, from which arrangement the arrangement is produced among the Twelve; another just as among the things arranged, e.g., that among those twelve; the third as in imparting such as that given from the Twelve themselves both to the lesser entities and to the whole kosmos. Some have adapted the numbers in the decad numerically to each of the units in ten, removing the two monads, the fourth of Zeus and that of Hestia, giving the first to Apollo, the second to Hera, the third to Poseidon (hence his trident), the fourth to Hermes, the fifth to Ares, the sixth to Aphrodite, the seventh to Athena, the eighth to Demeter, the ninth to Artemis, the tenth to Hephaistos. But it is not fitting to understand this merely arithmetically but that each works and plans according to his own nature, one like Ares, one like Apollo, etc.

(139 lines 21-25) Completeness is in the Twelfth; hence it is sacred to the disembodied gods. Those who now are called the Twelve in a special sense are disembodied, being usually called supercosmic, and they complete the whole kosmos. Hence if there be ten thousand they are called twelve and each of them is one twelve, for twelve is the symbol of completeness.]

B. Damascius (head of Athenian Academy when closed in A.D. 529), *Dubitationes et Solutiones* (ed. C. A. Ruelle, Paris 1889 reprinted Amsterdam 1966, II, 208 lines 2-12).

348 (F. 355 r). Ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἐν Φαίδρῳ ἡγεμόνες ἀρχικοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπόλυτοι. Τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἀπό τε τοῦ ὀνόματος (ἡγεμονικοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀρχικοί), καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θείας δυοδεκάδος ἀρχικῆς οὔσης προηγουμένως· καὶ ἔτι ἐναργέστερον ὅτι ὁ ''μέγας ἡγεμὼν πάντα περιπορεύεται, διακοσμῶν τε καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος'', οὐκ ἂν πᾶσιν ἐξουσιάζων, εἴπερ ἀπόλυτος ἦν. Ὅτι δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἱ ''μακάριαι εἰσιν θέαι τε καὶ διέξοδοι'', ἃς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι ἀποφαίνεται τὸν νοερὸν διάκοσμον. Ὅλως δὲ τὸ ἀφομοιωτικὸν πρὸς τὰ ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐπιστρεπτικὸν καὶ ἡγούμενον εἰς ἐπιστροφήν, καὶ πάλιν καταβαῖνον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν τῇδε πραγμάτων οἱ τε θεολόγοι τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς θεοῖς ἀπονέμουσι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς δώδεκα ἡγεμόσιν.

[Also the leaders in the *Phaedrus* are rulers rather than disembodied. I judge this from the name (for leaders are rulers) and from the divine dodecad being endowed with authority as their main purpose and even more clearly because the "great leader travels about all things, arranging them and caring for them," for he would not have authority over all if he were disembodied. That above these leaders are the "blessed sights and paths" which he himself reveals to be the intellectual order. Assimilation to higher things and turning and being led to turn about and descend again for the care of matters here, the theologians assign to the ruling gods and Plato to those twelve leaders.]

Greece Proper, Central and Northern Regions

Megaris

20. Megara, Sanctuary of Artemis Soteira.

See also Megara 1.

Pausanias (mid 2nd century after Christ), *Graeciae descriptio* (ed. M. H. Pereira, I, Leipzig 1973).

I.40.3. ... καὶ ἐπὶ τῶιδε Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἐστιν ἀγάλματα ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους· ...

[... and here they made an image of Artemis Soteira. Here also are images of the gods called the Twelve, said to be the work of Praxiteles.]

Phocis

21. Elateia, Painting of Twelve Gods

See also Elateia 1.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23/24-79), *Natural History* (trans. H. Rackham, IX, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1952).

XXXV.36.107. Eadem aetate fuit Asclepiodorus, quem in symmetria mirabatur Apelles. huic Mnaso tyrannus pro duodecim deis dedit in singulos mnas tricenas, idemque Theomnesto in singulos heroas vicenas.

[In the same generation there lived Asklepiodoros, whom Apelles admired for symmetry. For the Twelve Gods Mnason the tyrant paid him 30 minas each, and he paid Theomnestos twenty per hero.]

Thessaly

22. Altar founded by Deukalion.

Scholion on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* III.1086 (*Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* ed. C. Wendel, Berlin 1935, 248).

1086-1089 b. ... ὅτι δὲ Δευκαλίων ἐβασίλευσε Θεσσαλίας, Ἑλλάνικος[1] ἐν α´ τῆς Δευκαλιωνείας φησίν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ιβ´ θεῶν βωμὸν ὁ Δευκαλίων ἱδρύσατο, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησι συγγράμματι.

[That Deukalion was king of Thessaly, Hellanikos says in the first book of the *Deukalioneia*. In the same work Hellanikos says that Deukalion also founded an altar of the Twelve Gods.]

Macedon/Macedonian Conquests

23. Aigai, Procession with Images of Twelve Gods and Philip II

See also Aigai 1.

Diodorus Siculus (fl. ca. 60-30 B.C.), *Bibliotheca* (ed. F. Vogel-C. T. Fischer, Leipzig 1906).

XVI.92.5. ... τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης συνέτρεχεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πομπῆς γινομένης σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι κατασκευαῖς εἴδωλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε ταῖς τε δημιουργίαις περιττῶς εἰργασμένα καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ πλούτου θαυμαστῶς κεκοσμημένα· σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαιδέκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπὲς εἴδωλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς.

XVI.95.1. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν μέγιστος γενόμενος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλέων καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς σύνθρονον καταριθμήσας τοιαύτης ἔτυχε τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς, ἄρξας ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι.

336 B.C.

[While it was still night the crowd ran together in the theater. When the procession took place at daybreak, along with the other magnificent equipment he displayed images of the Twelve Gods particularly artistically made and decked out marvellously in rich splendor. With these he displayed a thirteenth godlike image of himself, Philip the king, displaying himself enthroned with the Twelve Gods.

(XVI.95.1) Thus Philip, being the greatest of the kings ruling in Europe in his day and because of the size of his realm having enthroned himself among the Twelve Gods, met such a disastrous end of life, when he had ruled twenty-four years.]

24. Cults possibly established by Alexander.

A. Alexandria, Egypt. Tychaion.

Libanius (A.D. 314-393), *Descriptiones* (*Opera* ed. R. Foerster, VIII, Leipzig 1915).

25.2-6, 8. Τέμενος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως ἵδρυται συγκείμενον μὲν ἐκ πλειόνων θεῶν, Τύχης δὲ ἅπαν ὠνόμασται. ... 3. κατεσκεύασται δὲ ὁ χῶρος ὧδέ πως. ἤσκηται μὲν ἅπας ἐξ ἐδάφους εἰς ὀροφήν, διῄρηται δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ κατὰ κύκλους ἡμίσεας, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ παντοδαπαὶ προβέβληνται κίονες. 4. οἱ δ' αὖ κύκλοι εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀγαλμάτων ὑποδοχὰς ἀνιστάμενοι καὶ μετρεῖν ἔξεστι τοὺς κύκλους μὲν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων παρεστήκασι κίονες. 5. θεοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἀνεστηκότες οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι δύο καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν. καὶ κορυφὴ μὲν ἔχει τὸν οἰκιστὴν ἐξ ἑτέρων ἄκρων καὶ μέσων, ἀνέστηκε δὲ φέρων μὲν αὐτὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὑπόμνημα, φερόμενος δὲ δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις εἴωθε τρέφεσθαι. καὶ σημαίνει τῆς γῆς τὴν φύσιν ἡ Χάρις, κυκλοῖ δὲ κατὰ μέσον ἥμισυ ὅσον ἀριθμὸς θεῶν ὀνομάζεται. 6. καὶ μέσον ἐκ μέσου Τύχης ἕστηκεν ἄγαλμα στεφάνῳ δηλοῦν 'Αλεξάνδρου τὰς νίκας. ... 8. καὶ στῆλαι χαλκαῖ κατὰ μέσον ἑστήκασιν ἔδαφος ἐγκεχολαμμέναι τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα. καὶ κατὰ μέσον αἱ πύλαι παρὰ τὸ Μουσῶν ἄγουσαι τέμενος. χαλκοῖ δὲ βασιλεῖς κατὰ μέσον ἑστήκασιν οὐχ ὅσους ἐκόμισε χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν κομισθέντων ἦσαν σεμνότατοι.

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[1] 2nd half 5th century B. C. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, Berlin 1923, no. 4, frag. 6 a-b.

Alexandria founded 331 B.C.

[A temenos is established in the middle of the city composed of more gods but the whole named for Tyche. ... 3. The area is furnished thus. The whole is adorned from the floor to the ceiling, and the arrangement is in semicircles with all sorts of columns set in front of each. 4. The semicircles are constructed as receptacles for images and the semicircles may be measured by the images and columns stand out from the images. 5. The gods are set up, not all, but those who number Twelve. And the roof has the founder on either peak and in the center, and he set it up as a memorial of Ptolemy Soter, being himself memorialized through the provisions usually supplied the city. Charis indicates the nature of the land, and what is called the number of the gods circles about the central half. 6. And in the middle is set an image of Tyche making clear the victories of Alexander with a wreath. ... 8. And bronze stelai are set in the middle of the floor, engraved with the ordinances of the city. And the gates in the center lead to the temenos of the Muses. Bronze kings are set in the center, not as many as time has provided us but those of the ones provided who were most august.]

B. India, Altars built by the Hyphasis River.

1. Diodorus Siculus (fl. ca. 60-30 B.C.), *Bibliotheca* (ed. C. T. Fischer, IV, Leipzig 1906).

XVII.95.1. κρίνας δ ἐπὶ ταύτης[1] τοὺς ὅρους θέσθαι τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμοὺς πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ᾠκοδόμησεν, ...

[Having decided to make camp upon the mountains in this place, first he (Alexander) built fifty-cubit altars of the Twelve Gods.]

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[1] Fischer suggests ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς (τόποις) ὅρους θέσθαι.

2. Q. Curtius Rufus (1st century after Christ), *History of Alexander* (trans. J. C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1946; ed. H. Bardon, Paris 1948).

IX.3.19. Biduum irae datum est; tertio die processit (e regia)[1] erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae (i.e., Alexander's).

[1] Supplied by Bardon.

325 B.C.

[For two days he (Alexander) was angry. The third day he came out of the royal tent and built twelve altars of squared stone as a monument of his campaign.]

3. Flavius Philostratus (ca. A.D. 170-244/249), *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (trans. F. C. Conybeare, I, London-New York 1912).

II.43. Ποταμὸν δὲ Ὑδραώτην ὑπερβάντες καὶ πλείω ἔθνη ἀμείψαντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ Ὑφάσιδι, στάδια δὲ ἀπέχοντες τούτου τριάκοντα βωμοῖς τε ἐνέτυχον, οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στήλην ἀνακεῖσθαι χαλκῆν ᾗ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ. τοὺς μὲν δὴ βωμοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡγώμεθα τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τέρμα τιμῶντος, τὴν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Ὕφασιν Ἰνδοὺς ἀναθεῖναι δοκῶ μοι ...

[Crossing the Hydraotes River and passing more peoples they arrived at the Hyphasis and thirty stades away from this they came upon altars on which was engraved: To Father Ammon and Brother Herakles and Athena Pronoia and Zeus Olympios and the Samothracian Kabeiroi and Indian Helios and Delphian Apollo, and they say that a bronze stele was also set up on which was engraved: Alexander stopped here. Let us assume that Alexander set up the altars to honor the end of his territory, but I think the Indians beyond the Hyphasis set up the stele.]

25. Alexander as the Thirteenth God.

See also 16 H. Athens, 28. Thasos.

A. Lucian (2nd century after Christ), *Dialogi Mortuorum* (*Luciani Samosatensis Opera*, ed. C. Jacobitz, I, Leipzig 1901, p. 161; trans. M. D. Macleod, VII, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1961, p. 68).

13.2 (391-92). (Diogenes' reply to Alexander the Great) Τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἀνεμνήσθην οἷα ἐποίει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἄρτι σε παρειληφότα τὴν ἀρχὴν κολακεύοντες καὶ προστάτην αἱρούμενοι καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς προστιθέντες καὶ οἰκοδομοῦντες σοι νεὼς καὶ θύοντες ὡς δράκοντος υἱῷ.

[Diogenes to Alexander the Great: Why else indeed (do I laugh) than (because) I remembered what Greece did, flattering you just now when you succeeded to the throne and choosing you leader (patron) and commander against the barbarians, and some even associating you with the Twelve Gods and building temples to you and sacrificing to you as the son of the snake.]

B. Clement of Alexandria (3rd century after Christ), *Cohortatio ad Gentes* (*Patrologia Graeca* ed. J.-P. Migne, VIII, Paris 1891, cols. 209, lines 33-39, 212, line 1).

X.27. ... Μὴ οὖν ἔτι φροντίζετε, μηδὲ εἰ ὀλίγον τι ὑμᾶς ἀγορεύουσι σύφρακές τινες ἀγοραῖοι, δεισιδαιμονίας χορευταὶ, ἀνοίᾳ καὶ παρανοίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὠθούμενοι τὸ βάραθρον, εἰδώλων ποιηταὶ καὶ λίθων προσκυνεταί. Οἵδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἀποθεοῦν τετολμήκασι, τρισκαιδέκατον 'Αλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες θεὸν, ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἤλεγξε νεκρόν.

[... Therefore stop being troubled, even if some wrinkled idlers in the market say anything slighting of you. They are votaries of superstition, in folly and madness rushing upon perdition itself, makers of idols and worshippers of stones. For such men have dared to deify human beings, registering Alexander of Macedon as the Thirteenth God, whom Babylon refuted as a corpse.]

According to J. Straub (*Regeneratio Imperii*, Darmstadt 1972, 178-94, St. John Chrysostom in T 42 was referring to Alexander the Great rather than Alexander Severus.

GREEK ISLANDS

26. Delos, inscriptions related to the Dodekatheon.

A. Accounts of the Hieropoioi.

1. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 209.

IG XI, 2, ed. F. Dürrbach, Berlin 1912, no. 158, lines 65-66.

... οὗ τὰ δώδεκα ἀγάλματ[α τῶν] θυρῶν τὰς κατακλε[ὶ- 65
δας ἐπισκευάσαντι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῶι 'Αρχηγέτηι Δεινοκράτει μισθὸς | | | |. 66
282 B.C.

[... Pay to Deinokrates for supplying the fastenings of the doors (of the building) where the twelve cult images are and those (of the doors) of Apollo Archegetes: 4 obols.]

2. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 250.

IG XI, 2, ed. F. Dürrbach, Berlin 1912, no. 203 A, lines 44-45.

... μισθωτοῖς ἀνενέγκασι τὰς κεραμίδας καὶ τοὺς 44
καλυπτῆρας εἰς τὰ Δώδεκα: ⊢⊢: ... 45

269 B.C.

[To the employees who brought the roof tiles and the cover tiles into the Twelve: 2 drachmas.]

3. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 91.

IG XI, 2, ed. F. Dürrbach, Berlin 1912, no. 287 A, lines 71-72.

... κλεὶς ἐ̣[πὶ 71
τὰ δώδεκα ⊢· ... 72

250B.C.

[... key for the Twelve: 1 drachma.]

4. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 59.

Inscriptions de Délos II, ed. F. Dürrbach, Paris 1929, no. 401, line 12.

... καὶ εἰς τὸ Δωδεκάθε[ον 12

190 B.C.

[... and in the Dodekatheon, ...]

5. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 9, 10, 29, 125.

Inscriptions de Délos II, ed. F. Dürrbach, Paris 1929, no. 403, line 37.

... τα]ῦτα [πα]ρέδομεν [καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Δ]ωδεκαθέου καθαιρεθείσας δοκοὺς Γ, 37
...

189 B.C.

[We paid this, taking down the roof beams from the Dodekatheon: 5 ...]

6. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 77.

Inscriptions de Délos II, ed. F. Dürrbach, Paris 1929, no. 406 A, lines 36-37, 88.

[- - -τ]οῦ Δωδεκαθέου ἔδ[ομεν πρώτην δόσιν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος - - -] 36
[καὶ δευτέραν δόσιν κελε]ύοντος ἀρχιτέ ... 37

[- - -κατεχρη]σάμεθα εἰς τὸ Δωδεκά[θεον] 88

Towards 190 B.C.

[... For the Dodekatheon we gave at the request of the architect the first payment, ... and a second payment at the request of the archite(ct ...).
We used up for the Dodekatheon ...]

7. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 48 α-β.

Inscriptions de Délos II, ed. F. Dürrbach, Paris 1929, no. 442, lines A 234; B 223-24.

[- - -κ]αθη(ι)ρέθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἰκρία τὰ ἐν τῶι Δωδεκαθέωι τὰ ὑπ ... 234

[- - -]έαι Δημοστράτο[υ —ethnic?— ἐργολαβήσαν-] 223
τι ἐπισκευάσαι τοῦ Δωδεκαθέου τὴν ὀροφὴν κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν κειμ[ένεν
παρὰ Ὀρθοκλῆ Ἀριστοθάλου? ἔδομεν πρώτην δόσιν κελεύοντο]ς
ἀρχιτέκτονος ΔΔ̣[- - - 224
179 B.C.

[... and the scaffolding was taken down, that in the Dodekatheon beneath ...

To ——eas, son of Demostratos for undertaking to furnish the roof of the Dodekatheon according to the specifications from Orthokles son of Aristothalos(?) we gave as first payment at the request of the architect 20 ...]

8. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 502 α-β.

Inscriptions de Délos II, ed. F. Dürrbach, Paris 1929, no. 461, line Ab 45.

- - - τῶι Δωδεκα ?]θέωι Δ𐅃 ⊦⊦⊦⊦. 45
169 B.C.

[... For the (Dodeka?)theon 19 drachmas.]

B. Inventories from Athenian Period.

1. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 308.

Inscriptions de Délos III, ed. F. Dürrbach and P. Roussel, Paris 1935, no. 1417 A, I, lines 43-49.

ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΘΕΩΙ·
ἀγάλματα λίθινα τ[ῶν θεῶν] - - - - - - ς̣ Δ̣Ι· καὶ ἄλλο ξύλινον
ἐπίχ̣ρυσον ὧι - - - - - - - - Σ..... οὐ[κ] ἔχον τοὺς ἵππους οὐ- 45
δὲ τοὺς παραστάτας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας οὐδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς
ζῶια. *vacat* ΕΝ ΤΩΙ [ΠΟΣΙΔΕΙ?]ΩΙ· τὸ ἄγαλμα λίθινον· τρύφακτον ἐν-
τελῆ ἔχοντα κ[λε]ῖδ [α? - - - - - - - - - -]δέ̣κ̣α δύο· τραπέζια ὑπό-
σπαστα ἕξ· θύρας κ̣α̣τ̣[αγείας?]. ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΩΙ· *vacat*
156/155 B.C.

[In the Dodekatheon:
Stone images (of the gods) ... and another of gilded wood ... lacking the horses, the men standing beside and the occupants and the things beneath the animals.

In the (Poseidei?)on:

The stone image, etc.

In the Thesmophorion:]

2. Delos Museum, inv. no. Γ 545 α-β.

Inscriptions de Délos III, ed. F. Dürrbach and P. Roussel, Paris 1935, no. 1424 B, lines 1-2.

[- - -ΕΝ ΤΩΙ] ΔΩΔΕΚΑΘΕΩΙ· [ἀγάλματα - - - καὶ ἄλλο] ξύλινον επίχρυσ[ον] 1
[- - -οὐκ ἔχον] τοὺς ἵππους [οὐδὲ - - - οὐδε τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ζῶια·] 2
[ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΩΙ· ἀ]γάλματα ... 3
After 166 B.C.

[(In the) Dodekatheon:
(Images ... and another) of gilded wood (lacking) the horses (... .
(In the Thesmophorion):
Images ...]

C. Dedication of Altar C in Temenos.

Inscriptions de Délos V, ed. P. Roussel and M. Launey, Paris 1937, no. 2471; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* ..., Paris 1970, 438.

[Ἀθη]νᾶς Διὸς Ἥρας.
Altar fourth century B.C.; inscription added beginning of 1st century.

[Of (Athe)na, Zeus, Hera.]

27. Imbros, Dedication by Bouleutai. Found in part of city facing harbor.

IG XII, 8, ed. C. Fredrich, Berlin 1909, no. 63; Weinreich, Zwölfgötter, 790 B 35.

[βουλευταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ] Ἀριστοδέμο [ἄρχοντος σ]τεφανωθέντες
[ὑπὸ τὸ δ]ήμο δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα ἀ[νέθε]σαν Δώδεκα Θεοῖς.
A list of names follows arranged according to Attic tribes.
352/351 B.C.

[(The councillors in the archonship) of Aristodemos, crowned (by the D)emos for their righteousness dedicated (this) to the Twelve Gods.]

28. Thasos, Regulation on judicial procedures during festivals. Thasos, Limenas Museum, inv. no. 1451.

F. Salviat, BCH 82 (1958), 239-44; J. and L. Robert, Bulletin épigraphique, REG 72 (1959), no. 323; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* ... *supplement*, Paris, 1962, no. 69.

Αἷς ἡμέραις οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἐνδεικνυ.[ιν ο]ὐδε ἀπάγειṿ· ... 1

... Χορείοις, Δυωδεκαθε̣[ίο]ις, Ἀλεξανδρείοις, ...

End of 4th century B.C.

[On the following days it is not permitted to lay information or accuse: ... Choreia, Dodekatheia, Alexandria, ...]

29. Kos, Inscriptions.

A. Religious Calendars.

1. Mid-fourth century calendar.

W. R. Paton, E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891, no. 38; R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* (AbhBerlin), Berlin 1929, no. 2; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, no. 151 B, lines 13-17. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, no. 4; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 151 D, lines 17-20.

B δυωδε[κ-]
άται· Ζηνὶ Μαχανῆι οἶες τρεῖς τέλεωι καὶ βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς τὸ
ἅτερον ἔτος ἀφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Καρνεῖαι, τὸ δὲ ἅτερον ἔτος οἶες τ-
ρεῖς τὲλεωι· ταῦτα θύει ἱαρεὺς ὁ τῶν Δυ̣ώ̣δεκα Θεῶν, καὶ ἱερὰ π-
αρέχει τούτοις· ...

D (ε)ἰκάδι· Ἀπόλλωνι Καρ-
[νείωι καὶ Ἀρτάμιτι οἶ]ς τέλεως καὶ τελέα· θύει ἱερ-
[εὺς ὁ τῶν Δυώδεκα Θε]ῶν. ἱερὰ δὲ ἱερεὺς παρέχει· γέρη
[λαμβάνει δέρμα κα]ὶ σκέλος. *vacat*

Mid-4th century B.C. (Sokolowski); last quarter 4th century (Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 292).

[(month) 12: To Zeus Machaneus, three unblemished sheep and, in alternate years after the Karneia is held, the bullock selected, and in the alternate years, three unblemished sheep. The Priest of the Twelve Gods performs these sacrifices and furnishes the victims for them.

(month) 20: To Apollo Karneios and Artemis, unblemished ram and ewe. The Priest (of the Twelve G)ods sacrifices, and the priest furnishes the victims. As his perquisite (he takes the skin an)d a leg.]

2. Early third century calendar.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 40; Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, no. 5; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 156 A, 16-18.

αὗτα [ἁ ἱαρε-]
ωσύνα τριακάδ[ος ἔστω ..... δα̣ν πεντηκοστύος Ἱ]ππιαδᾶν τοῖς[δε τε-]
λέζεται ὁ ἱαρεὺς τ̣[οῦ Ζηνὸς τοῦ Πολιέως καὶ τῶ]ν Θεῶν τῶν Δυώ̣[δεκα· κ-]

300-250 B.C. (Sokolowski); ca. 300 B.C. (Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 90 note 45).

[These (are to be the sacri)fices of the thirtieth ... which the Priest (of Zeus Polieus and) of the Twelve gods performs.]

3. Calendar of the Gymnasium.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 43; Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, no. 9; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 165, col. B, lines 5-10.

ϛ´ πομπὴ Εὐμένει
ζ´ εἰς Κυπαρισσον
καὶ εἰς τὸ Δωδε-
κάθεον· θυσία
καὶ ἀγωνάριον
ἀνήβων.

Ca. 156-145 B.C. (Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, p. 27; Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 132 note 264).

[Artamitiou 5: Procession of Eumenes
Artamitiou 6: to Kyparissos
and to the Dodekatheon;
sacrifice and contest for boys.]

B. Inscriptions to be set up in the Dodekatheon.

1. Proxeny decree in honor of Theron of Tyre.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 1, lines 12-15.

... τοὶ δὲ π[ωλη-]
ταὶ μισθωσάντω ἀναγρ[άψαι τε τὰν]
προξενίαν ἐς τὰν στ[άλαν καὶ στᾶσαι]
[ἐ]ν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Δ[υώδεκα Θεῶν.]

Ca. 300 B.C.

[... The dealers are to let (the contract) to engrave this decree on a stone stele and to set it up in the sanctuary of the T(welve God)s.]

2. Proxeny decree in honor of Kallikles of Halicarnassus.

A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence 1925, no. 432, lines 15-19.

... [τοὶ]
δὲ πωληταὶ μισθωσάντω
γράψαι τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε εἰς
στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέσαι
εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Δυώδεκα Θεῶν.

3rd-2nd century B.C.

[... (The) dealers are to let (the contract) to engrave this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.]

3. Regulations for cult of Dionysos Thyllophoros.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 27; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 166, lines 71-73.

... το[ὶ δὲ πωληταὶ]
[μισθ]ωσάντω ἀνα[γράψαι τὰνδε τὰν διαγραφὰν ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν]
[καὶ ἀν]αθέ[μ]εν ἐ[ν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶν Δυώδεκα Θεῶν.]
2nd or 1st century B.C.

[... The (dealers) are to let (the contract) to en(grave this decree on a stone stele and) set it up i(n the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods).]

N.B. The reference to the Temple of the Twelve Gods is entirely restored in this instance.

C. Priest and Priestess of the Twelve Gods.

1. Evaratos son of Acheloos.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 125; S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, Göttingen 1978, 194-95.

Εἰρηναῖος Εὐαράτου Εὐάρατον Ἀχελώο[υ]
ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου καὶ Διὸς
[Π]ολιέως καὶ Ἀθάνας καὶ Δυώδεκα Θεῶν καὶ
μοναρχήσαντα, Θεοῖς.
1st century B.C.

[Eirenaios son of Evaratos (dedicated) to the gods (this statue of) Evaratos son of Acheloos, priest of Delian Apollo and of Zeus Polieus and Athena and the Twelve Gods, who held the post of Monarchos.]

2. Minnis, daughter of Praulos.

A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, no. 460, lines 1-7.

Ὁ δᾶμος [ὁ Κῴων]
ἀνέθηκεν Μιννίδα Πραύλου [- - -]
τοῦ Εὐδάμου φιλοπάτριδος, [φιλοσεβάστου,]
φιλοκαίσαρος, ἱέρειαν Ἀσκλαπιο[ῦ καὶ Ὑγιείας καὶ]
Ἠπιόνας καὶ Ῥέας καὶ δυώδε[κα θεῶν καὶ Διὸς]
Πολιέως καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Πολι[άδος καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
Καίσαρος, ...
1st century after Christ.

[The People of the Koans dedicated (this statue of) Minnis, daughter of Praulos, son of the patriot Eudamos, (friend of Augustus), friend of Caesar, priestess of Asklepios (and Hygieia and) Epiona and Rhea and the Twelve (Gods and Zeus) Polieus and Athena Polias (and Augustus) Caesar, ...]

D. Inscription from the Charmyleion.

Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 349; S. Sherwin-White, ZPE 24 (1977), 207-17.

Ἱερὰ ἁ γᾶ καὶ ἁ οἰκία
ἁ ἐπὶ τᾶι γᾶι καὶ τοὶ κᾶ-
ποι καὶ ταὶ οἰκίαι ταὶ
ἐπὶ τῶν κάπων Θεῶν
Δυώδεκα καὶ Χαρμύλου 5
ἥρω v. 1-2 τῶν Χαρμυλέων.

3rd century B.C. (Sherwin-White).

[The land and the building on the land and the gardens and the buildings in the gardens are dedicated to the Twelve Gods and Charmylos, hero of the Charmyleans.]

30. Hierapythna, Crete.

A. Treaty between Hierapytna and Knossos. Copy in Knossian dialect found in Siteia. Herakleion Museum, no. 220.

IC I, ed. M. Guarducci, Rome 1932, no. VIII.13, lines 23-25; *IC* III, Rome 1942, p. 21; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 790 B 36.

... ἀνγράψαι δὲ [- - -
- - -]ἐν τῶι ἱερῷ τῶ Ἀπέλλωνο[ς
- - - τῶι Δ] ωδεκαθέωι. [στᾶσ]α̣ι̣ 25

2nd century B.C.

[... to engrave ...
... in the Sanctuary of Apollo ...
... in (the) Dodekatheon. To set up.]

B. Building Inscription set up by Public Magistrates. Herakleion Museum, no. 157.

IC III, ed. M. Guarducci, Rome 1942, no. III.9; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 790 B 36.

Ἀπόλλ̣ων̣ι Δ̣ε̣καταφόρωι καὶ τοῖς
Δώδεκ̣α Θεοῖς καὶ Ἀθαναίαι Πολ[ι-
άδι ἐπεμελῆθεν ἐκ θεμελίω ἄ-
χρι ἐπὶ τὸν κ̣αταλοβέα̣ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶ
ὀρθοστάτ[α] καὶ τὰ θυρώματα [ἐ- 5
πὶ τῶν Δυμάν̣ων κοσμόντω[ν.
A list of ten magistrates' names follows.

2nd century B.C.

[(Construction) for Apollo Dekataphoros and the Twelve Gods and Athena Polias from the foundations to the course above the orthostates and the doorways was taken care of by the public magistrates.]

C. Building Inscription? Copied in Episkopi by L. Pernier.

IC III, ed. M. Guarducci, Rome 1942, no. III.10.

Ἀπό[λλωνι Δεκαταφόρωι καὶ τοῖς
Δ̣ώδε[κα Θεοῖς καὶ Ἀθαναίαι Πολιάδι
ἐ̣πεμ̣[ελῆθεν, κτἑ perhaps to be restored.
...
2nd century B.C.

[For Apo(llo Dekataphoros and the)
Twel(ve Gods and Athena Polias)
was taken care of (?)]

GREECE, UNCERTAIN DATE AND ORIGIN

31. Diogenes Laertius (3rd century after Christ), *Vitae Philosophorum* (ed. H. S. Long, II, Oxford 1964).

IX.17. Γεγόνασι δ' Ἡράκλειτοι πέντε· ... δεύτερος ποιητὴς λυρικός, οὗ ἐστι Τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγκώμιον· ...

Apparently otherwise unknown. The 4th century B.C. date endorsed by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 836 I 98, is reasonable. Apart from the philosopher Herakleitos, the other Herakleitoi listed by Diogenes can be placed in the late 4th or 3rd century B.C.

[There have been five men named Herakleitos, ... the second a lyric poet who composed an enkomion on the Twelve Gods, ...]

MAGNA GRAECIA

32. Leontinoi, Sicily.

Polyaenus (2nd century after Christ), *Strategems* (ed. E. Wölfflin and J. Melber, Leipzig 1887).

V.5.2. Θεοκλῆς Μεγαρέας Χαλκιδεῦσι συνοικήσαντας ἓξ μῆνας τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλε φήσας εὔξασθαι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν 'ἐὰν κρατήσωμεν τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς, θύσειν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ πέμψειν πομπὴν ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένην'. τῶν δὲ Μεγαρέων (οὐδὲν) ὑπιδομένων, ἀλλὰ θύειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ κελευόντων, οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πομπὴν χρησάμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας, τῆς θυσίας γενομένης, αὐτοὶ νόμῳ πομπῆς βαδίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὡπλισμένοι κατέστησαν, Θεοκλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα·

'Μεγαρεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπιόντων πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου'. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἱκέται καταφυγόντες ἠξίουν μὴ διώκεσθαι ἢ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπέμπεσθαι. ...
Late 8th century B.C.

[After the Megarians had occupied the city with the Chalkidians for six months, Theokles cast them out with the pretext that they prayed at the critical point of the war: "If we gain secure possession of the city, (we will) sacrifice to the Twelve Gods and conduct a procession decked out in arms." While the Megarians suspected (nothing) but bade them sacrifice "with Good Fortune," the Chalkidians from among them wore full armor for the procession. During the sacrifice they walked in the manner of a procession, and, when they stood armed at the marketplace, Theokles ordered the herald to announce: "Let the Megarians get out of the city before sundown." But the Megarians, fleeing to the altars as suppliants, demanded that they not pursue them or send them out with their arms.]

ITALY TO THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

33. Etruria.

A. Seneca (ca. 5/4 B.C.-A.D. 65), *Quaestiones Naturales* (ed. P. Oltramare, Paris 1929).

II.41.1. Haec adhuc Etruscis philosophisque communia sunt. In illo dissentiunt quod fulmina e Iove dicunt mitti et tres illi manubias dant. Prima, ut aiunt, monet et placata est et ipsius Iovis consilio mittitur. Secundum mittit quidem Iupiter, sed ex consilii sententia, duodecim enim deos advocat; hoc fulmen boni aliquid aliquando facit, sed tunc quoque non aliter quam ut noceat; ne prodest quidem impune.

[Thus far the Etruscans and the philosophers agree. They disagree on the point that they say thunderbolts are hurled by Jupiter and give him three kinds of flashes: The first, as they say, advises and shows favor and is cast by the decision of Jupiter himself. The second is, to be sure, sent by Jupiter but by decision of his council, for he summons the Twelve Gods. This thunderbolt sometimes does some good, but then also it may sometimes harm; it does not even benefit without doing damage.]

B. Arnobius Afer (fl. ca. A.D. 305), *Adversus Gentes* (*Nationes*) (J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 5, Paris 1844, cols. 995-97).

3.40. Varro, qui sunt introrsus, atque in intimis penetralibus coeli deos esse censet, quos loquimur, nec eorum numerum, nec nomina sciri. Hos Consentes, et Complices Ethrusci aiunt, et nominant, quod una oriantur, et occidant una : sex mares, et totidem foeminas nominibus ignotis, et miserationis parcissimae : sed eos summi Iovis consiliarios, ac principes existimari.

[Varro thinks there are gods who are within and in the deepest recesses of heaven, of whom we say that we know neither their number nor their names. The Etruscans call them the Consentes and Complices and report that they rise and set together: six males and the same number of females, but their names are unknown and they have very little pity; but they are considered the advisors of Jupiter on high and chief (gods).]

Rome

34. Lectisternium of the Twelve Gods.

A. Livy (59 B.C.-A.D.17), *Ab urbe condita* (*Libri XXI-XXII* ed. T. A. Dorey, Leipzig 1971).

XXII.9.7-10; 10.9. Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistratum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorum(que quam) temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciendum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. ... tum lectisternium per triduum habitum (per) decemviris sacrorum curantibus. sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri.

217 B.C.

[Q. Fabius Maximus the dictator, on the day on which he entered office for the second time, when the Senate was convened, began with the gods and, when he had instructed the Fathers that the consul C. Flaminius had erred more by neglecting the ceremonies of the auspices than from rashness and ignorance and that the gods themselves ought to advise what propitiatory sacrifices there should be for their wrath, brought it about that (what was never voted except when there were dire omens) the Decemviri were ordered to consult the Sibylline books. When the fateful books were examined, they reported to the Fathers that the cause of the war was a vow to Mars, which was not carried out entirely correctly and that it must be done over more fully, and that great games must be vowed for Jupiter and shrines for Venus Erycina and Mens, and that a supplication and lectisternium must be held and a Sacred Spring vowed if the fighting prospered and the state should remain in that condition in which it had been before the war. ... Then a lectisternium was held for three days with the Decemviri taking charge of the sacred matters. There were six couches on view, one for Jupiter and Juno, another for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, a sixth for Mercury and Ceres.]

B. XL.59.7-8. (ed. M. Hertz, III, Leipzig 1862).

terra movit; in foris publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita quae[1] in lectis erant averterunt se, lanxque cum integumentis quae Iovi adposita fuit decidit de mensa.

[The earth shook; in the public places where the lectisternium was, the heads of the gods, which were on couches, turned away, and a platter with its coverings (A. B. Cook reads wool) which was placed before Jupiter fell from the table.]

C. Festus (late 2nd century after Christ), *De Verborum Significatu* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, Leipzig 1913, 472, lines 15-16 = 473, lines 4-5).

(523). STRUPPI vocabantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi de verbenis facti qui pro deorum capitibus ponebantur.

[Struppi: name for the little bundles made of twigs which were placed before the heads of the gods on the couches.]

D. Suetonius (ca. A.D. 69-ca. A.D. 140), *De Vita Caesarum* (ed. M. Ihm, Leipzig 1907).

II.70. Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum (Octavian) pro Apolline ornatum non Antoni modo epistulae singulorum nomina amarissime enumerantis exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragem,
   sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas,

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[1] In the edition by W. Weissenborn, H. J. Müller and O. Rossbach, IX, Berlin 1875, *quae* has been emended to *qui*. I have retained the MS reading, which, I believe, is supported by the quotation from Festus which follows.

impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
dum nova divorum cenat adulteria;
omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.
Probably 37-31 B.C.

[According to rumors which were noised about everywhere, there was also a more secret banquet of his in which the guests lay down in the garb of gods and goddesses and he himself (Octavian) who was fitted out as Apollo was not only bitterly reproached in letters from Antony, who named the individuals, but also in very well-known anonymous verses:
When first the table brought together the band of those
And Mallia saw six gods and six goddesses,
While Caesar made sport of Phoebus in impious deceit
And new adulteries of gods dined;
Then all the divinities turned away from earth
And Jupiter himself left his golden throne.]

E. Scriptores Historiae Augustae (4th century after Christ?), *Historia Augusta* (trans. D. Magie, I, London-New York 1922).

Marcus Antoninus (Marcus Aurelius) 13.1-2. tantus autem terror belli Marcommanici fuit ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustravit retardatusque a bellica profectione sit. celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies.
A.D. 166.

[Moreover there was so much fear of war with the Marcomanni that Antonius summoned priests from everywhere and performed foreign rites. He purified Rome in every way and delayed his departure for battle. He also celebrated lectisternia by the Roman rite for seven days.]

35. Pompa Circensis.

A. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century B.C.), *Antiquitates Romanae* (ed. C. Jacoby, III, Leipzig 1891).

VII.72.1, 13. Πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἀγώνων, πομπὴν ἔστελλον τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τε καὶ δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἱππόδρομον. ... τελευταῖα δὲ πάντων αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες ἐπόμπευον ὤμοις ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φερόμεναι. μορφάς θ᾽ ὁμοίας παρέχουσαι ταῖς παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι πλαττομέναις καὶ σκευὰς καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν εὑρεταὶ καὶ δοτῆρες ἀνθρώποις ἕκαστοι παραδίδονται, οὐ μόνον Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὓς Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ μυθολογοῦνται γενέσθαι, Κρόνου καὶ ῾Ρέας καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι· ...

[Before they began the games, the chief magistrates held a procession for the gods, leading it from the Capitoline and through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. ... Last of all came the images of the gods carried on the shoulders of men, having similar forms to those made by the Greeks in dress, attributes and gifts which each is traditionally credited with discovering and giving to men, not only Zeus and Hera and Athena and Poseidon and the rest of the gods whom the Greeks number among the Twelve but also their ancestors, from whom the Twelve Gods are said in myths to have sprung, Kronos and Rhea and Themis and Leto and the Moirai and Mnemosyne (Memory) and all the rest, as many as have temples and sanctuaries among the Greeks. ...

B. Ovid (43 B.C.-A.D. 17?), *Amores* (ed. F. Munari, Florence 1955).
III.2, lines 43-57.

Sed iam pompa venit: linguis animisque favete.
  Tempus adest plausus, aurea pompa venit.
Prima loco fertur passis Victoria pinnis;
  Huc ades et meus hic fac, dea, vincat amor.
Plaudite Neptuno, nimium qui creditis undis.
  Nil mihi cum pelago, me mea terra capit.
Plaude tuo Marti, miles. Nos odimus arma;
  Pax iuvat et media pace repertus amor.
Auguribus Phoebus, Phoebe venantibus adsit;
  Artifices in te verte, Minerva, manus.
Ruricolae Cereri teneroque adsurgite Baccho.
  Pollucem pugiles, Castora placet eques.
Nos tibi, blanda Venus, puerisque potentibus arcu
  Plaudimus; inceptis adnue, diva, meis
Daque novae mentem dominae: patiatur amari!

[But now the procession is coming: Keep right tongues and minds.
  The time is present for applause; the golden procession is coming.
In the first place is carried Victory with wings spread;
  Be present here and grant, goddess, that my love may conquer.
Clap for Neptune, you who trust too much to the waves.
  I have nothing to do with the sea; my land holds me.
Clap for your Mars, soldier. We hate weapons;
  Peace is pleasing, and love is found in the midst of peace.
For the augurs let Phoebus (Apollo) be at hand; for the hunter Phoebe (Diana);

Turn the hands of craftsmen to you, Minerva.
Countryfolk, stand up for Ceres and delicate Bacchus.
Let the boxer placate Pollux; the horseman, Castor.
We applaud you, charming Venus, and your boys, powerful with the bow;
Nod your approval of my undertakings, goddess,
And give passion to my new mistress: May she allow herself to be loved!]

C. Cassius Dio Cocceianus (late 2nd-early 3rd century after Christ), *Roman History* (ed. U. P. Boissevain, II, Berlin 1898).

XLVIII.31.5. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ (Sextus Pompey) διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις κρότῳ τε πολλῷ τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα πομπεῦον ἐτίμων καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεί τε ἡμέραις τισὶν οὐκ ἐσήχθη, τούς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας λίθοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἐκείνων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηδ’ ὥς τι ἐπεραίνετο. σπουδῇ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες σφας ὥρμησαν.

[They also were spreading other reports in his (Sextus Pompey’s) service, and in the horse races they honored the image of Poseidon as it was carried along with great applause and showed much pleasure at it. When it was not brought in on certain days, they drove those in charge out of the Forum with stones and overthrew their statues and finally, when they accomplished nothing in this way, they attacked them in earnest and slew them.]

36. Portico of the Di Consentes.

A. Varro (116-27 B.C.), *Rerum Rusticarum Libri Tres* (ed. G. Goetz, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1929).

I.4-6. ... et quoniam, ut aiunt, dei facientes adiuvant, prius invocabo eos, nec, ut Homerus et Ennius, Musas, sed duodecim deos Consentis; neque tamen eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratae stant, sex mares et feminae totidem, sed illos XII deos, qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt. 5. primum, qui omnis fructos agri culturae caelo et terra continent, Iovem et Tellurem; itaque, quod ii parentes, magni dicuntur, Iuppiter pater appellatur, Tellus terra mater. secundo Solem et Lunam, quorum tempora observantur, cum quaedam seruntur et conduntur. tertio Cererem et Liberum, quod horum fructus maxime necessari ad victum: ab his enim cibus et potio venit e fundo. 6. quarto Robigum ac Floram, quibus propitiis neque robigo frumenta atque arbores corrumpit, neque non tempestive florent. itaque publice Robigo feriae Robigalia, Florae ludi Floralia instituti. item adveneror Minervam et Venerem, quarum unius procuratio oliveti, alterius hortorum; quo nomine rustica Vinalia instituta. nec non etiam precor Lympham ac Bonum Eventum, quoniam sine aqua omnis arida ac misera agri cultura, sine successu ac bono eventu frustratio est, non cultura.

[... and since, as they say, gods taking action are helpful, I shall invoke first not the Muses like Homer and Ennius but the twelve Di Consentes; nonetheless not those city Di Consentes whose gilded images stand by the Forum, six male and the same number of female, but those Twelve Gods who are especially patrons of farmers. First those who in heaven and on earth preserve all the fruits of agriculture, Jupiter and Tellus; hence because they are the parents they are called great and Jupiter is called Father, Tellus Mother earth. Secondly Sun and Moon, whose periods are watched when certain things are sowed and planted. Third Ceres and Liber because their fruits are most needed for food; for from these come forth from the land food and drink. Fourth Robigus and Flora through whose favor blight does not seize upon the grain and trees, and they flourish at the right season. Hence the festival Robigalia was established publicly for Robigo and the games Floralia for Flora. I also honor Minerva and Venus, of whom one is the provider of the olive, the other of gardens; in whose name the rustic Vinalia was established. Nor do I fail to pray to Lympha and Bonus Eventus, since without water all agriculture is dry and poor; without success and good outcome it is labor in vain, not agriculture.]

B. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* (ed. G. Goetz-F. Schoell, Leipzig 1910).

VIII.70-71. ... item qu(a)erunt, si sit analogia, cur appellant omnes aedem deum consentium et non deorum consentium?[1]...

[1] Varro is discussing the formation of the genitive plural.

[They also ask, if this is an analogy, why all call it the Aedes (shrine) Deum Consentium, not Deorum Consentium.]

C. Dedication on epistyle of Portico.

ILS ed. H. Dessau, II, 1, Berlin 1903, no. 4003.

[deorum c]onsentium sacrosancta simulacra cum omni lo[ci totius adornatio]ne, cultu in f[ormam antiquam restituto,] 1
[V]ettius Praetextatus v.c. pra[efectus u]rbi [reposuit] 2
curante Longeio ..[c]onsul[ari operum publicorum?] 3
A.D. 367/368.

[The most holy images of the Di Consentes with the entire decoration of the whole area were set up again by Vettius Praetextatus, *vir clarissimus* and prefect of the city, under the supervision of Longeius, imperial legate of public works(?) and the cult was restored to its ancient form.]

Latin Literature

37. Ennius (239-169 B.C.), *Annales*, Fragment 62 (*Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* ed. J. Vahlen, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1903).

Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo[1]

[Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercury, Jove, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo.]

A. Apuleius (ca. A.D. 123-after A.D. 161), *De Deo Socratis* 121.9-122: See Text 41 A.

B. Martianus Capella (fl. A.D. 410-429), *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (ed. Adolf Dick, Stuttgart 1969).

I.42 ... tunc etiam ut inter alios potissimi rogarentur ipsius collegae Iovis, qui bis seni cum eodem Tonante numerantur quosque distichum complectitur Ennianum:

Iuno Vesta Minerva Ceresque Diana Venus Mars
Mercurius Iovis Neptunus Vulcanus Apollo;

item et septem residui qui inter duodecim non vocantur.

[... then also so that the most powerful associates of Jupiter himself might be invited themselves, those Twelve who are numbered with the Thunderer himself and whom the distich of Ennius includes:

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, and Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercury, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo

and also seven remaining who are not named among the Twelve.]

38. Plautus (before 251 B.C.-184 B.C.), *Epidicus* (*T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, I, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1904 reprinted 1946).

610-11.

Epidicus (a slave). si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter,
ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

675-76.

Epidicus. duodecim dis plus quam in caelo deorumst inmortalium
mihi nunc auxilio adiutores sunt et mecum militant.

---

[1] Vahlen assigned the fragment to Book I, but O. Skutsch has shown it should belong in Book VII and be connected with the reform of the lectisternium in 217 B.C.: CQ 58 (1964) 85-86 = O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana*, London 1968, 103-105.

[Epidicus, a slave, is speaking:

If Jupiter besides himself should bring the eleven gods with him, even so, they all will not be able to free Epidicus from punishment.

Now there are helpers to aid me and fight beside me, more than the Twelve Gods of the immortal gods in heaven.]

SAMNITES

39. Festus (late 2nd century after Christ), *De Verborum Significatu* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, Leipzig 1913, 150 lines 13-14, 32-36).

154. MAMERTINI appel[lati sunt ha]c de causa ... (resumé telling how Samnites came to be serving as mercenaries in Sicily) ... et nomen acceperunt unum, ut dicerentur Mamertini quod coniectis in sortem duodecim deorum nominibus, Mamers forte exierat: qui lingua Oscorum Mars significatur. Cuius historiae auctor est Alfius libro primo belli Carthaginiensis.[1]

[1] Otherwise unknown, possibly a writer of the Augustan era: H.-G. Gundel, *Das Kleine Pauly* I (1964), 256 sv. "Alfius 1."

289 B.C.

[Mamertines: so named for this reason: ... They took one name so that they were called Mamertines because when the names of the Twelve Gods were shaken together for drawing lots, Mamers by chance fell out, which means Mars in the language of the Oscans. The source of this story is Alfius in the first book of his Carthaginian War.]

IMPERIAL ROME AND THE PROVINCES

See also 34. Lectisternium, 35. Pompa circensis, 36. Portico of the Di Consentes.

40. Association with the months and the zodiac.

A. Cippus Colotianus. Naples, National Museum, inv. no. 2632.

CIL I, 1, ed. T. Mommsen, 2nd edition, Berlin 1893, 280-81, no. XXIII A; A. Degrassi, *II* XIII, 2, Rome 1963, 284-90, no. 47.

Face A

(Each face has three columns, each headed by the zodiac sign named. I have omitted the subdivisions of the hours supplied by the editors for lack of space.)

Mensis	Mensis	Mensis
Ianuar(ius).	Febrar(ius).	Martius.
Dies XXXI,	Dies XXVIII,	Dies XXXI.

Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) septiman(ae).
Dies hor(arum) VIIII,	Dies hor(arum) X,	Dies hor(arum) XII,
nox hor(arum) XIIII.	nox hor(arum) XIII.	nox hor(arum) XII.
Sol	Sol Aquario,	Aequinoctium
Capricorno,	Tutel(a) Neptuni.	VIII kal. Apr.
Tutela	Segestes	Sol Piscibus.
Iunonis.	sariuntur,	Tutel(a) Minervae.
...	...	...

Face B.

Mensis	Mensis	Mensis
Aprilis.	Maius.	Iunius.
Dies XXX.	Dies XXXI.	Dies XXX.
Nonae	Non(ae) septim(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
quintan(ae).	Dies hor(arum) XIIII,	Dies hor(arum) XV,
Dies	nox hor(arum) VIIII.	nox hor(arum) VIIII.
hor(arum) XIII,	Sol Tauro.	Solis institium
nox	Tutel(a) Apollin(is).	VIII kal. Iul.
hor(arum) X.	Seget(es) runcant(ur),	Sol Geminis.
Sol Ariete.	oves tundunt(ur),	Tutela
Tutela	lana lavatur,	Mercuri.
Veneris.	iuvenci domant(ur),	Faeniscium.
...	...	...

Face C.

Mensis	Mensis	Mensis
Iulius.	August(us).	September.
Dies XXXI.	Dies XXXI.	Dies XXX.
Nonae	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
septiman(ae).	Dies hor(arum) XIII,	Dies hor(arum) XII,
Dies	nox hor(arum) XI.	nox hor(arum) XII.
horarum	Sol Leone.	Aequinoct(ium)
XIIII	Tutel(a) Cerer(is).	VIII kal. Oct.
nox hor(arum)	Palus paratur,	Sol Virgine.
VIIII	messes	Tutela
Sol Cancr(o).	frumentar(iae),	Volcani.
Tutela	item	Dolea
Iovis.	triticar(iae),	picantur,
...	...	...

Face D

Mensis	Mensis	Mensis
October.	November.	Decemb(er).
Dies XXXI.	Dies XXX.	Dies XXXI.
Nonae	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
septiman(ae).	Dies hor(arum) VIIII,	Dies hor(arum) VIIII,
Dies	nox hor(arum) XIIII	nox hor(arum) XV.
hor(arum) X,	Sol	Sol Sagitt(ario).
nox	Scorpione.	Tutel(a) Vestae.
hor(arum) XIII.	Tutela	Hiem[i]s initiu(m)
Sol	Deanae.	sive tropae
Libra.	Sementes	chimerin(ae).
Tutela	tricariae	Vineas sterc(orant)
Martis.	et hordiar(iae).	faba(m) serentes,
...	...	...

(*Face A*)

Month	Month	Month
January	February	March
31 Days	28 Days	31 Days
Nones on 5th	Nones on 5th	Nones on 7th
Day 9 hours	Day 10 hours	Day 12 hours
Night 14 hours	Night 13 hours	Night 12 hours
Sun	Sun in Aquarius	Equinox
in Capricorn	Patronage of Neptune	March 24
Patronage	Fields	Sun in Pisces
of Juno	are sowed.	Patronage of Minerva
etc.	etc.	etc.

(*Face B*)

Month	Month	Month
April	May	June
30 Days	31 Days	30 Days
Nones	Nones on 7th	Nones on 5th
on 5th	Day 14 hours	Day 15 hours
Day	Night 9 hours	Night 9 hours
13 hours	Sun in Taurus	Summer solstice
Night	Patronage of Apollo	June 23
10 hours	Fields are weeded.	Sun in Gemini.
Sun in Aries	Sheep are shorn.	Patronage

Patronage	Wool is washed.	of Mercury
of Venus	Bullocks are tamed.	Mowing
etc.	etc.	etc.

(*Face C*)

Month	Month	Month
July (so named)	August (so named)	September
31 Days	31 Days	30 Days
Nones	Nones on 5th	Nones on 5th
on 7th	Day of 13 hours	Day 12 hours
Day	Night of 11 hours	Night of 12 hours
hours	Sun in Leo	Equinox
14	Patronage of Ceres	September 23
Night: hours	Stakes are prepared.	Sun in Virgo
9	Harvest	Patronage
Sun in Cancer	of grain	of Vulcan
Patronage	also	Storage jars
of Jupiter	of wheat	are coated with pitch.
etc.	etc.	etc.

(*Face D*)

Month	Month	Month
October	November	December
31 Days	30 Days	31 Days
Nones	Nones on 5th	Nones on 5th
on 7th	Day 9 hours	Day 9 hours
Day	Night 14 hours	Night 15 hours
10 hours	Sun	Sun in Sagittarius
Night	in Scorpio	Patronage of Vesta
13 hours	Patronage	Beginning of winter
Sun	of Diana	or Solstice
in Libra	Sowing	of winter
Patronage	of wheat	They dung the vineyards.
of Mars	and barley	Sowing beans
etc.	etc.	etc.

B. Menologium rusticum Vallense.

CIL I, 1, ed. T. Mommsen, 2nd edition, Berlin 1893, 280-81, no. XXIII B; *II* XIII, 2, ed. A. Degrassi, Rome 1963, 291-97, no. 48.

Face A

(Again I have omitted the subdivisions of hours supplied by the editors.)

Mes(is) Ian(uarius).	Mes(is) Febr(arius)	Mes(is) Martius	Mes(is) Apr(ilis)
Dies XXXI.	Dies XXVIII.	Dies XXI	Dies XXX
Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) septim(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum) XII,	Dies hor(arum)
VIIII,	X,	nox hor(arum) XII.	XIII,
nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)	Aequinoctium	nox hor(arum)
XIIII	XIII	VIII k. Apr.	X.
Sol	Sol	Sol Piscibus.	Sol
Capricorn(o).	Aquario.	Tutela	Ariete.
Tutela	Tutela	Minervae.	Tutela
Iunonis.	Neptuni.	Vineae et	Veneris.
...	...	...	...

Face B

Mes(is) Mai(us).	Mes(is) Iun(ius)	Mes(is) Iul(ius)	Mes(is) Aug(ustus)
Dies XXXI.	Dies XXX.	Dies XXXI.	Dies XXXI.
Non(ae) septim(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) septim(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)
XIIII,	XV,	XIIII,	XIII,
nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)
VIIII.	VIIII.	VIIII.	X.
Sol Tauro.	Solstitium	Sol	Sol Leone.
Tutela	VIII k. Iul.	Cancro.	Tutela
Apollinis.	Sol Geminis.	Tutela	Cereris.
Segetes	Tutela	Iovis.	Palus
runcantur,	Mercuri	Messes	paratur,
...	...	...	...

Face C

Mes(is) Sept(ember)	Mes(is) Oct(ober)	Mes(is) Nov(ember)	Mes(is) Decemb(er)
Dies XXX.	Dies XXXI.	Dies XXX.	Dies XXXI.
Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) septim(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).	Non(ae) quint(anae).
Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)	Dies hor(arum)
XII,	X,	VIIII,	VIIII,
nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)	nox hor(arum)
XII.	XIII.	XIIII.	XV.
Aequinoct(ium)	Sol	Sol	Sol
VIII k. Oct.	Libra.	Scorpione.	Sagittar(io).
Sol Virgine.	Tutela	Tutela	Tutela
Tutela	Martis.	Deanae.	Vestae.
Volcani.	Vindemiae.	Sementes	Hiemis init(ium)
...	...	...	...

(*Face A*)

Month Jan.	Month Feb.	Month March	Month Apr.
31 Days	28 Days	21 (sic) days	30 days
Nones on 5th	Nones on 5th	Nones on 7th	Nones on 5th
Day: hours	Day: hours	Day: 12 hours	Day: hours
9	10	Night: 12 hours	13

Night: hours	Night: hours	Equinox	Night: hours
14	13	March 24	10
Sun	Sun	Sun in Pisces	Sun
in Capricorn	in Aquarius	Patronage	in Aries
Patronage	Patronage	of Minerva	Patronage
of Juno	of Neptune	Vines and	of Venus
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

(*Face B*)

Month May	Month June	Month July	Month Aug.
31 Days	30 Days	31 Days	31 Days
Nones on 7th	Nones on 5th	Nones on 7th	Nones on 5th
Day: hours	Day: hours	Day: hours	Day: hours
14	15	14	13
Night: hours	Night: hours	Night: hours	Night: hours
9	9	9	10
Sun in Taurus	Solstice	Sun	Sun in Leo
Patronage	June 23	in Cancer	Patronage
of Apollo	Sun in Gemini	Patronage	of Ceres
Fields	Patronage	of Jupiter	Stakes
are weeded.	of Mercury	Harvest	are prepared.
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

(*Face C*)

Month Sept.	Month Oct.	Month Nov.	Month Decemb.
30 Days	31 Days	30 Days	31 Days
Nones on 5th	Nones on 7th	Nones on 5th	Nones on 5th
Day: hours	Day: hours	Day: hours	Day: hours
12	10	9	9
Night: hours	Night: hours	Night: hours	Night hours
12	13	14	15
Equinox	Sun	Sun	Sun
September 23	in Libra	in Scorpio	in Sagittarius
Sun in Virgo	Patronage	Patronage	Patronage
Patronage	of Mars	of Diana	of Vesta
of Vulcan	Grape harvest	Sowing	Beginning of winter
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

C. Manilius (early 1st century after Christ), *Astronomica* (*Manili Astronomicon Liber II* ed. H. W. Garrod, Oxford 1911; trans. G. P. Goold, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1977).

II.433-48.

His animadversis rebus quae proxima cura?
noscere tutelas adiectaque numina signis
et quae cuique deo rerum natura dicavit, 435
cum divina dedit magnis virtutibus ora.
condidit et varias sacro sub nomine vires,
pondus uti rebus persona imponere posset.[1]
Lanigerum Pallas, Taurum Cytherea tuetur,

formosos Phoebus Geminos; Cyllenie, Cancrum, 440
Iuppiter, et cum matre deum regis ipse Leonem;
spicifera est Virgo Cereris fabricataque Libra
Vulcani; pugnax Mavorti Scorpios haeret;
venantem Diana virum, sed partis equinae,
atque angusta fovet Capricorni sidera Vesta; 445
e Iovis adverso Iunonis Aquarius astrum est
agnoscitque suos Neptunus in aethere[2] Pisces.
hinc quoque magna tibi venient momenta futuri,
...

[1] possit (Garrod).
[2] aequore (Garrod).

[Since these matters are attended to, what is our next concern?
To recognize the tutelary gods and the divinities connected with the Signs
And what matters Nature has assigned to each god,
When she gave their great strengths divine expression.
She has established different forces under a sacred name
So that one can place weight upon affairs.
Pallas (Minerva) watches over the Woolbearer (Aries); Cytherea (Venus) over Taurus;
Phoebus (Apollo) the shapely Gemini; you, Cyllenius (Mercury), over Cancer,
And, Jupiter, you yourself rule Leo with the Mother of the Gods;
Virgo who bears ears of grain belongs to Ceres, and the forged scales
To Vulcan; quarrelsome Scorpio clings to Mars;
Diana cherishes the hunting man part horse (Sagittarius)
And Vesta the contracted stars of Capricorn;
Opposite Jupiter is Aquarius, the star of Juno,
And Neptune acknowledges his own Pisces in the upper air.
From these also shall come to you great influences of the future, ...]

D. Petronius (died A.D. 66), *Cena Trimalchionis* (ed. M. S. Smith, Oxford 1975).

39.5, 14-15. "caelus hic, in quo duodecim dii habitant, in totidem se figuras convertit, et modo fit aries. ... (The speaker, Trimalchio, runs through the kinds of people born under the various zodiac signs symbolized by the food placed on a circular dish) ... quod autem in medio caespites videtis et super caespitem favum, nihil sine ratione facio. terra mater est in medio quasi ovum corrotundata, et omnia bona in se habet tamquam favus."

[Trimalchio said, "This sky, in which the Twelve Gods reside, turns itself into the same number of forms, and now Aries is made, ..." (He runs through the kinds of people born under the various zodiac signs symbolized by the food placed on a circular dish). ... "The turf, however, which you see in the center and upon the turf the honeycomb—I do nothing without reason—is Mother Earth, rounded in the middle like an egg, and she has all good things in her like a honeycomb."]

E. Damascius (head of Athenian Academy when closed in A.D. 529), *Dubitationes et Solutiones* (ed. C. A. Ruelle, Paris 1889 reprinted Amsterdam 1966, II, 213 lines 11-12; 216 lines 11-17).

351 (F. 358 v.). ... Ἕβδομον, εἰ μόνοι ἀπόλυτοί εἰσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐγκόσμιοί τινες οἱ δεκαδάρχαι καὶ ζῳδιοκράτορες καὶ ὠρονόμοι καὶ κραταιοί.

358 (F.360 v.). ... Τὸ δὲ ἕβδομον οὔτε ὁ μέγας Ἰάμβλιχος οὕτως ἔχειν συγχωρεῖ, οὔτε ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος. Τὰ γὰρ ζῴδια τοῦ κόσμου μοῖραί τινές εἰσιν· ἐγκόσμιοι ἄρα οἱ ζωδιοκράτορες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ δεκαδάρχαι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, οἵ τε κατεκληρούχησαν τὸ πᾶν. Εἰσὶ μὴν τούτοις ὁμώνυμοι καὶ ἀπόλυτοι θεοί, ἀπολύτως τῶν αὐτῶν προεστῶτες, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν κοσμοκρατόρων ἕκαστος διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐγκόσμιος, ὁ δὲ ὑπερκόσμιος.

[... Seventh, whether they are only at large, or whether those Decadarchs and Zodiokratores and Horonomoi are also encosmic and mighty.

... Seventh: The great Iamblichus does not agree to hold this, nor is it true reasoning. For the zodiac signs are the fates of the universe. Therefore the Zodiokratores or rulers of the zodiac are in the universe just like the Decadarchs and all the rest who receive the whole as their allotment. There are, however, gods who have the same names as these and are at large, standing disembodied before these just as each of the kosmokratores is also double, one in the universe and one above the universe.]

F. Magical papyri referring to the month or zodiac gods(?).

1. London, British Museum, P. CXXI.

F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* I, London 1893, 83-115; K. Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae; die griechischen Zauberpapyri* II, Leipzig-Berlin 1931, no. VII, esp. lines 862-65; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 837 I 100; H.-G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Munich 1968, 53.

Κλαυδιανοῦ Σεληνιακὸν καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄρκτου τε|λετὴ⟩ ἐπὶ σεληνιακῶν. ἡ βίβλος ἥδ' αὐτή, (δ)ώδεκα ἰ|δία θεῶν, ηὑρέθη ἐν Ἀφροδιτοπόλει (παρὰ) τῇ θεᾷ μεγίστῃ | Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ, [ἥ]τις τὰ πάντα περιέχει.

3rd century after Christ.

[Claudian's Lunar Reckoning and Making the Heaven and the North Pole Magically Potent with Regard to Lunar Reckonings. This very book, property of the Twelve Gods, was found in Aphroditopolis with the chief goddess, Aphrodite Ourania, who embraces all things.]

2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum, Gr. P. J 395 (W).

A. Dieterich, *Abraxas; Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums*, Leipzig 1891, 3-20; 167-205; K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* II, Leipzig-Berlin 1931, no. XIII, esp. lines 734-38; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 837 I 100; H.-G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, Munich 1968, 52-53.

Προσλήμφῃ δέ, ὦ τέκνον, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοψίας τούς τε ἡμερησίους καὶ ὡρογενεῖς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑβδοματικούς, τοὺς κατὰ βίβλον, καὶ τοὺς ιβ´ τριακοντάρχας καὶ τῶν (ζ´) γραμμάτων ὄνομα τὸ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβ(λ)ῳ̣, ὃ καὶ ἔχεις ἐν τῇ 'Κλειδὶ' κείμενον, ὅ ἐστιν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστόν. ...
ca. A.D. 350.

[Child, on examination you will grasp the gods of the days and hours and weeks, those according to the book and the 12 Rulers of Thirty (triakontarchs, a reference to the Egyptian 30-day month or the period of a zodiac constellation) and the name of the 7 letters in the first book, which you have in the Key, which is great and marvellous. ...]

41. The Twelve as Universal Gods.

A. Apuleius (ca. A.D. 123-after A.D. 161), *De Deo Socratis* (*Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Opera* III, ed. P. Thomas, Stuttgart 1908 reprinted 1970).

121.9-122.19. Est aliud deorum genus, quod natura visibus nostris denegavit, nec non tamen intellectu eos rimabundi contemplamur acie mentis acrius contemplantes. quorum in numero sunt illi duodecim numero situ nominum in duo versus ab Ennio coartati:
Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars
Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo
ceterique id genus, quorum nomina quidem sunt nostris auribus iam diu cognita, potentiae vero animis coniectatae per varias utilitates in vita agenda animadversos in iis rebus, quibus eorum singuli curant.

[There is another kind of gods which Nature keeps from our eyes (literally, has refused to our sight), but nonetheless we may observe them, examining them with the intellect, observing them more sharply with the keenness of the mind. Among these are those who are Twelve in number brought together in a passage of names in two lines by Ennius:
Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars
Mercury, Jove, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo

and others of that kind, whose names indeed have long since been familiar to our ears, whose powers are truly inferred by our minds through the different benefits in leading life, which are observed in those matters in which they are individually concerned.]

B. Lucian (ca. A.D. 120-after 180), *Iuppiter Tragoedus* (*Opera*, ed. C. Jacobitz, II, Leipzig 1903, 362).

26 (672). ... σὺ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἔννομος εἶ δημηγόρος, πρόπαλαι μὲν ἐξ ἐφήβων γεγονώς, ἐγγεγραμμένος δὲ ἐς τὸ τῶν δώδεκα ληξιαρχικόν, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου βουλῆς ὤν· ...

[... Momus, acknowledging Apollo's right to give his opinion, says: "... but you already are certainly a lawful public speaker, long ago graduated from the Ephebes, and enrolled in the roster of the Twelve, being almost fit for the Council of Kronos.]

1. Scholion (*Opera* ed. C. Jacobitz, IV, Leipzig 1841, reprinted Hildesheim 1966, 179).

ἐς τὸ τῶν δώδεκα: ἀφ' οὗ οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ ἄρχειν ἐτάχθησαν, δηλονότι παυθείσης τῆς Κρόνου ἀρχῆς.

Momus, acting as secretary of the divine assembly, acknowledges Apollo's right to give his opinion. Dated before A.D. 160 by J. Schwartz, *Biographie de Lucien de Samosate*, Brussels 1965, Tableau chronologique.

C. Lucian, *Deorum Concilium* (*Opera* ed. C. Jacobitz, III, Leipzig reprinted 1896, 391, lines 9-14).

15 (536-37). δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυλλεγῆναι μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινάς, ἑλέσθαι δὲ ἐπιγνώμονας τελείους θεοὺς ἑπτά, τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Κρονου, τέτταρας δὲ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δία· ...

[Be it resolved by the Council (Boule) and People (Demos) to call an assembly in Olympos at the Winter solstice, and let seven gods be chosen as judges with full authority, three from the old Council in the reign of Kronos, four from the Twelve and among these Zeus; ...]

A mock decree promulgated in Olympus, establishing a committee of gods to determine which new gods shall be admitted to Olympus and which cast down to Tartarus. Dated A.D. 165/175 by J. H. Oliver, AJP 101 (1980), 303-13.

D. Iamblichus (ca. A.D. 242/245-325), *In Timaeum IV* (*In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, ed. J. M. Dillon, Leiden 1973, 192).

Frag. 79 (= Proclus, *In Timaeum* 299 D-E). Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων θεῶν δυνάμεις εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν δώδεκα ἡγεμόνων εἴτε ἀπ' ἄλλων τινῶν καθήκουσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων δὲ χορῶν πρόεισί τις εἰς τὴν γένεσιν διάταξις διπλασιαζομένη, ὥς φησιν ὁ θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνὸς ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καθ' ἑκάστην στοιχείου λῆξιν ἡγεμονίας θεῶν γενεσιουργῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα δεκαδαρχῶν δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα προεληλυθέναι, καὶ ἄλλους ὡσαύτως θεούς, πλήθει μὲν διπλασίους τῶν οὐρανίων, δυνάμει δὲ ἀπολειπομένους.

[There are also in them powers from the hypercosmic gods, descending either from the twelve leaders or from some other (deities), and from the heavenly choruses comes forth some arrangement for genesis doubled, as the divine Iamblichus says. For from the twenty-one leaders are sprung forty-two creating gods according to each allotment of the first principle of leadership, and from the thirty-six decadarchs have come forth seventy-two, and other gods similarly, in number twice as many as the heavenly but lesser in power.]

E. Iamblichus, *In Parmenidem* (*In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, ed. J. M. Dillon, Leiden 1973, 214, 216).

Frag. 6 (= Damascius, *Dubitationes et Solutiones de Primis Principiis* ed. P. Couvreur, II, 146 lines 3-10). Ὡς δὲ τὴν Ἰαμβλίχου παραθέσθαι ἐξήγησιν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ εἶναι τί φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὄντως οὖσιν ὃ ἐν πᾶσι μέν, οὐχ ἐν ἑκάστῳ δέ, τὸ γὰρ 'πᾶν ἔμπλεον ἐόντος' φάναι καὶ τὸν ἐν ἔπεσι Παρμενίδην, ὡς πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ ἐκεῖ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν, καὶ πανταχοῦ παραφαινόμενον· καὶ λέγει 'πᾶν' καλῶς. εἰ γοῦν εἴη καὶ ἀριθμὸς ἐκεῖ τις, οὐσιώδης ἐστὶν ἰδίοτης, ὁμοῦ μέν ἐν τῷ ἀθροίσματι, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ οὖσα· δυοδεκαδικὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῶν δώδεκα ἡγεμόνων πληθύς· καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῷ εἴδει συνουσίωται τῆς δυοδεκάδος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριθμῶν. ...

[According to the explanation of Iamblichus that man denies that everything is among true existents which is in all but not in each, for he says that "the whole (universe) is full of being," and that Parmenides in his poem (speaks of it) as a whole which there pervades all things and appears everywhere. And he does well to say "whole." At any rate, if there should be some number there, it is an essential individuality, being both in the aggregate and in each individual. For the number of the twelve leaders belongs to the dodecad, and each individual shares the nature of the dodecad.]

F. Sallustius (4th century after Christ), *Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (ed. A. D. Nock, Cambridge 1926).

6. τῶν δὲ θεῶν οἱ μέν εἰσιν ἐγκόσμιοι, οἱ δὲ ὑπερκόσμιοι. ἐγκοσμίους δὲ λέγω αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὸν κόσμον ποιοῦντας θεούς. ... τῶν δὲ ἐγκοσμίων οἱ μὲν εἶναι ποιοῦσι τὸν κόσμον οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ψυχοῦσιν οἱ δὲ ἐκ διαφόρων ὄντα ἁρμόζουσιν οἱ δὲ ἡρμοσμένον φρουροῦσι. τούτων δὲ ὄντων τεσσάρων πραγμάτων καὶ ἑκάστου πρῶτα ἔχοντος καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευταῖα, καὶ τοὺς διοικοῦντας δώδεκα εἶναι ἀνάγκη. οἱ μὲν οὖν ποιοῦντες τὸν κόσμον Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν εἰσι καὶ Ἥφαιστος, οἱ δὲ ψυχοῦντες Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἥρα καὶ Ἄρτεμις, οἱ δὲ ἁρμόζοντες Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἑρμῆς, οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες Ἑστία καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἄρης. αἰνίγματα δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων λύραν ἁρμόζει, ὥπλισται δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, γυμνὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, ἐπειδὴ ἁρμονία μὲν τὸ κάλλος ποιεῖ, ..., τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις οὐ κρύπτεται. τούτων δὲ πρώτως ἐχόντων τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τούτοις ἡγητέον εἶναι θεούς, οἷον Διόνυσον μὲν ἐν Διὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι Χάριτας δὲ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃ. καὶ σφαίρας δὲ τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, Ἑστίας μὲν γῆν, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ὕδωρ, Ἥρας (δὲ) ἀέρα, Ἡφαίστου δὲ πῦρ, ἓξ δὲ τὰς ἀνωτέρας ὧν ἔθος νομίζειν θεῶν· Ἀπόλλωνα γὰρ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἀνθ' Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ληπτέον. τὴν Κρόνου δὲ Δήμητρι δοτέον, Ἀθηνᾷ δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς πάντων κοινός. αἱ μὲν οὖν τάξεις καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ σφαῖραι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν οὕτως εἴρηνταί τε καὶ ὕμνηνται.

A.D. 361/363 (reign of Julian).

[Some of the gods are in the universe and some above the universe. By "in the universe" I mean those gods who make the universe. ... Of the gods in the universe, some make the universe to exist, some give it life, some harmonize that which consists of disparate entities, and some protect what has been harmonized. Since these are four activities and each has a beginning, middle and end, it is necessary for those who manage (the universe) to be twelve. Now those who make the universe are Zeus, Poseidon, and Hephaistos; those who give it life are Demeter, Hera, and Artemis; those who harmonize it Apollo, Aphrodite, and Hermes, those who guard it Hestia, Athena, and Ares. Clues of these (functions) are visible in their statues. For Apollo tunes the lyre, and Athena is armed, and Aphrodite is nude because harmony makes beauty, but beauty is not concealed in what is seen. Since these hold the universe first of all, we may suppose that the other gods are in these: for example, Dionysos in Zeus and Asklepios in Apollo and the Charites (Graces) in Aphrodite. And the spheres of these are evident: the earth of Hestia, water of Poseidon, air of Hera, fire of Hephaistos, and the upper (spheres) of the six (others) whom it is customary to consider gods. Apollo and Artemis must be taken in place of Helios and Selene. The sphere of Kronos must be given to Demeter, and the Aither, which is the heaven common to all, to Athena. Hence these are celebrated in hymns as the ranks and powers and spheres of the Twelve Gods.]

G. St Augustine (A.D. 354-430), *Civitas Dei* (trans. W. H. Green, II, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1963, 84).

IV.23. Quis enim ferat quod neque inter deos Consentes quos dicunt in consilium Iovis adhiberi, nec inter deos, quos selectos vocant, Felicitas constituta est?

[For who would endure the fact that Felicity (happiness) is not included either among the Di Consentes who they say are summoned to the Council of Jupiter or among the gods whom they call Selecti (chosen)?]

H. Proclus (5th century after Christ), *In Platonis Theologium Libri Sex* (ed. A. Portus, Hamburg-Frankfurt 1618, reprinted Frankfurt-am-Main 1960, 394-404).

VI.18-22. 18. ... τοὺς τοίνυν ἀπολύτους πάντας θεοὺς ἀπερίληπτον ἔχοντας πλῆθος, καὶ ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπιβολαῖς ἀναρίθμητον, ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸ τῆς δωδεκάδος μέτρον ἀφορίζει. ... ὅ γε Πλάτων τὸν δυωδεκάδος ἀριθμὸν, προσήκειν ὑπέλαβε τοῖς ἀπολύτοις θεοῖς, ὡς παντελῆ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρωτίστων ἀριθμῶν ἀποτελεσθέντα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τελείων συμπληρούμενον, καὶ πάσας τὰς περιόδους αὐτῶν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ περιείληφεν. ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ γένη, καὶ τὰς ἰδιότητας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀνάγει τὴν δυωδεκάδα, καὶ ἀφορίζει κατ' αὐτήν. ... 20. ... ἡ δυωδεκὰς ἡμιν αὕτη τῶν ἀπολύτων ἀνεφάνη θεῶν ἄνωθεν μὲν κατὰ τὴν τριάδα προϊούσα, κάτω δὲ τετραδικῶς πολλαπλασιαζομένη.

διὸ καὶ τῶν συμπληρούντων αὐτὴν ἡγεμόνων, οἱ μὲν, τριαδικῶς ἔλαχον τὸ δημιουργικὸν καὶ πατρικὸν. οἱ δὲ, τριαδικῶς τὸ γεννητικὸν καὶ ζωογονικόν. οἱ δὲ, τὸ ἀναγωγὸν τριαδικῶς, οἱ δὲ, τὸ ἄχραντον καὶ φρουρητικὸν ὡσαύτως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιότητες ἅπασαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐφήκουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀφομοιωματικῶν. ...

22. Τούτων τοίνυν κατὰ τριάδας (ὡς εἴρηται) διατεταγμένων, τῆς μὲν δημιουργικῆς τριάδος ἔλαχε τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην τάξιν, Ζεὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ,[1] ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα κατευθύνων, καὶ πάντων ἐπιμελούμενος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Σωκράτης. Ὁ δὲ Ποσειδῶν συμπληροῖ κἀνταῦθα τὰ μέσα τῆς δημιουργικῆς καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ψυχικὸν διάκοσμον κυβερνᾷ. κινήσεως γὰρ ὁ θεός ἐστιν αἴτιος καὶ γενέσεως πάσης.

Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ πρωτίστη τῶν γεννητῶν ἐστι, καὶ κίνησις κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἥφαιστος τὴν φύσιν ἐμπνεῖ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐγκοσμίους ἕδρας τῶν θεῶν δημιουργεῖ. τῆς δὲ αὖ φρουρητικῆς καὶ ἀτρέπτου πρωτίστη μὲν ἡ Ἑστία, διότι τὸ εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὸ, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἄχραντον διασώζει. ...

Δημιουργικοί	Φρουρητικοί	Ζωογονικοί	Ἀναγωγικοί
1. Ζεύς.	1. Ἑστία.	1. Δημήτηρ.	1. Ἑρμῆς.
2. Ποσειδῶν.	2. Ἀθηνᾶ.	2. Ἥρα.	2. Ἀφροδίτη.
3. Ἥφαιστος.	3. Ἄρης.	3. Ἄρτεμις.	3. Ἀπόλλων.

Ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ τὰς μέσας ζωὰς ἀκλινεῖς φυλάττει διανοήσεως, καὶ αὐτενεργήτου ζωῆς, ἀνέχουσα αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. ὁ δὲ Ἄρης ταῖς σωματοειδέσι φύσεσιν ἐπιλάμπει καὶ δύναμιν, ...

Τῆς γε μὴν ζωογονικῆς ἐξάρχει μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὅλως ἀπογεννῶσα πᾶσαν[1] ἐγκόσμιον ζωὴν, τήν τε νοερὰν, καὶ τὴν ψυχικῆν καὶ τὴν ἀχώριστον τοῦ σώματος. ἡ δὲ Ἥρα τὴν μεσότητα συνέχει, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπογέννησιν προϊεμένη. καὶ γὰρ ἡ νοερὰ θεὸς τῶν ἄλλων ψυχικῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς προυβάλλετο πάσας τὰς προόδους. ἡ δὲ Ἄρτεμις τὸ πέρας ἐκληρώσατο, πάντας κινοῦσα τοὺς φυσικοὺς λόγους εἰς ἐνέργειαν, καὶ τὸ αὐτελὲς τῆς ὕλης τελειοῦσα. ... λοιπῆς τοίνυν τῆς ἀναγωγικῆς[2] τριάδος ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐστι χορηγός. καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀνάγει τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ταῖς διαλεκτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀναπέμπει τάς τε ὅλας καὶ τὰς μερικάς. ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη, τῆς δι' ὅλων διηκούσης ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιπνοίας ἐστὶν αἰτία πρωτουργὸς καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν οἰκειοῖ τὰς ἀναγομένας ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς ζωάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων διὰ μουσικῆς τὰ πάντα τελειοῖ καὶ ἐπιστρέφει πάντα ὁμοπολῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ δι' ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ πρὸς τὴν νοερὰν ἕλκων ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ φῶς κοινῇ δὲ περὶ πάντων λέγομεν ὅτι τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ὑπεριδρύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, τὸν πάντα συνέχουσι τῶν ἀπολύτων χορόν, καὶ ψυχὰς μὲν, αὐτῶν ἐξήρτηνται. νοεραὶ δὲ καὶ οἷον δυνάμεις γεννητικαὶ ψυχῶν.

[1] Emendations suggested by Portus.

[2] Emendation suggested by H. S. Long.

Though based on the passages in Plato's *Phaedrus* cited in T 19, Proclus' interpretation of the universe expands that of Sallustius cited in T 41 F.

[18. ... Moreover all the disembodied gods are infinite in number and uncountable by human effort, (but) here are defined according to the measure of the Twelve. ... Plato at any rate assumed that the number twelve befitted the disembodied gods as a perfect number and one produced from the chief of all numbers and made up from perfect numbers and he included all their revolutions in this measure. For he refers all their kinds and their peculiarities to this (number) twelve and limits them according to it. ... 20. ... This dodecad of the disembodied gods has been shown by us to proceed from on high triadically, but multiplied by four below.

Therefore of those chief (gods) who make up this (number) one triad was allotted the creative and paternal, one triad the genetic and lifeproducing, one triad the elevating, and one the undefiled and likewise protective.

22. Moreover of those arranged in triads as has been said, the highest place in the creative triad was allotted from above by Nous to Zeus, setting in order souls and bodies, and concerned with all things, as Socrates says. Then Poseidon completes the middle part of the creation and

especially governs the spiritual order. For he is the god who causes movement and all birth.

The soul is the very first of the things produced and movement according to being, and Hephaistos inspires the nature of the bodies and makes all the gods' seats in the universe.

Of the protective and unmoved triad, Hestia is first because she preserves the very existence of things and keeps their being undefiled.

Creators	*Guards*	*Life-Givers*	*Uplifters*
1. Zeus	1. Hestia	1. Demeter	1. Hermes
2. Poseidon	2. Athena	2. Hera	2. Aphrodite
3. Hephaistos	3. Ares	3. Artemis	3. Apollo

... Athena guards the intermediate creatures unswerving in intellect and spontaneous life, lifting them up from matter. Ares shines power upon the creatures in bodily form.

Demeter rules the life-giving, wholly producing all life in the universe, intellectual, spiritual and that inseparable from the body. Hera keeps the middle part, devoting herself to the production of the soul. For the intellectual goddess sent forth all the emanations of other spiritual entities from herself. Artemis was allotted the end, arousing all the natural Logoi into activity and completing the self-sufficiency of matter.

... Furthermore, of the last, uplifting triad, Hermes is leader of philosophy. Hence through it he leads souls up and with his dialectical powers sends them, in whole and in part, up to the good itself. Aphrodite is the prime-moving cause of the erotic inspiration pervading all things and adapts those lives led up by her to the beautiful. Apollo through music completes all things and corrects all things, moving them all together, as Socrates says, and drawing them through harmony and rhythm toward the intellectual truth and the light there. In general we say about all things that, seating themselves above the things in the universe, they hold together the whole chorus of the disembodied and have their souls attached (to them), intellectual and, as it were, powers productive of souls.]

42. Alexander Severus as the Thirteenth God(?)

A. St. John Chrysostom (ca. A.D. 345-407), *In Epistula II ad Corinthios Homilia XXVI* (*Patrologia Graeca* ed. J. P. Migne, LXI, Paris 1862, 580-81).

624. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ εἰδωλολατρεῖαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτησαν, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν θαυμαζομένων· οὕτως Ἀλέξανδρον τρισκαιδέκατον ἐνόμισεν εἶναι θεὸν ἡ σύγκλητος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἀξίαν χειροτονεῖν καὶ ἐγκρίνειν θεούς.

Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.) or Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235).

[For thus also idolatry prevailed originally since men admired it above its deserving. Thus the Roman Senate made a law that Alexander was the Thirteenth God. For it had this dignity, to elect and approve gods.]

See also 16 H. Athens/Alexander the Great; 23. Aigai/Philip II of Macedon; 25. Alexander the Great; 28. Thasos/Alexander the Great; 45. Kyzikos/Hadrian; 56. Constantinople/Constantine the Great.

B. Scriptores Historiae Augustae (4th century after Christ), *Alexander Severus* (ed. E. Hohl, I, Leipzig 1927, 301).

63.1-2. mortem eius (of Alexander Severus) milites et qui exauctorati ab eo quondam fuerant gravissime tulerunt atque auctores caedis trucidarunt. populus vero Romanus senatusque omnis cum provincialibus cunctis neque tristius umquam neque asperius acceperunt, ... Senatus eum in deos rettulit. ... 4. addita et festivitas matris nomine atque ipsius, quae hodieque Romae religiossime celebratur nata(li) eius die.[1]

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[1] Listed in the Calendar of Philocalus (A.D. 354) as the Kalends of October: *CIL* I^2, p. 255.

[His death deeply grieved the soldiers and those who had once been discharged by him, and they slew his assassins. The Roman people and the entire Senate with all the people in the provinces never learned anything sadder or more cruel. ... The Senate placed him among the gods. ... A festival was added in the name of his mother and of himself, which is celebrated today at Rome on his birthday with extraordinary devotion.]

43. Association with the Individual

A. Dipinto observed on stucco in Baths of Titus, Rome, in 1813.

CIL VI, IV, 1, ed. C. Huelson, Berlin 1894, no. 29848b; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 801 C 58, no. 6; 835 H 97.

Duodeci(m) deos et Deana(m) et Iovem Optumu(m) Maximu(m) habeat iratos quisquis hic mixerit aut cacarit.

[Let whoever urinates or defecates here feel the wrath of the Twelve Gods, Diana, and Jupiter Optimus Maximus.]

B. Palladas (fl. ca. A.D. 400), *Epigrams* (*Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton, IV, London-New York 1918).

X.58.17-18.

ὅρκοις λοιπὸν ἄγει τε πεποίθαμεν· ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὅρκον
ζητεῖν θεοὺς δώδεκα καινοτέρους.[1]

[1] Emendation by Paton. He suggests that the verses mean that after the woman in question has sworn by the Twelve Gods to be faithful, she can break her oath and get twelve new gods (the apostles) to forgive her (by turning Christian).

[Because of oaths and a curse we trust her hereafter; but after the oath (she goes) to seek twelve newer gods.]

44. Medicine (Botany)

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23/24-79), *Natural History* (trans. W. H. W. Jones, VII, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1956).

XXV.28. Ab ea (the herb moly) maxima auctoritas herbae est quam dodecatheon vocant omnium deorum maiestatem commendantes.

XXVI.107. ... remedia autem haec communia invenio: ante omnes potandum dodecatheum, de qua diximus, ...[1]

[1] The maladies for which Dodecatheum or Duodecatheon was a cure are listed in detail by Marcellus Empiricus, *De Medicamentiis Liber* (*Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, V, ed. M. Niedermann, Leipzig 1916), XXVII.7. Cf. also Paulus Aegineta (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* IX, 2, ed. I. L. Heiberg, Leipzig 1924), VII.11.22 for a prescription. Neither discusses the Twelve Gods.

[After this (the herb moly), the herb of greatest power is that which they call Dodekatheon, entrusting to it the excellence of all the gods.

However I find these universal remedies: before all, dodekatheon should be drunk, about which I have spoken, ...]

INDIVIDUAL CITIES

Asia Minor

45. Kyzikos, Mysia. Temple of Hadrian as the Thirteenth God.

A. Socrates Scholasticus (5th century after Christ), *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, LXVII, Paris 1864, 448-49).

III.23 C. Κυζικηνοὶ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατον θεὸν Ἁδριανὸν ἀνηγόρευσαν.

[The Kyzikenes proclaimed Hadrian the Thirteenth God.]

B. John Malalas (6th century after Christ), *Historia Chronica* (*Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas; Griechischer Text der Bücher IX-XII und Untersuchungen*, A. Schenk, Graf von Stauffenberg, Stuttgart 1931, 49).

XI.279.3-11. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θειοτάτου Ἀδριανοῦ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας σεισμοῦ ἡ Κύζικος, ἥτις ἐστὶ μητρόπολις μεγάλη τῆς Ἑλλησπόντου ἐπαρχίας, μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ ι´, νυκτός. Καὶ πολλὰ τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐχαρίσατο καὶ ἀνήγειρεν αὐτήν. καὶ τοῖς ὑπολειφθεῖσιν πολίταις ἐχαρίσατο χρήματα καὶ ἀξίας. Ἔκτισεν δὲ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κυζίκῳ ναὸν μέγαν πάνυ, ἕνα ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων, στήσας ἑαυτῷ στήλην μαρμαρίνην στηθαρίου μεγάλου πάνυ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν ὀροφὴν τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγράφει· ''Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ'', ὅπερ ἐστι ἕως τῆς νῦν.

See Kyzikos 1. The Temple of Hadrian is also mentioned in the *Anthologia Palatina* IX.656 lines 15-16 and in one version as the seventh wonder of the world: Philo of Byzantium, *Libellos de Septem Orbis Spectaculis* ed. D. S. Boessius-L. Allatius-J. C. Orellius, Leipzig 1816, 144 lines 22-23.

A.D. 123-139.

[In the reign of his divinity Hadrian, through divine rage, Kyzikos suffered an earthquake on November 10th at night. This is a great city in the eparchy of the Hellespont. He (Hadrian) did many favors for that same city, and he restored it. He gave money and goods to the surviving citizens. And Hadrian built a very great temple in this same Kyzikos, one of the sights, and placed in his own honor a marble stele with a very large bust there on the roof (i.e., in the pediment) of the temple on which he engraved ''Of the God Hadrian.'' This exists to the present day.]

46. Metropolis (near Ephesos), Ionia. Priest of the Twelve Gods.

CIG II, ed. A. Boeckh, Berlin 1843, no. 3037; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 793 B 43; *Inschriften von Ephesos* VII, 1, ed. R. Meriç-R. Merkelbach-J. Nollé-S. Şahin [= Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 17, 1], Bonn 1981, no. 3418.

ἱερεὺς δώδεκ[α θε-]
ῶν Νηρεὺς Νηρέως
ἱέρηα̣ Ἀνατολή
διάκονος Ἔλπις
διάκονοι Καλλιγᾶς
Δημητρίου
[Μ]ενεκράτης
[ἱε]ρεὺς
[δώ]δεκα θεῶν Νη-
[ρεὺ]ς Ἀρτεμᾶ τοῦ Νη-
[ρέω]ς ἱέρεια Ἔλπις ἡ μή-
[τ]ηρ τοῦ ἱερέος διάκο-
νος Τύχη διάκονοι Ἀρ-
τεμᾶς καὶ Ἐλπιδηφόρος
οἱ ἀδελφοῖ τοῦ ἱερέ[ος]

[Priest of the Twelve Go)ds: Nereu(s) son of Nereus
Priestess: Anatole
Deaconess: Elpis

Deacons: Kalligas son of Demetrios, (M)enekrates
Priest of the (Tw)elve Gods: Ne(reu)s son of Artemas son of Ne(reu)s
Priestess: Elpis (the) mother of the priest
Deaconness: Tyche
Deacons: Artemas and Elpidephoros, the brothers of the priest]

47. Saitta(e), Lydia. Grave stelai.
A. Alexandros Trophimos.

S. Bakir-Barthel-H. Müller, ZPE 36 (1979), 182, no. 36; J. and L. Robert, REG 93 (1980), 452, no. 466; E. N. Lane, The Second Century 1 (1981), 194-95, no. 1, lines 5-9.

... εἰ δέ τις προ[σαμάρ-]
τῃ τῇ στήλλῃ τὸν Ἀξιοττεν[ὸν ἐν]
τῷ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην[1] καθήμ[ενον]
ἀ νεξείλαστον τέχνα τέχν[ων]
ἕξει.

[1] Lane interprets this as "twelfth," the others as "Dodekatheon."

A.D. 108/109.

[... If anyone damages the stele, he shall find (Men) Axiottenos, who is seated there in the Dodekatheon (or twelfth), remorseless to (his) children's children.]

B. Trophimos.

G. Petzl, ZPE 30 (1978), 258, no. 4; J. and L. Robert, REG 92 (1979) 488, no. 436.

... εἰ δέ τις προσαμάρτῃ ταῖς στήλλαις, ἔσται τῶν δώδεκα σκήπτρων ἠκουκώς.[1]

[1] J. and L. Robert query whether the twelve scepters are not connected with a set of Twelve Gods.

A.D. 98/99.

[... If anyone damages the stelai, he shall be hearing from the Twelve Scepters.]

48. Sidyma, Lycia. Inscription recorded by G. E. Bean in back wall of mosque of Dodurga on site of ancient Sidyma in 1972.[1]

G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*, London-New York 1978, 81.

οἱ ἐνθάδε θεοί·
Ἑστία
Ἑρμῆς
Δημήτηρ

Ποσειδών
Ζεύς
Ἥρα
Ἄρτεμις
Ἀπόλλων
Ἥφαιστος
Ἀθηνᾶ
Ἄρης
Ἀφροδείτη
[ἀν?]εγράφησαν ὑπὸ
[Εὐέλθ]οντος τοῦ[
[καὶ Εὐτ]υχέους Τελε-
[σίου Σιδ]υμέος.

The Gods here:
Hestia, Hermes, Demeter, Poseidon, Zeus, Hera, Artemis, Apollo, Hephaistos, Athena, Ares, Aphrodite (listed in a column)
Written by (Euelth)on the (... and Eut)yches son of Tele(sios of Sid)yma.

GREECE

Athens

See 16 I. Priest of Twelve Gods assigned a theater seat. 2nd century after Christ.

41 B-C. Lucian's *Dialogues* composed in Athens. 2nd half of 2nd century after Christ.

Kos

See 29 C 2. Priestess of the Twelve Gods. 1st century after Christ.

EGYPT

Alexandria

See 24 A. Description of Tychaion by Libanius. 2nd half of 4th century after Christ.

43 B. Epigram by Palladas of Alexandria. Ca. A.D. 400.

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[1] Both text and emendations are by Professor Bean. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Jane Bean for information on the circumstances of the discovery and to the Kommission für Kleinasiatische Epigraphik of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna for supplying a photocopy of Professor Bean's transcription with permission to publish it.

MOESIA

49. Dionysopolis. Inscription honoring M. Aurelius Demetrios.

IGRR I, ed. R. Cagnat, Paris 1911, 221, no. 664; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 788 B 31.

... τὸν] ἀσύνκριτον ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱε[ρέα θεῶν]
δώδεκα καὶ γυμνασιάρχην και[νῶν ἀγώ-]
νων φιλότειμον καὶ ἄρξαντα τῆς πα[τρίδος]
ἀγνῶς καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα παρὰ Θε[ὸν]
Ἀντωνεῖνον[1] εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα Ῥώμ[η]ν
καὶ ἐν ἐπιδόσει χρημάτων ἄρξαντα τὴν π[ρώ-]
την ἀρχὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως, [δόν-]
τα καὶ διανομὰς τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ [ἐπὶ]
ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, Μ. Αὐ[ρήλιον]
Δημήτριον Διογένους βουλὴ [τῶν Διονυ-]
σοπολειτῶν τειμῆς [χάριν].

[1] Either Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) or Caracalla (A.D. 211-217).

[In honor of the incomparable high priest and priest of the Twelve (Gods), gymnasiarch of the new contests, a generous man who administered the fa(therland) uprightly and went to the royal city Rome as ambassador to the di(vine) Antoninus (either Antoninus Pius or Caracalla) and who began his first magistracy by a distribution of money and (was) benefactor of the city, privy counsellor to the ruling council for erecting the statue, M. Au(relius) Demetrios, son of Diogenes, by the Council of the People of Dionysopolis, to honor him.]

DACIA

50. Enyed. Dedication by M. Opellius.

CIL III, 1, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin 1873, no. 942; *ILS* II, 1, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1903, no. 4004; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 802 C 61.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | ceterisq(ue) | dis conse|ntibus | M. Opellius | Adiutor | IIvir col(oniae).
Early 2nd century after Christ.

[To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the rest of the Di Consentes. M. Opellius Adjutor and Duovir of the colony.]

51. Apuli. Dedication on rectangular base for two statues.

CIL III, 1, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin 1873, no. 1061; *ILS* II, 1, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1903, no. 4006; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 802 C 61.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et consessui deo|rum dearumque | pro salute imperii | Romani et virtute | leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) sub M. Statio Prisco[1] consule de | signato[2], demonstr. | ipsis aquas aperien|das per L. Aurelium | Trophimum ponen|ti signum Io|vis et aram, p. s. f.

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[1] On the career of M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus, see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III.*, III, ed. P. von Rohden-H. Dessau, Berlin 1898, 260, no. 637; F. Miltner, *RE* series 2, 6 (1929), 2218-21, sv. *Statius 18.*

[2] Statius Priscus was consul designate in A.D. 158.

[To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Council of gods and goddesses on behalf of the safety of the Roman government and the courage (*virtus*) of the legion XIII Gemina commanded by M. Statius Priscus, consul designate, who showed the waters to be tapped by L. Aurelius Trophimus and erected the statue of Jupiter and the altar at his own expense.]

52. Sarmizegethusa (Ulpia Traiana). Dedication by P. Aelius Hammonius Junior.

Daicovici, Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice (1930), S.-A., 4; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 802 C 61.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni, Minervae, Diis Consentibus, Saluti, Fortunae Reduci, Apollini, Dianae Victrici, Nemesi, Mercurio, Herculi, Soli Invicto, Aesculapio, Hygiae, Deis Deabusque immortalibus P. Aelius Hammonius Iun(ior) proc(urator) Aug(ustorum duorum).

[To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, the Di Consentes, Salus, Fortuna Redux, Apollo, Diana Victrix, Nemesis, Mercury, Hercules, Sol Invictus, Aesculapius, Hygia, and the immortal gods and goddesses. P. Aelius Hammonius Junior, procurator for the two Augusti (Marcus Aurelius with either Lucius Verus or Commodus).]

ITALY

53. Aquae Cutiliae. Altar dedicated by T. Flavius Iulianus to the Twelve Gods.

N. Persichetti, NS 1891, 39; *ILS* II, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1902, no. 4007; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 801 C 58; E. C. Evans, *Cults of the Sabine Territory* [= PAAR 11], 1939, 93-94.

T. Fl. Iulianus L[...]
duodecim dii[s]
sanctissimis
posuit.
3rd or 4th century after Christ.

[T. Flavius Julianus L(...) set (this up) for the Twelve most holy Gods.]

Ostia

See Ostia 1.

Rome

See 34 E. Lectisternium celebrated by Marcus Aurelius. A.D. 166.

35 B. Description of Pompa Circensis in early first century after Christ by Ovid.

36 C. Restoration of Porticus Deorum Consentium by Vettius Praetextatus. A.D. 367/368.

42. Deification of Alexander Severus by the Roman Senate. A.D. 235.

Rome. Miscellaneous sets of Twelve Gods.

54. Sets Connected with Agriculture.

A. Altars said to have been dedicated by Titus Tatius.

1. Varro (116-27 B.C.), *De Lingua Latina* (ed. G. Goetz-F. Schoell, Leipzig 1910).

V.74. e(t) ar(a)e Sabinum linguam olent quae Tati regis voto sunt Romae dedicatae: nam, ut annales dicunt, vovit Opi, Flor(a)e, Vedio⟨io⟩vi Saturnoque, Soli, Lunae, Volcano et Summano, itemque Larundae, Termino, Quirino, Vortumno, Laribus, Dianae Lucinaeque.

[The altars which were dedicated at Rome by a vow of King Tatius smell of the Sabine tongue: For, as the annals say, he dedicated (them) to Ops, Flora, Vediovis and Saturn, Sol, Luna, Volcan and Summanus, and also to Larunda, to Terminus, to Quirinus, to Vortumnus, to the Lares, and to Diana and Lucina.]

2. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century B.C.), *Roman Antiquities* (ed. C. Jacoby, I, Leipzig 1885, 225).

II.50.3. ... Τάτιος δὲ Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Ῥέᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑστίᾳ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὧν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα, ...

[Tatius to Helios and to Selene and to Kronos and Rhea, and besides these to Hestia and Hephaistos and Artemis and Enyalios and other gods whose names it is difficult to give in the Greek tongue.]

3. St. Augustine (354-430), *Civitas Dei* (trans. W. H. Green, II, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1963, 82).

IV.23. ... ut quid Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem, Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem et quoscumque alios addidit, inter quos etiam deam Cluacinam, Felicitate neglecta? ...

[... as why did Titus Tatius add Saturn, Ops, Sol, Luna, Vulcan, Lux, and whatever others he added, among them even the goddess Cluacina, while Happiness was left out?]

B. Deities invoked by flamen celebrating Sacrum Cereale. Servius (4th century after Christ), *Commentary on Georgics* (*Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii* III, ed. G. Thilo, Leipzig 1887, 137).

I.21. ... Fabius Pictor[1] hos deos enumerat, quos invocat flamen sacrum Cereale faciens Telluri et Cereri: Vervactorem, Reparatorem, Inporcitorem, Insitorem, Obaratorem, Occatorem, Sarritorem, Subruncinatorem, Messorem, Convectorem, Conditorem, Promitorem.

[1] Roman historian of 3rd century B.C.

[... Fabius Pictor lists those gods whom the flamen conducting the Sacrum Cereale for Tellus and Ceres calls upon: Vervactor, Reparator, Inporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, Occator, Sarritor, Subruncinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor.]

C. Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum Libri Tres*, I.4-6. See T 36 A.

D. Vergil (70-19 B.C.), *Georgics* (*Opera* ed. F. A. Hirtzel, Oxford 1900 reprinted 1942).

I.5-20, 24-25, 31-35.

hinc canere incipiam. vos, o clarissima mundi
lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis,
et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni,
(ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae)—
munera vestra cano. tuque o, cui prima frementem
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
Neptune; et cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceae
ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci;
ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,
adsis, o Tegeaee, favens, oleaeque Minerva
inventrix, uncique puer monstrator aratri,

et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum;
...
tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia incertum est, urbesne invisere, Caesar.
...
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis,
anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit)—
...

[Here let me begin to sing. You, o brightest lights of the world (the sun and moon), who lead the year as it passes through the sky; Liber and kindly Ceres, if by your gift the earth has exchanged the Chaonian acorn for the plump ear of grain and mingled Acheloan cups with the grapes discovered; and you, divinities at hand in the wilds, Fauns,—Fauns and Dryad maidens, tap your feet in time—I sing of your gifts. And you, for whom the earth struck by your great trident first produced the neighing horse, Neptune; and the tendor of the groves, for whom three hundred snowy bullocks crop the rich thorn hedges of Cea, Pan yourself, guardian of the sheep, leaving your ancestral grove and the woodland pastures of Lycaeus, if you have a care for your Maenala Mountains, be here, Tegean, propitious, and Minerva who discovered the olive, and the boy who showed the crooked plow, and Silvanus carrying the tender cypress roots and all;
And do you especially be present, Caesar, about whom we do not know in what councils of the gods you are to sit, whether to watch over cities,
...
And whether Tethys will buy you for her son-in-law at the cost of all the waves (of the sea), whether you will add yourself as a new star to the slow months where a place opens between Erigone and the pursuing Claws (glowing Scorpio himself already draws back his arms for you and has left more than the lawful part of the sky) ...]

55. Deities Invoked by Arval Brothers to give Imperial Victories.

A. On behalf of Trajan.

CIL VI, 1, ed. E. Bormann-W. Henzen, Berlin 1876, no. 2074 I, lines 23-70, passim; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 809-10 C 69.

VIII k. Apr. in Capitoli[o pro salute et redit]u et victoria imp. Caesaris Nervae 23

Traiani Aug. Germ. [vota nuncupaverunt fratres] Arvales in haec verba, quae infr(a) s(cripta) s(unt): 24
Iuppiter O.M., te precamur, quae [sumus obtestam]urque, uti tu imp(eratorem) ... 25
... Traianum ... 26
... bene adque feliciter i[ncolumem red]ucem victoremq(ue) faci[as], 28
eorumq(ue) rerum ei, quas nunc agit actur[usve est, bonum eventum] des, adque in eo statu, 29
quo nunc est, aut eo meliori eum conserv[es eumque reduce]m incolumem victoremq(ue) 30
primo quoq(ue) tempore in urbem Romam sis[tas ast tu ea ita facsis], tunc tibi nomine coll(egi) 31
fratrum Arvalium bove aurato vovimus [esse futurum. Iu]no Regina, quae in 32
verba Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute et reditu et vi[ctoria imp(eratoris)] ... Traia- 33
ni ... bov[e] aurato vovimus 34
esse futurum, ... 35
... Minerva, ... 36
... Iovis victor, ... 40
Salus pub(licae) p(opuli) R(omani) Quiritium, ... 44
Mars pater, ... 48
... Mars victor, ... 51
Victoria, ... 55
... Fortuna redux, ... 58
Vesta mater, ... 62
Neptune pater, ... 65
... Hercules victor, ... 67
A.D. 101.

[March 25 on the Capitolium for the safety, return, and victory of the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus the Arval Brothers pronounced vows in the words which are written below:

Jupiter Optimus Maximus, we pray to you, we ask and supplicate that you well and kindly grant that the emperor ... Trajan ... be unharmed, restored and victor, that you give a good outcome of those matters in which he is now acting or about to act, and also that you preserve him in that state in which he now is or better, that you set him unharmed, restored and victor in the city of Rome at the earliest time. If you do these things thus, then to you in the name of the college of Arval Brothers we pledge will be given a bull with gilded horns. Queen Juno, in the words of the oath to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the safety, return and victory of the emperor ... Trajan ... we vow a cow with gilded horns. ...

The ten remaining gods, who are invoked in the same fashion as Juno, are: Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus Rei Publicae Populi Romani Quiritium, Mars Pater, Mars Victor, Victoria, Fortuna Redux, Vesta Mater, Neptune Pater and Hercules Victor.]

B. On behalf of Caracalla.

CIL VI, 1, ed. E. Bormann-W. Henzen, Berlin 1876, no. 2086, later text, lines 22-29; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 809-810 C 69.

... Isdem co(n)s(ulibus)
pr. non. Oct. in Capitolio ante cellam Iunonis reg(inae) ob salute(m) victoriamque Germanicam imp. Caes. M. Aurelli Anto-
nini pii felic(is) Aug(usti) ... trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVI imp(eratoris) III co(n)s(ulis) IIII proco(n)s(ulis), et Iuliae Aug(ustae)
piae fel[ic(is)] m(atris) imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) n(ostri), senatus, castrorum et patriae, fratres Arvales co(n)venerunt et immolaverunt
per L. Armenium Peregrinum promag(istro) vice Flavi Alpini mag(istri) collegi fratrum Arvalium I(ovi) O. M. b(ovem) m(arem) a(uratum), Iunoni
reg(inae) b(ovem) f(eminam) a(uratam), Minervae b(ovem) f(eminam) a(uratam), Saluti publ(icae), b. f. a., Marti ultori taurum a(uratum), Iovi victori b. m. a. et Victoriae b. f. a., Laribus
militaribus taurum album, Fortunae reduci b. f. a., Genio imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) n(ostri) taurum album, Iunoni Iuliae
piae matris Antonini Aug(usti) n(ostri), senat(us), castror(um) et patr(iae)
b. f. a. Adfuerunt Cn. Catilius Severus, T. Statilius Silianus.
A.D. 213.

[In the same consulship on October 6th on the Capitolium before the cella of Queen Juno for the safety and German victory of the emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus ... in the sixteenth year of his holding the tribunician power, the third consulship and the fourth proconsulship, and on behalf of Julia Augusta Pia Felix, mother of the emperor Antoninus our Augustus, of the Senate, of the camps and of the fatherland, the Arval Brothers assembled and sacrificed through L. Armenius Peregrinus promagistrate in place of Flavius Alpinus magistrate of the college of Arval Brothers to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a bull with gilded horns; to Queen Juno a cow with gilded horns, to Minerva a cow with gilded horns, to Salus Publica (Public Safety) a cow with gilded horns, to Mars Ultor a bull with gilded horns, to Jupiter

Victor a bull with gilded horns and to Victoria a cow with gilded horns; to the Lares of the army a white bull, to Fortuna Redux a cow with gilded horns, to the Genius of the emperor Antoninus our Augustus a white bull, to Juno Julia Pia, mother of Antoninus our Augustus and of the Senate, the camps and the fatherland, a cow with gilded horns. Witnesses Cn. Catilius Severus, T. Statilius Silianus.]

Christian Echoes

56. Constantinople, Church of the Holy Apostles. Tomb of Constantine.

A. Eusebius (ca. A.D. 260-ca. A.D. 340), *De Vita Constantini* (*Werke* I, 1, ed. F. Winkelmann, Berlin 1975, 144-45).

IV.60.1-4 (141-42). Ταῦτα πάντα ἀφιέρου βασιλεὺς διαιωνίζων εἰς ἅπαντας τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν μνήμην. ᾠκοδόμει δ' ἄρα καὶ ἄλλο τι τῇ διανοίᾳ σκοπῶν, ὃ δὴ λανθάνον τὰ πρῶτα κατάφωρον πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγίγνετο. αὐτὸς γοῦν αὐτῷ εἰς δέοντα καιρὸν τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς τὸν ἐνταυθοῖ τόπον ἐταμιεύσατο, τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων προσρήσεως κοινωνὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκῆνος μετὰ θάνατον προνοῶν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ πίστεως προθυμίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν ἀξιῷτο τῶν ἐνταυθοῖ μελλουσῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων συντελεῖσθαι εὐχῶν. διὸ καὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐνταυθοῖ παρεκελεύετο, μέσον θυσιαστήριον πηξάμενος. δώδεκα δ' οὖν αὐτόθι θήκας ὡσανεὶ στήλας ἱερὰς ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ μνήμῃ τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγείρας χοροῦ, μέσην ἐτίθει τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ λάρνακα, ἧς ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀνὰ ἓξ διέκειντο. καὶ τοῦτο γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, σώφρονι λογισμῷ, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὸ σκῆνος τελευτήσαντι τὸν βίον εὐπρεπῶς μέλλοι διαναπαύεσθαι, ἐσκόπει. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ μακροῦ καὶ πρόπαλαι τῷ λογισμῷ ταῦτα προτυπούμενος ἀφιέρου τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸν νεών, ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ὀνησιφόρον τὴν τῶνδε μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ πιστεύων, θεὸς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν κατ' εὐχὰς προσδοκηθέντων οὐκ ἀπηξίου.

A.D. 324-337.

[The king dedicated all these, perpetuating forever the memory of the apostles of our Savior. But he built also with another purpose in mind, which at first escaped notice but in the end was evident to all. He himself, at all events, prepared the place here for himself for the needful time of his end, providing that his corpse after death share the invoking of the apostles because of the exceeding zeal of his faith, so that also, after his end, he be deemed worthy to share in the prayers to be made here in honor of the apostles. Therefore he ordered church services here and built an altar in the middle. Then he set up on this spot twelve graves like sacred steles for the honor and memory of the choir of the holy apostles, and he himself placed his sarcophagus in the center, on either side of which lay six of the apostles; and in fact, as said, he intended this with the prudent reasoning, that, when he died, his corpse would rest well here. But he, having conceived these things in thought a long time ago and far previously, dedicated the church to the apostles, confident that he made their memorial a beneficial aid to his own soul, and God did not deem him unworthy of what he expected in his prayers.]

B. Socrates Scholasticus (5th century after Christ), *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, LXVII, Paris 1864, p. 180).

I.40.2. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μερῶν ἐπιστάντος Κωνσταντίου, κηδείας τῆς βασιλικῆς ἠξιοῦτο, ἀποτεθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐπωνύμῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἣν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιήκει, ὅπως ἂν οἱ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν λειψάνων μὴ ἀπολιμπάνοιντο.

A.D. 337

[Afterwards, when Constantius was at hand from the eastern areas, he was deemed worthy of a royal funeral, being buried in the church named after the Holy Apostles, which he had made for this very purpose so that the kings and priests might not be left apart from the remains of the apostles.]

C. Nikolaos Mesarites (1163-), *Description of the Church of the Apostles* (A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* II, Leipzig 1908, 82; Weinreich, *Triskaidekadische Studien*, Giessen 1916, 7 note 1).

39. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν ἕω καὶ καταρχὰς ὁ τοῦ πρώτως ἐν Χριστιανοῖς βεβασιλευκότος Κωνσταντίνου νεκρὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τινος πορφυρανθούσης βασιλείου ἐκ γῆς τῆς πορφυροχρόου ταύτης λάρνακος ἐντὸς ἀναπέπαυεται, τοῦ μετὰ τὴν δωδεκάδα τῶν μαθητῶν τρισκαιδεκάτου τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως κήρυκος, τοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης ταύτης δομήτορος.

[Then toward dawn and the beginning (of the day) the corpse of Constantine, who first ruled among Christian (emperors), rested within this porphyry sarcophagus as upon some palace sprung from the purple-flowered land, who with the twelve disciples was the thirteenth herald of the orthodox faith, and who was also the builder of this imperial city.]

D. Nicephorus Xanthopulus (14th century after Christ), *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* (*Patrologia Graeca* ed. J. P. Migne, CXLVI, Paris 1865, 220).

VIII.55. ... Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκε Κωνστάντιος, ἐκ τῆς Ἕω διαμηνυθεὶς, μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐκήδευσε τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐστιν ἐπώνυμος· ἔνθα ἔτι τῷ ζῆν περιὼν Κωνσταντῖνος, ἠρίον ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν, ὃ βωμὸς Ἑλλήνων πρότερον ἦν, δωδεκάθεον ὄνομα, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον·

...

[... When Constantius came from the east, having been informed, he buried his father magnificently in the church named after the Apostles. There, while Constantine was still alive, he furnished a tomb for himself, which was earlier the altar of the Greeks called the Dodekatheon, a sight worthy of much consideration. ...]

A.D. 337.

The burial of Constantine in the Church of the Holy Apostles is also mentioned by Gregory Nazianzas, *Oratio* V *Contra Iulianum* II.159 (*Patrologia Graeca* ed. J. P. Migne, XXXV, Paris 1886, 685C, 688A), and by Sozomenus, *Ecclesiastica Historia* II.93 (*Patrologia Graeca* ed. J. P. Migne, LXVII, Paris 1864, 1031C).

57. First Council of Braga, Spain. Anathema Against Priscillianists.

St. Martin, Bishop of Braga (died A.D. 579), *Concilium Bracarense Primum* (*Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia*, ed. C. W. Barlow, PAAR 12, 1950, 108).

X. Si quis duodecim signis de sideribus[1] quae mathematici observare solent, per singula animi vel corporis membra disposita credunt et nominibus patriarcharum adscripta dicunt sicut Priscillianus dixit,[2] anathema sit.

[1] Variant readings: id est sidera O, idem sidera MN; omitted WV, Ag.

[2] Spanish Christian heretic, died A.D. 385.

A.D. 561.

[If anyone believes concerning the twelve zodiac signs of the stars, which astrologers customarily observe, that they are arranged as individual parts of the mind or of the body and says that they are designated with the names of the patriarchs as Priscillianus said, let it be anathema.]

Texts Doubtfully or Wrongly Associated with the Twelve Gods

58. Athens. Anecdote concerning the citharode Stratonikos.

Athenaeus (fl. ca. A.D. 200), *Deipnosophistae* (ed. G. Kaibel, II, Leipzig 1923, 264).

VII.41 (348 d). οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ’ εἶναι νομίζω ⟨εἰπεῖν⟩[1] ἔτι καὶ αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐμνήσθην τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ Στρατονίκου, λέξαι τι περὶ τῆς εὐστοχίας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. διδάσκων γὰρ κιθαριστάς, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ εἶχεν ἐννέα μὲν εἰκόνας τῶν Μουσῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος μίαν, μαθητὰς δὲ δύο, πυνθανομένου τινὸς πόσους ἔχοι μαθητάς, ἔφη ‘‘σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δώδεκα.’’

[1] Deleted by Schweighaeuser.

[I myself also think it is not inopportune whenever I recall the citharode Stratonikos to tell something about the wittiness of his rejoinders. For while he was teaching his cithara students, when he had in his classroom nine images of the Muses and one of Apollo and two pupils, upon someone's inquiring how many pupils he had, he said, "With (the help of) the gods, twelve."]

Included by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 839 L 102. The fourth century B.C., when Stratonikos lived, was a flourishing period for the Twelve Gods, but here twelve refers to the number of pupils, either those he actually had including the gods or those he hoped to have with the help of the gods.

59. Morphou, Cyprus. Inscribed amphora sherd.

I. Nicolaou, *Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae IV, 1964*, Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 1965, 114, no. 3 a; SEG 23 (1968), no. 665 a.

Δώδεκ̣[α Θεοῖς?]

Fragment of the neck of a Plain White Hellenistic amphora(?), placed in the Archaeological Survey stores, no. C.S. 1389. I. Nicolaou suggested restoring the inscription as a dedication to the Twelve Gods. There is no other evidence for the existence of the cult in Cyprus, nor do I know of any other storage vessels with dedications to the Twelve Gods.

3rd century B.C.

[(To the) twelve (gods).]

60. Tauromenion, Sicily. Eleventh month named Duodekateus.

IG XIV, ed. G. Kaibel, Berlin 1890, no. 427, line 33; R. Vallois, BCH 55 (1931), 268 note 2; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 790 B 38; A. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich 1972, 136-37; G. Manganaro, Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell' Arte 3 (1964), 43, I, line 16, 49.

Vallois' suggestion that the name of the month was based on the festival celebrated on the twelfth day of the month rather than the Twelve Gods is supported by T 28. Thasos, which names the festival of the Twelve as the Duodekatheia.

61. Laodikeia on the Lykos. Inscription commemorating embassy to temple of Apollo Klarios.

T. Macridy, ÖJh 15 (1912), 49-50, no. 12; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 792 B 41; L. Robert in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée du Lycos*, Paris 1969, 302, no. 19; C. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* [= BEFAR 123], Paris 1922, 696, note 10.

Picard observed that Macridy's reading of line 9, where he restored a reference to a priest of the Twelve Gods, was incorrect. The line should be read:

ἱερεὺς τῶν παίδω[ν καὶ ἀγωνοθέ]της τῶν Δείων ...
A.D. 184/185.

[Priest of the boys and judge (or producer) of the Deian games.]

62. Thessalonike. Two dedicatory inscriptions.

A. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 787 B 29 with earlier bibliography; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Amsterdam 1970, 448 note 3; C. Edson, HSCP 51 (1940), 127-29; *IG* X, 2, 1, Berlin 1972, no. 31.

ως τοῦ Νεικοπόλ[εως · ἱερέως] 8
δὲ τῶν θεῶν · Δω[c.5-6 τοῦ c.4-5]
που, Ῥώμης δὲ κ[αὶ Ῥωμαίων] 10
εὐεργετῶν· ...

[...]os of Neikopolos (priest) of the gods; Do[... son of ...]pos, (priest) of Roma and of (the Roman) benefactors. ...]

Edson observed that two other inscriptions at Thessalonike list persons simply as priests of the gods (number not specified) and that the lacuna in line 9 must include a personal name with patronymic. It is more customary for the number to be written first, τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν; where the number follows, the article is usually repeated: θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα (T 18 C), τῶ]ν θεῶν τῶν δυώ[δεκα (T 29 A 2), but cf. T 13 E: θεῶν δώδεκα βωμούς. Consequently this cannot be taken as a reference to the Twelve Gods.
27 B.C.-A.D. 14.

B. RA 24 (1894) 213, no. 38; L. Robert. *Études anatoliennes*, Amsterdam 1970, 448, note 3.

Here the reference is entirely restored.

63. Capri. Villas of Tiberius.

A. Tacitus (ca. A.D. 55-after 115), *Annales* (Cornelius Tacitus, *Annalen* ed. E. Koestermann, II, Heidelberg 1965).

IV.67.3. sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, ...
A.D. 26.

[But then Tiberius had settled (upon the island) with the twelve names and buildings of villas (or the names and buildings of twelve villas).]

B. Suetonius (ca. A.D. 69-ca. A.D. 140), *De Vita Caesarum* (ed. M. Ihm, Leipzig 1907).

III.65.2. Verum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa quae vocatur Ionis (Iovis).[1]

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[1] Ihm preferred the manuscript reading Ionis but observed that L and some others read Iovis. The extant remains are usually called the Villa Iovis. Cf. E. Koestermann, Cornelius Tacitus, *Annalen* II, Heidelberg 1965, 199.

A.D. 31.

[But when the conspiracy of Sejanus was suppressed, he (Tiberius) was no easier and no steadier but for nine months following he did not go out of the villa which is called "of Ion" (or "of Jupiter").]

TEXT UNCERTAIN

64. Salamis

CIG I, ed. A. Boeckh, Berlin 1828, no. 452; not included in later corpora; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 771 B 9; 781 B 18.

Σαλαμίνιοι τεῖχως
δώδεκα θεοῖς Σόλωνος.

[The Salaminians a wall to the Twelve Gods of Solon.]

ADDENDUM

65. Mytilene, Lesbos. Decree.

I. Tiribakos, ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974 published 1980) II 3, 865; H. Catling, ArchRep 1981-82, 50; G. Touchais, BCH 105 (1981) 845, fig. 145. B. Petrakos is preparing the final publication, according to J. and L. Robert, REG 95 (1982), 359 no. 247.

Lines 5-8. εὔξασθαι μὲν τὰμ βολλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον [το]ῖς θεοῖς τοῖς Δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι [Ἀ]ραίωι καὶ Βασιλῆι καὶ Ὁμονοίωι καὶ τᾶι Ὁμονοίαι καὶ Δίκαι καὶ ἐπὶ τελείαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴ κε συνενίκει τῶι δάμωι τῶι Μυτιληνάων [τὰ] δόξαντα θυσίαγ καὶ πρόσοδομ ποήσασθαι τ[ε]λειομένων τῶν ἀγαθῶγ κατ' ὄττι κε τῶι δάμωι [φ]αίνηται. (Robert)
Fourth century B.C.

[The Council and the People are to pray to the Twelve Gods and to Zeus Araios, Zeus Basileios, Zeus Homonoios, to Homonoia (Concord) and Dike (Justice) and upon completion of the good things, if the proposals are approved by the People of the Mytileneans, to make sacrifice and solemn procession when the good things are completed according to whatever seems fitting to the People.]

PART TWO

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

Any modern study of the Twelve Gods must begin with Otto Weinreich's survey, *Zwölfgötter*, which appeared in *Roschers Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* in 1937. This was an expansion of two earlier studies of his, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* and *Triskaidekadische Studien.*[1]

Weinreich covered the literary and epigraphical evidence quite thoroughly. A few new texts have appeared, notably inscriptions from Thasos, Saitta(e) and Sidyma;[2] others relating to Thessalonike and Laodikeia on the Lykos must be deleted.[3]

His interpretation of this evidence has not fared equally well. The theory that the cult originated in Ionia, which he took from Wilamowitz,[4] cannot be substantiated. The Lycian Twelve-Gods reliefs do not show the emperor in the midst of the Twelve Gods, as he supposed. New examples published by H. Metzger and C. Brixhe prove the central figure to be Artemis or the Father of the Twelve.[5] The concept of the ruler as the Thirteenth God appears only sporadically, connected with specific monarchs in Greek-speaking regions — possibly Philip II of Macedon, certainly Alexander the Great after his return from India, Eumenes II of Pergamon posthumously, Hadrian in Kyzikos, and Constantine. E. Will has shown that the tholos as a form is not the symbolic counterpart of the Twelve Gods.[6] Led astray by F. Boll, Weinreich attributed the concept of the Twelve gods as tutelae of the months and zodiac to Mesopotamia,[7] whereas there is evidence for the existence of the month gods in Egypt as early as the eighteenth dynasty. Weinreich's theory that the Twelve were the Olympians from the beginning has been challenged by A. Raubitschek, who revived C. Robert's interpretation of them as anonymous local daimons or heroes.[8] Here my own examination of the evidence supports Weinreich to the extent that the Attic Twelve seem to have been major, named Greek gods from the start. Clearly the time has come for a general reassessment of the literary and epigraphical material, but it will be gratifying if my work holds up as well as Weinreich's has.

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[1] *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs; Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des dreizehnten Gottes* [= SB Heidelberg 4, Abh. 5], Heidelberg 1913; *Triskaidekadische Studien; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zahlen* [= Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 16, 1], Giessen 1916.

[2] T 28, 47, 48. Cf. also the new decree from Mytilene, T 65.

[3] T 61, 62.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Glaube der Hellenen* I, Berlin 1931, 329; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 769 A 5; 772 A 8; 829-30 F 90. Cf. infra, 158.

[5] Komba 9, 11. Cf. also Komba 19, just published by L. Robert.

[6] *Dodékathéon et Panthéon*, BCH 75 (1951), 233-46.

[7] F. Boll, *Sphaera; neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder*, Leipzig 1903, 476-77; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 821 E 80, 822-23 E 82.

[8] C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage* [= L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* II], Berlin 1920-26, 1321 and note 6; A.E. Raubitschek, *Die attischen Zwölfgötter*, in Opus Nobile; Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Ulf Jantzen, Wiesbaden 1969, 129-30. Cf. infra, 180-81.

Apart from the Lycian Twelve-Gods reliefs, Weinreich's collection of representations of the Twelve Gods was less thorough. He wisely rejected some examples which had been proposed, but he overlooked others which should have been included like the two bases in the Capitoline Museum (Rome 4-5) or the mosaic of Monnus in Trier (Augusta Treverorum/ Trier 1). Important new representations have been published since 1937: two cylindrical reliefs in Ostia and Alexandria, a late relief in the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos, a huge mosaic floor in Hellín (Spain), a stucco naiskos of Kybele in Cairo, and two gold diadems supposedly from Nablus and Laodikeia.[9]

In my dissertation, *The Twelve Gods in Greek and Roman Art*, I included several divine assemblies which, after longer consideration, I now reject as representations of the Twelve Gods.[10] The most interesting of these will be found in Appendix II. After carefully examining the "Altar of Gabii (Gabii 1) in the Louvre, I was able to determine that another example, the Osimo disk formerly in the possession of the Reverend B. Nardi, was a modern forgery. My discussion of the month gods is much expanded and improved with added examples. Wherever this monograph differs from my dissertation, it supersedes the earlier work.

Weinreich held that the Twelve Gods were the twelve Olympians, among whom individual members might be dropped to admit other gods. Thus he regarded Dionysos on the Parthenon frieze to be a substitution for Hestia.[11] The table below provides the Greek and Latin names for these gods, who are certainly the best known set of twelve gods:

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[9] Ostia 1, Alexandria 2, Ephesos 3, Hellín 1, Unknown Provenience 2, Neapolis/ Nablus 1, Laodikeia 1.

[10] In determining which divine assemblies should be included as sets of the Twelve Gods, I have used the following criteria: First, one or more ancient sources called the figures the Twelve Gods. Secondly, the example has exactly twelve deities of Greek or Roman type or twelve such figures with a central figure or figures (the Thirteenth God). Thirdly, in the case of fragmentary representations, twelve deities of Greek or Roman type can be restored or are implied (in sets of the month gods). In my dissertation I also included smaller groups of gods who seemed to have the function of the Twelve Gods as on the Arch of Beneventum. These I have removed except for the six gods on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion (Athens 6).

[11] *Zwölfgötter* 779 B 12. However Dionysos is included on Athens 1 and 2, both dated to the sixth century B.C. The earliest set with Hestia is Pherai 1, dated to the late fourth-early third century B.C. Cf. also the naming of a civic tribe at Magnesia for Hestia probably when the city submitted to Alexander: infra, 221-22.

Female		Male	
Greek	Roman	Greek	Roman
Aphrodite	Venus	Apollo	Apollo
Artemis	Diana	Ares	Mars
Athena	Minerva	Hephaistos	Vulcan
Demeter	Ceres	Hermes	Mercury
Hera	Juno	Poseidon	Neptune
Hestia	Vesta	Zeus	Jupiter

The Greek texts, however, stress the number of the gods, seldom revealing their names. About 400 B.C. Herodorus listed the six pairs to whom the altars at Olympia were dedicated (T 13 B): Olympian Zeus and Poseidon, Hera and Athena, Hermes and Apollo, the Charites and Dionysos, Artemis and Alpheios, Kronos and Rhea. These are not the twelve Olympians, but they could be regarded as the chief gods of Olympia. The cults of the last three named are virtually limited to Olympia. An Attic Black-Figured kyathos (Athens 1), roughly contemporary with the founding of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens, shows six pairs of deities: Zeus and Nike (?), Hephaistos and Aphrodite, Herakles and Athena, Dionysos and Hermes, Poseidon and Demeter, Ares and probably Hera. If the Charites are equated with Aphrodite, these two sets have a maximum of seven gods in common. The kyathos Twelve are closer to the group in the east frieze of the Parthenon but include Nike and Herakles in place of Apollo and Artemis. Even after the Olympians are well established as a set, more or less contemporary representations like Ostia 1 (the only set labelled the Twelve Gods) and Pompeii 1 have different rosters. The essential factor is the number. At the same time the members tend to be major named gods, usually of Greek origin. A majority of them may be Olympians because this group included the most widely recognized Greek gods, but they are not the Olympians per se. They are the twelve chief gods of a given community or individual at a given time.

Why the number twelve was chosen remains obscure. At the end of classical antiquity, the Neoplatonist Hermeias of Alexandria explained it in terms of numerology (T 19 A): Twelve is the sum of all the gods in the universe. It is complete (teleion) because it is the product of the perfect number three and the generative number four. This reasoning may have satisfied the Neoplatonists, but it has nothing to do with the origin of the system. It may simply be that the Greeks along with other peoples, including ourselves, had a penchant for collecting similar phenomena in lots of twelve. Weinreich provided a number of examples of such sets.[12] He himself was most impressed by a tendency of Greek cities to combine in groups of twelve — the Delphic amphictyony, the Ionian Dodekapolis.[13] The cult, as we shall see, did have a civic function, but there is no evidence that Greek leagues particularly favored the Twelve Gods. The facts that the gods themselves were Greek and that altars were said to have been founded by Greek heroes, often by leaders of national enterprises, suggest that the cult was essentially Greek, even panhellenic in its appeal. The number twelve could be regarded as large enough to imply universality but at the same time finite, producing a limited group out of an infinity of deities.

The best known altar of the Twelve Gods, which was also one of the earliest, was established by the archon Peisistratos the Younger in the marketplace, i.e., the civic center, of Athens. In this location the primary concern of the gods was the welfare of the city. Greek myths (largely Attic) show the Twelve acting as judges, maintaining divine order. Plato paid little attention to the Twelve Gods in his philosophical writings until he came to organizing the ideal city-state in his *Laws*. Then he recommended that the tribes of citizens be named after the individual members of the Twelve (T 16 B). One Greek city-state, Magnesia on the Maeander, actually did so.[14] The Romans still later imported the cult of the Twelve Gods as an emergency measure to protect their city from Hannibal.[15] Thus the primary function of the Twelve Gods was political — to make certain the safety and well-being of the community.

Beyond this, a superficial resemblance between the Greek Twelve and the Egyptian month gods led eventually to the Olympians being regarded as guardians of the months and the signs of the zodiac.

From the founding of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in 522/521 B.C. to the closing of the Academy in A.D. 529, Greeks and later Romans recognized the Twelve as the chief gods of their pantheon. The representations range in date from the sixth century B.C. (Athens 1-2) to the early fourth century after Christ (Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1). It is not to be supposed that the cult remained static through all these centuries. Consequently I have chosen a historical approach to the evidence. Information on various aspects of the cult will be found where the material belongs chronologically. Though I have concentrated on the Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome, attention is also paid to the Hittite and Lycian Twelve and to the Egyptian month gods.

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[12] *Zwölfgötter* 767-72 A 3-8.

[13] Ibid., 771-72 A 8.

[14] Cf. infra, 221-22.

[15] Cf. infra, 235-37.

The principal topics to be considered are the origins and end of the cult, its spread in the fourth century B.C., the political and philosophical concepts of the Twelve Gods, their relationship to the ruler and to other gods, especially the Meter Theon or Kybele. In addition the varying roster of the Twelve will be explored, largely on the basis of the representations. As with the civic Twelve, the representations likewise tell us much about the changing membership of the set of month gods. Between the two types of evidence, written and figural, a better understanding may be obtained of the place of the Twelve Gods in Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE TWELVE GODS THE NEAR EAST AND GREECE TO CA. 350 B.C.

Anatolia (Asia Minor)

A group of twelve Hittite gods is known from a cuneiform text as well as from the rock carvings of Yazilikaya (Yazilikaya 1-2). The Twelve appear twice at Yazilikaya: In the larger chamber (A), they walk at the end of the procession of gods which is led by Tešub, the 'Weather God'[1] (figure 123). In the smaller chamber (B) they are shown by themselves, walking in procession (figure 122). The Hittite Twelve are all male, all dressed alike in a kilt and a high, pointed hat, and apparently all armed with a sickle-shaped sword which each carries over his right shoulder.

The text prescribes a ritual to be performed at a crossroads.[2] Other gods are named, Nergal twice, the Sun God, and the 'Weather God', but the connection of these with the Twelve Gods is not clear.

The Hittite Twelve are an anonymous group of armed gods without individual distinguishing characterictics. Their position at the end of the procession marks them as minor divinities. In these respects they are quite different from the Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome. They do have possible descendants in the Lycian Twelve depicted on a series of votive reliefs of Roman Imperial times (Komba 1-25).[3]

At the end of the fifth century B.C., a precinct of the Twelve Gods of the Agora or marketplace existed in the center of Xanthos in Lycia, where the Pillar of Xanthos (actually a Lycian pillar-tomb) stood.[4] In

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[1] Cf. H.J. Deighton, *The 'Weather-God' in Hittite Anatolia* [= BAR International Series 143], Oxford 1982, 34-36 (Yazilikaya). Deighton interprets this deity as a god of ground water (springs) rather than a storm god: 107-110.

[2] H. Güterbock in K. Bittel ed., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* [= Boğazköy-Ḫattuša IX], Berlin 1975, 191-92 no 4; K. Bittel, *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites*, New York 1970, 110; E. Masson, *Le pantheon de Yazilikaya; nouvelles lectures*, Paris 1981, 33.

O. Weinreich also included without endorsement a group of twelve gods which G. Furlani excerpted from a treaty of Suppiluliumu: *Zwölfgötter* 822 E 81; Furlani, *Religione degli Hittiti*, Bologna 1936, 50. These are named gods unlike the Twelve of Yazilikaya.

[3] The two sets were connected long ago by O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 795 B 51; K. Bittel, *Yazilikaya*, Leipzig 1941, 52 and note 3.

[4] The Pillar, also known as the Stele of Xanthos, was discovered in 1838 by C. Fellows, who copied and published the inscriptions: TransRSL 2nd series 1 (1843) 254-72. Its sculptures are now divided between the British Museum in London and the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. O. Benndorf's publication in ÖJh 3 (1900) 98-120 is now superseded by P. Demargne, *Les piliers funéraires* [= Fouilles de Xanthos I], Paris 1958, 77-105, figs. 9-16, pls. 25-44. Cf. also P. Demargne, REA 62 (1960) 41-47; ILN 243 (1963) 512-13; *EEA* 7 (1966) 1226-28 sv. *Xanthos*.

Roman times, the Pillar was situated to the north of the agora, separated from it by a portico. How the area was laid out when the pillar was erected, the French excavators could not determine because of the extensive Roman and Byzantine building activities, but they postulated that it might simply have been an open space.[5]

The Pillar is dated to the end of the fifth century B.C. by its Lycian texts, which refer to Artaxerxes (II) who became ruler of Persia in 405 B.C. and to Tissaphernes who died about 395 B.C.[6] At this time Xanthos was the chief city of western Lycia.[7]

The inscriptions on the Pillar commemorate in Lycian and in Greek a local dynast, either Kheriga (Gergis) or Kherei, the son of Harpagos.[8] In the Greek text (T 1) the dynast claims that no other Lycian has dedicated such a stele to the Twelve Gods of the Agora in their temenos and boasts of the victories he has won with the aid of Athena (not the Greek goddess but her Lycian equivalent Maliya) and the trophies he has set up to Zeus. The two Lycian texts, which occupy the rest of the pillar's faces, apparently recount his achievements at greater length.[9] E. Laroche has recently proposed that the Lycian words restored as ñte mahãnaha tusñti in line a 12 might be the equivalent of Dodeka Theoi (the Twelve Gods) in the Greek text.[10]

The pillar tomb itself is a native Lycian form of burial monument.[11] According to P. Demargne, the Pillar of Xanthos once supported a portrait of the dynast enthroned between lions.[12] Below this, at the top of the shaft, was the burial receptacle, the sides of which were decorated with recumbant bulls at the corners and with a Greek combat scene.[13] Among the battling men, one shown with six shields in the background clearly illustrates one of the dynast's exploits mentioned by the Greek text-overcoming seven Arcadian hoplites in one day.[14] Thus the frieze, like the inscriptions, is autobiographical.

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[5] Demargne, *Les piliers funéraires*, 81-82, fig. 9.

[6] W.A.P. Childs, AnatSt 31 (1981) 66-68 refuting O. Mørkholm-J. Zahle who dated the text 390/380 B.C.: ActaA 47 (1976) 87-89.

[7] J. Zahle in *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* [= BIFEA 27], Paris 1980, 45. The cities of Lycia have been the subject of a recent survey by W.W. Wurster and M. Wörrle: W.W. Wurster in *Actes du Colloque*, 29-36.

[8] P. Demargne, *EEA* 7 (1976) 1226, O. Mørkholm-J. Zahle, ActaA 47 (1976) 89, and W.A.P. Childs, AnatSt 31 (1981) 63, identify the dynast as Kherei. E. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* V, Paris 1974, 142-48 argues in favor of Kherei's older brother, Kheriga. *Karika* in the last line of the Greek inscription has been taken as a reference to Kheriga: R. Meiggs-D.Lewis, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969, 283; O. Mørkholm-J.Zahle, ActaA 43 (1972) 112. Childs, however, prefers an unknown ancestor Karika because Kheriga is transcribed in Greek as Gergis: AnatSt 31 (1981) 70 note 90.

[9] For the current understanding of the Lycian texts see W.A.P. Childs, AnatSt 31 (1981) 63-65; E. Laroche, *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* 1-6 (names of deities).

[10] In *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique*, 1-2.

[11] For a general discussion of Lycian tomb types and their distribution see J. Zahle in *Actes du Colloque zur la Lycie Antique*, 29-36.

[12] *Les piliers funéraires* 102; REA 62 (1960) 44, pl. 4; ILN 243 (1963) 512-13.

Despite the use of the Greek language and iconography, this combined triumphal and funerary monument is alien to the Greek culture. Hence it is questionable whether the Twelve Gods in whose precinct the Pillar was erected are to be regarded as the Hellenic Twelve or as a native Lycian group comparable to the Hittite set depicted at Yazilikaya. As the Komba reliefs show, a set of twelve identical armed gods did exist in Lycia at a much later period, but in nearby Sidyma an inscription of the Roman period names the twelve Olympians as "the gods here" (T 48).[15] If E. Laroche is correct in finding a reference to them in the Lycian text, it is probably best to regard them as Lycian, not Greek. However their association with the marketplace, as von Domaszewski perceived long ago,[16] no doubt reflects Attic influence upon the cult.

O. Benndorf compared the association of the dynast with the Twelve Gods to the procession at Aigai where Philip II's portrait was carried with the images of the Twelve Gods (Aigai 1); O. Weinreich regarded the dynast as an heroized "Thirteenth God" like Eumenes II of Pergamon or Charmylos of Kos (T 9, 29 D).[17] The Greek text on the Pillar of Xanthos does not indicate that the dynast received either divine or heroic status nor that he was considered the equal of the Twelve Gods. In fact, the placing of the Xanthos monument is comparable to Leagros' dedication of a statue to the Twelve Gods in the Athenian agora;[18] it does not imply deification.

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[13] *Les piliers funéraires* 89-96, pls. 25, 30-36, figs. 10-12; REA 62 (1960) 41-47; ILN 243 (1963) 513.

[14] Line 10 = c 29. This is a standard Lycian motif, earlier depicted on a pillar-tomb at Isinda: E. Akurgal, *Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien*, Würzburg 1941, 33-34, 61-67; W.A.P. Childs, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia*, Princeton 1978, 5-7. According to Childs, the exploit may be recounted in the first Lycian text a 47-48: AnatSt 31 (1981) 63-64.

[15] For the Komba reliefs and the Sidyma inscription see infra, 301-304.

[16] SB Heidelberg (1914) fasc. 10, 16-17, cited by O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 794 B 50. E. Laroche finds the names of Maliya = Athena, Ertemi = Artemis, and a Carian god, Basileus Kaunios associated in the Lycian text c 7-9 with the temenos of the Twelve Gods. If so, the gods might have been named but still Lycian rather than Greek: *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* 6.

[17] Benndorf, ÖJh 3 (1900) 113; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 794 B 50.

[18] T 14 G. Infra 161.

Egypt

In the second book of his *Histories*, Herodotus refers several times to an Egyptian set of Twelve Gods (T 2).[19] These included Herakles (II.43.1) but not that Herakles known to the Greeks. The Egyptian Herakles, he has just implied (II.42.3, 5), was Khonsu, for he was worshipped at Thebes along with Amun, whom Herodotus equated with Zeus in the same passage.[20] In chapter 145 (T 2), Herodotus gives the generations of Egyptian gods: The Twelve, who included Herakles, were produced by the Eight (who included Pan = Mendes) and themselves gave rise to a third group, among whom was numbered Dionysos = Osiris.[21]

Here problems arise. The Egyptians commonly grouped gods in triads, octads, or enneads, not sets of twelve, and J.G. Griffiths therefore suggested that Herodotus' Twelve were an expanded form of the Heliopolitan Ennead.[22] To do this, he had to equate Herakles with Shu instead of Khonsu because Shu is a member of the Heliopolitan Ennead, and he also had to explain away the presence of Osiris in the Heliopolitan Ennead because Herodotus placed Dionysos, whom he equated with Osiris, in the third group.

In his commentary on Herodotus' second book, A.B. Lloyd pertinently observed that Herodotus was presumably basing his remarks on some group of Egyptian gods which he had encountered rather than strictly on Egyptian theology.[23] There is, in fact, a set of twelve Egyptian gods represented in two of the great Ramesside mortuary temples of Medinet Habu — the month gods (Appendix 1, nos. 2-4, figure 160).We do not know that Herodotus actually saw these, but they are still visible today.

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[19] The references were collected and analysed by J. Gwyn Griffiths, JHS 75 (1955) 21-23. Cf. also A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98* [= EPRO 43], Leiden 1976, 28-29, 201-202.

[20] The equations between Greek and Egyptian gods are not rigidly one to one. Griffiths, JHS 75 (1955) 23, indicates that Herakles might also be identified with various forms of Horus, Khnum, and Shu. Cf. I.M. Linforth, California Publications in Classical Philology 9 (1926) 1-25; R. Lattimore, Classical Philology 34 (1939) 357-65. On the equation of Herakles with Khonsu see Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 194-95. It would appear that Herakles should also be equated with Herishef, the chief god of Herakleopolis, but Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 37) regarded Herishef as Dionysos: H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin-New York 1952 reprinted 1971, 286-89 sv. *Herakleopolis, Herishef.*

[21] Pan = Mendes: Herodotus II.46.4, 145.1. Dionysos = Osiris: ibid., II.42.2, 144.2. On the cult of Pan in Graeco-Roman Egypt see A. Bernard, *Pan du désert*, Leiden 1977, 1-5; 269-78.

[22] JHS 75 (1955) 21-22; followed by Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 29, 202. On groups of Egyptian gods see A. Erman, *Die Religion des Ägypter; ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden*, Berlin-Leipzig 1934, 89-91; J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne*, Paris 1944, 32; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 521-25 sv. *Neunheit.*

[23] *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 202.

Moreover, they are comparable to the Greek Twelve in number and in including major (Egyptian) deities, both male and female. Khonsu is one of them, but Osiris is not — just as Herodotus said.

Herodotus certainly was aware of the Egyptian month gods, for in chapter 82 he wrote that "each month and each day belongs to some one of the gods" (T 2). His first reference to the Egyptian Twelve, in fact, immediately follows his description of the Egyptian solar year with its division into twelve thirty-day months and five intercalary days (II.4.1-2, T 2). Here he stated that the Egyptians claimed to have been the first to recognize the eponyms of the Twelve Gods and to have transmitted them to the Greeks.[24]

Originally the month gods seem to have been the deities in whose honor a festival was held on the first day of each month.[25] They first appear as a group on an alabaster clepsydra or waterclock from the reign of Amenhotep III (1397-1360 B.C.), which was found at Karnak (Appendix 1, no. 1, figs. 156-59). The six panels of the lowest register show the gods arranged in the order of the months from right to left. In each, Amenhotep III makes offerings to one of the month gods while a second stands behind him; a blank area separates Re-Harakhty, god of the twelfth month, from Thy, goddess of the first. The gods are, from right to left, Thy, Ptah, Hathor, Sekhmet, Min, Rkh-Wr, Rkh-Nds, Rnwtt, Khonsu, Khnt-Khnty, Ipt, and Re-Harakhty. They include five goddesses, five gods, and two hippopotami on standards (Rkh-Wr and Rkh-Nds, representing the sixth and seventh months).

Except that the hippopotami are replaced by jackals, the same gods appear in the same order on ceilings in the mortuary temples of Ramses II (1290-1223 B.C., Appendix 1, no. 2, figure 160) and Ramses III (1174-1147 B.C.). Because of the greater space available there are twelve panels, and the pharaoh presents offerings or greets eleven of the twelve. In the center of the band, a dog-headed ape squats on a Djed-pillar, the symbol of Thoth, god of the five intercalary days.[26]

There are no extant representations of these month gods which are contemporary with Herodotus, but they do appear on a series of clepsydrae or waterclocks which may be dated from the reign of Alexander the Great into the Ptolemaic period (Appendix 1, nos. 6-12, 14-17).[27] The orifice perforates the pillar occupied by the baboon of Thoth. To the left of the orifice is the panel with Thy; to the right that with Re-Harakhty, and the other deities, where extant, usually follow the same sequence as in the New Kingdom, as the example in Berlin shows (Appendix 1, no. 14, figures 163-65). A unique clepsydra belonging to the Oriental Institute in Chicago (Appendix 1, no. 11) identifies Ptah with Arsinoe II, the deified sister/wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[28] The month gods appear on a large scale in a procession of astral gods represented in the second hypostyle hall of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, 145-116 B.C., here Appendix 1, no. 13).

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[24] C. Froidefond, *Le mirage égyptien*, Aix-en-Provence 1971, 205 note 73 also interprets this passage as referring to the month gods. The use of "eponym" here may be compared to the Athenian custom of giving tribes the eponyms of heroes, both being protectors. Originally the Egyptian months were numbered by season; the month names are late. Cf. R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1950, 7-8, 45 Table 7; O. Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*. New York-Heidelberg-Berlin 1975, 560.

[25] Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 470 sv. *Monatsgötter*; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98* 344.

[26] Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 806.

In imperial times, some of the Ptolemaic waterclocks with the month gods found their way to Rome.[29] One fragment (Appendix 1, no. 8, figures 161-62) preserves the Latin letters OCT and N incised on the rim.[30] These stand for the Roman months of October and November and show that the clepsydra was adapted for Roman use.

In the Hellenistic period, the month gods may also be represented as various forms of Ta-urt.[31] In general, however, they form a long-lived and consistent group in Egyptian art.[32]

The Egyptian month gods have enough in common with the Greek Twelve for an observer like Herodotus to have identified them with the set he knew. At the same time they obviously differ from the Greek Twelve. The individual Egyptian gods are not the exact equivalents of the twelve Olympians whom the Romans later recognized as month gods; among them, according to F. Boll, only Ptah presides over the same month as his Greco-Roman equivalent Hephaistos/Vulcan.[33] The Egyptian gods included two theriomorphs; the Greek are wholly anthropomorphic. Pharaoh makes offerings to the Egyptian month gods as individuals; the Athenians worshipped and invoked the Twelve Gods as a group. Thus the Egyptian month gods cannot be regarded as the source for the Greek Twelve Gods, but knowledge of this similar set of deities may have led to the later association of the Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome with the months.

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[27] Basic sources on the clepsydrae are: A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901) 263-74; L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Zeitmessung*, Berlin 1920. On their function see R.W. Sloley, Ancient Egypt (1924, no. 2, June) 43-50; idem, JEA 17 (1931) 174-76; A. Pogo, Isis 25 (1936) 403-25. O. Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 561, scorns the clepsydrae as inaccurate time-reckoners, but this does not invalidate their iconography.

[28] The identification was established by J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 (1971) 239-70. I am most grateful to Mrs. Linn K. Buss for telling me about the clepsydra and to Ms. Anita Ghaemi, Registrar of the Oriental Institute, for providing information and enabling me to examine the piece.

[29] A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], Leiden 1972, 145-46.

[30] In addition a clepsydra of Ptolemy II in the Louvre, inv. no. N. 664, has AP for April incised on the rim: Borchardt, *Altägyptische Zeitmessung* 8-9 no. 8; O. Neugebauer-R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, Providence-London 1969, 60 no. 44. The extant portion does not have the month gods.

[31] Daressy, Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes 34 (1912) 189ff, cited by Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 470, and Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 344. Among the clepsydrae in Appendix 1, Ta-urt is shown on nos. 5 and 11.

[32] This was denied by F. Boll, *Sphaera; neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder*, Leipzig 1903, 476, 477; followed by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 823 E 82. Why is incomprehensible.

A scholion on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* IV.252 (T 3) refers to the Twelve Gods (of Egypt) as protectors of the zodiac signs. This must postdate the rise of astrology in Alexandria in the second century B.C. and can be regarded as an extension of the role of the Egyptian month gods.

A Greek papyrus of the mid-second century B.C. containing a complaint by Ptolemaios son of Glaukios against Argeios (T 5) refers to the Twelve Gods of Herakleopolis. Herakleopolis was the capital of the Twentieth Nome of Egypt, which had as its chief god Herishef.[34] U. Wilcken, who published the papyrus, regarded the Twelve here as a local group.[35] Both of the principals were of Macedonian extraction; possibly in referring to the gods of Herakleopolis as the Twelve Ptolemaios was influenced by the Greek concept of the Twelve Gods as the guardians of the community. Certainly these cannot be the Egyptian month gods.

Finally a scholion on *Iliad* A. 425 refers to the great temple of Zeus in Diospolis, whence the "Ethiopians" took the xoanon or wooden image of Zeus and those of the other native gods, who numbered twelve, to Lybia for a twelve-day celebration (T 4). The sanctuaries in question could be the chief temple of Amun in Thebes and the oracle of Ammon in the Siwa Oasis.[36] The Egyptians did carry images of gods in procession by land and by water to visit other gods.[37] Normally the distance involved was not great, but it is conceivable that an image of Amun was brought to Siwa from Thebes along with those of Mut and Khonsu, the other members of the Theban triad. Neither Amun nor Mut were month gods; hence the reference here, if correct, must be to some other set of twelve gods.

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[33] Ibid., 476. Herodotus had already equated Ptah of Memphis with Hephaistos: II.3.1, 101.2; III.37.2. On Ptah himself see M.S. Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, Lund 1946, who notes his equation with Hephaistos on pp. 8, 49.

[34] Supra note 20.

[35] *Urkunde der Ptolemäerzeit* (*ältere Funde*) I, *Papyri aus Unterägypten*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 175-77, no. 16.

[36] Herodotus mentions both in II.42. The information on the origin of the Siwa cult and its relationship with various peoples is summarized by Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*, 195-99.

[37] J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne*, 178-82; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 610-14 sv. *Prozession*; W. Barta, KairoMitt 23 (1968) 75-78. I have not seen R. Krauspe, *Die Prozession des Kultesbildes im alten Ägypten*, Diss. Leipzig 1966.

Mesopotamia and Syria

In the first century B.C., Diodorus Siculus wrote that the Chaldaeans (i.e., the Babylonian astrologers) stated that there were twelve major gods, each of whom watched over a month and one of the twelve so-called zodiac signs (T 6). Diodorus himself did not believe that the Chaldaean astrology was so old as its practitioners claimed.[38]

The earliest Mesopotamian list of relations between months and deities seems to be Astrolabe B, one copy of which has been dated on palaeographic grounds to approximately 1000 B.C.[39] M. Jastrow provides a set of correlations between Babylonian months and deities, but some months have more than one divine patron, and some gods preside over several months.[40] As Weinreich concluded, the Mesopotamians do seem to have associated gods with the months, but there was no firm set comparable to the twelve Olympians or to the Egyptian month gods whom we have just discussed.[41]

In his monumental work *Sphaera*, F. Boll stated that the gods of three of the Babylonian months could be equated with the Olympian associated with the same month — Ishtar with Demeter/Ceres, Marduk with Ares/Mars, and Sin with Apollo.[42] In each instance, however, the Babylonian deity has a different Greco-Roman counterpart in the system established for the planetary gods.[43]

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[38] II.31.

[39] E. Reiner-D. Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens 2*, BiblMesopotamica 2, 2 (1981) 81-82. Information on this was supplied by D. Pingree, Brown university, to whom I am much indebted for trying to enlighten me on Babylonian astronomy and astrology.

[40] *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston-New York-Chicago-London 1898, 462-63. Jastrow does not mention these in his later work, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen 1905-1912, but does include two different sets of twelve gods along with various other sets: I, 246-49.

[41] *Zwölfgötter* 821-22 E 81.

[42] 476-78, especially 477.

[43] F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York-London 1912, 46, and H.-G. Gundel, *RE* 50 (1950) sv. *Planeten*, 2025, 2027-28, give the following set of equivalents for the gods of the five planets:

Ninib (Ninurta) = Kronos
Ishtar = Aphrodite
Marduk = Zeus
Nabu = Hermes
Nergal = Ares

As the moon god, Sin should be equated with Selene/Luna or, among the Olympians, Artemis/Diana.

Excavations at Ebla in Syria in the 1970's produced two calendars, an earlier one in which the months are related to seasonal phenomena and agricultural activities and a later one attributed to the last king, Ibbi-Sipiš, in which six of the months are named for major deities or their festivals.[44] Four of the deities are Semitic and two Hurrian, indicative of the mixed population of the city. There is no indication that these deities watched over the months; rather it was a way of locating the month in the course of the year just as the third month, one wonders how happily, was called the month of taxes.

So far as I can discover, there are no representations of a group of twelve deities comparable to the Greco-Roman Twelve Gods in Mesopotamian art. Today the theory that the association of the Olympians with the months which appears in the Roman rustic calendars was transmitted from the orient to the west via Eudoxos and Plato's Academy seems to be a mirage created by scholarship.[45]

Greece

References in classical literature to altars founded by Greek heroes imply that the cult existed in Greece during the late Bronze Age. As yet, the Twelve Gods as a group have not been recognized in the Linear B tablets, though there are dedications at Knossos to All the Gods (pasiteoi) and Zeus, Hera, Ares, and Poseidon among the Olympians are named at Pylos.[46] Since none of the sites producing tablets is known to have had a cult of the Twelve Gods in later times, it would be premature to deny the existence of the cult in the Mycenaean era. However the specific form of the cult as it appears in Athens in the sixth century B.C., that is, established in the marketplace for the welfare of the state, seems definitely post-Mycenaean. There are no representations of the Twelve Gods as a group which can be dated before the sixth century B.C.

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[44] G. Pettinato, Archiv für Orientforschung 25 (1974 published 1977) 1-36; idem, *The Archives of Ebla; an Empire Inscribed in Clay*, Garden City, New York, 1981, 147-53; L. Vigano, Biblical Archaeology 47 (1984) 10.

[45] O. Weinreich presents the Eudoxos theory with bibliography: *Zwölfgötter* 825-26 E 85. W. and H.-G. Gundel discount it, connecting Eudoxos with Egypt rather than Babylonia: *Astrologumena; die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte* [= Sudhoffs Archiv, 6], Wiesbaden 1966, 40-51, 79 note 11, 82-83. See infra, 266-70. On the genuine achievements of Babylonian astronomy see O. Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 347-555.

[46] M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* [= Incunabula Graeca 29], Rome 1968, 256-60; J. Chadwick in M. Ventris-J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1973, 410.

Individual references: Pasiteoi: Gérard-Rousseau, 170-72; Chadwick, 127-28, 303. Zeus: Gérard-Rousseau, 72-74, 257; Chadwick, 172, 200, 286-89, 305-307. Hera: Gérard-Rousseau, 94-96, 257; Chadwick, 286, 459. Ares: Gérard-Rousseau, 38-39, 257; Chadwick, 126, 411. Poseidon: Gérard-Rousseau, 181-85, 257-58; Chadwick, 279-80, 287-88.

The literary tradition regarding the establishment of altars dedicated to the Twelve Gods by Greek heroes goes back in some cases to the fifth century B.C. Hellanicus wrote that Deukalion founded an altar in Thessaly (T 22); Pindar refers to altars founded by Herakles at Olympia (T 13 C); Herodorus is cited as a source for Jason's sacrifice to the Twelve Gods by the Bosphoros (T 11 B). In addition to these, Strabo, writing in the time of Augustus, adds an altar supposedly erected by Agamemnon on Mount Lekton in the Troad (T 10) and one at Achaion Limen in Aeolis which, from its place-name, might have heroic associations (T 8).

Aside from the altars at Olympia, all are located in remote areas, Thessaly or northwestern Anatolia, not in the centers of Greek cities where we find the cult of the Twelve Gods established in later times. However in ascribing an altar to Deukalion, Hellanicus implied that the cult was very old and truly Greek in origin.

Schliemann thought he had discovered the remains of Agamemnon's altar on Mount Lekton, but J.M. Cook could not trace the ruins and suspected from Schliemann's account that they lay too far inland.[47] More is known about the altars of Jason and Herakles.

The Hieron on the Bosphoros and/or Byzantion

In antiquity at least two locations were pointed out as the place where Jason had sacrificed to the Twelve Gods. According to Polybius the site was the so-called Hieron on the Asiatic side of the Bosphoros, twelve stades distant from the Serapeion of Thrace on the opposite shore (T 11 C).[48] In later times the sanctuary belonged to Zeus Ourios.[49] A marble stele set up in the Hieron in the third century B.C. recorded provisions concerning sacrifices to the Twelve Gods (T 11 D).[50] About A.D. 1150 a castle was erected in the area, into which were built marble fragments from an ancient temple.[51] Today there is a village called

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[47] H. Schliemann, *Troja*, New York 1884, 315-16; W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad, Book XIII Cap. 1*, Cambridge 1923, 248; J.M. Cook, *The Troad, an Archaeological and Topographical Survey*, Oxford 1973, 237.

[48] Cf. T 11 for other references to the Hieron and F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I, Oxford 1957, 488-89.

[49] Oberhummer, *RE* 5 (1897) sv. *Bosporos*, 752-53; G. Radke, *RE* series 2, 14 (1948) sv. *Urios*, 1024-25.

[50] Infra, 217-18.

[51] S. Toy, Archaeologia 80 (1930) 215-228, especially 226-27 ascribing the castle to Manuel Comnenus. The site is not discussed by W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977. Cf. however, H. Sumner-Boyd-J. Freely, *Strolling through Istanbul; a Guide to the City*, Istanbul 1973, 499-500.

Anadolu Kavaği. Of all the altars ascribed to heroes, this most needs full investigation and could provide important evidence on the history of the cult.

Dionysius Byzantinus, writing in the second half of the second century after Christ, claimed that the altar where Jason sacrificed lay on the European side of the Bosphoros (T 11 E). This tradition may go back to Dionysius Skytrobius, an Alexandrian scholar of the second or first century B.C., and Weinreich preferred it to that for the Asiatic site.[52] Exactly where it was is uncertain. Dionysius Byzantinus said it was by the shore, but Xanthopulus Nicephorus, a Byzantine writer of the fourteenth century, placed it under Constantine's Church of the Holy Apostles (T 56 D). As E. Will notes, the latter lies beneath the Fatih Cami, well inland from the shore and outside the Greek city of Byzantion.[53]

The scholiast who cited Herodorus on Jason's sacrifice also listed the Twelve Gods (T 11 B). Of the two versions, O. Weinreich and C. Wendel preferred that of the Laurentian manuscript.[54] This names only eleven deities, including Hades among the gods and apparently substituting Ares for Artemis among the goddesses. Normally Hades was not one of the Twelve, but Dionysius Byzantinus noted a temple of Plouton near Byzantion, which had been looted for material by Philip II of Macedon during his siege of the city.[55] Thus Plouton/Hades might have belonged among the Twelve recognized in this area. As we shall see later in this chapter, Plato recommended sacrifices to Plouton in the twelfth month of the year (T 16 B).

Olympia

In the fifth century B.C. the Twelve Gods possessed six double altars in the Altis. According to Pindar, at least one Olympic victor, Psaumis of Kamarina, sacrificed upon them (T 13 A); it may have been the usual custom. According to the scholia on this passage (T 13 B), Herodorus, the logographer of about 400 B.C., listed the gods to whom the double altars were dedicated as Zeus (or Olympian Zeus) and Poseidon, Hera and Athena, Hermes and Apollo, the Charites and Dionysos, Artemis and Alpheios, and Kronos and Rhea. The scholiasts also state that the altars were founded by Herakles, here echoing Pindar (Olympia X.43-49

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[52] *Zwölfgötter* 787-88 B 30.

[53] BCH 75 (1951) 236-37. On the site itself see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 405-11 with bibliography.

[54] Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*, Berlin 1935, 173 (here T 11 B); Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 788 B 30; 840-41 L 103.

[55] Dionysius Byzantinus, *Anaplus* 14 (ed. R. Güngerich, Berlin 1927, 6).

= T 13 C), who wrote that Herakles honored the river Alpheios with the Twelve sovereign Gods and named the hill of Kronos.[56] Wilamowitz interpreted Pindar's lines as indicating that Alpheios and Kronos received honor separately from the Twelve Gods, hence that when Pindar composed the tenth ode commemorating a victory of 484 B.C. the Twelve Gods of Olympia were the twelve Olympians and that there was a change in membership between then and the end of the fifth century when Herodorus' list was compiled.[57] Earlier L. Weniger had postulated that the gods listed by Herodorus were established as the Twelve for Olympia in connection with a reform of the Altis by the Eleians about 580 B.C.[58]

Of the two hypotheses, Weniger's seems preferable. Membership in the group of the Twelve Gods does vary, but here six altars dedicated to specific deities are involved. It seems unlikely that in a period of two or three generations, during which there was no great change in the administration of the panhellenic sanctuary, half of the altars would have been rededicated. Whether the altars were established as early as 580 B.C. cannot be determined, but in the fifth century B.C. we may affirm that there were six double altars dedicated to the pairs of deities listed by Herodorus.

Herodorus' pairing differs from that usual for the Olympians in that there are pairs of male deities (Zeus and Poseidon, Hermes and Apollo) and female deities (Hera and Athena). Among the gods, Weniger has shown that Athena, Poseidon, and the Charites had major cults in Elis.[59] Alpheios, Kronos and Rhea are closely linked with Olympia itself, having few, if any, cults elsewhere.

Of the altars listed by Herodorus, Pausanias mentions three in his list of monthly sacrifices at Olympia, including that of Dionysos and the Charites, which he says was by the Pelopeion (T 13 F).[60] To these may be added a fourth, that of Zeus Laoitas and Poseidon Laoitas, which Pausanias mentions elsewhere and which is generally restored where there is a lacuna in the list.[61] Pausanias does not mention the altars in the same order as Herodorus, and he scatters them among some seventy altars. Hence it appears that in his time, ca. A.D. 150, the double altars were not grouped in a separate precinct nor even regarded as a set of Altars of the Twelve Gods. Consequently the cult, which was flourishing in the fifth century B.C., must have fallen into obscurity by the mid-second after Christ. A similar situation existed at Thelpousa nearby in Arcadia, where Pausanias found the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in ruins when he visited the site.[62]

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[56] The crucial word in the passage is *meta*, which B.L. Gildersleeve in *Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes*, New York-Cincinnati-Chicago 1885, translates as "among", giving a specific reference to the Altar of Artemis and Alpheios as listed by Herodorus.

[57] *Glaube der Hellenen* I, Berlin 1931, 329 note 3; accepted by O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 782 B 22. But cf. T 13 D!

[58] Klio 14 (1915) 402; 16 (1920) 38; Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 20 (1920-1921) 71-73.

[59] Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 20 (1920-1921) 72-73; cited by O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 783 B 22.

[60] On Pausanias' list of sacrifices and the locations of the altars see E. Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia* [= Abh Berlin 1881, no 7]; L. Weniger, Klio 9 (1909) 291-303; 14 (1915) 398-446; 16 (1920) 1-39; A. Trendelenburg, *Pausanias in Olympia*, Berlin 1914, 39-45; E. Meyer, *Pausanias Beschreibung Griechenlands*, 2nd edition, Zürich-Stuttgart 1967, 613; and especially J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* III, London 1898, 559-60.

The German excavators of the Altis failed to discover any of the double altars.[63] E. Curtis postulated that the altars were deliberately destroyed by the Christians and that the early altars at least, among which the double altars may be classified, would have been made of rough materials; hence they would not have been easily recognized, like the altar of field stones found by W. Dörpfeld north of the Pelopeion.[64]

In the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, the infant god, after killing Apollo's cattle, set aside twelve portions (T 13 G).[65] The number suggests the poet imagined the Twelve Gods to be the recipients; because the scene is laid by the river Alpheios, the Twelve should be the set honored in Olympia. Whether the gods are those listed by Herodorus or the twelve Olympians, this raises a problem because either set includes both thief and victim; at Olympia Hermes and Apollo even shared an altar. In his commentary on the hymn, L. Rademacher therefore proposed that a different set of Twelve Gods was involved.[66] Weinreich gives a very awkward interpretation with Hermes being both child and god, giver and recipient, but this seems to miss completely the humor of the situation.[67] The poet is not really interested in who the Twelve Gods were, but what they were. Presumably in Olympia as in Athens (T 18), the Twelve were regarded as the judges who settled divine disputes. Here, then, the poet is suggesting that even as a baby Hermes was crafty enough to realize that he might be called to account for his theft and to provide a bribe beforehand for the jurors.

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[61] Proposed by Buttman, Cf. E. Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, 8.

[62] T 12.

[63] On the few altars actually found see W. Dörpfeld-R. Borrmann in E. Curtius-F. Adler, *Olympia* II, Berlin 1892, 161-67.

[64] Fieldstone altar: Ibid., 163, no. 2; Curtius, *Altäre von Olympia*, 27-28.

[65] L. Rademacher, *Der homerische Hermeshymnus erläutert und untersucht* [= SBWien 213, 1], Vienna-Leipzig 1933, especially 98-99; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 782 B 21; 828-29 F 89; F. Cassola, ed., *Inni Omerici*, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 1975, 153-74, 525, 526. I regret that I have not seen E. Szepes, *Humour of the Homeric Hymn*, Homonoia 2 (Budapest 1980), 5-56.

[66] *Der homerische Hermeshymnus* 98-99.

[67] *Zwölfgötter* 828-29 F 89.

Leontinoi, Sicily

Apart from the altars ascribed to legendary heroes, the Twelve Gods may have been recognized very early at Leontinoi in Sicily. According to Polyaenus, a Greek rhetorician of the time of Marcus Aurelius, when Theokles (the Chalkidian oikist of Leontinoi) was plotting to drive out the Megarian colonists, he proposed that they should fulfill a vow to sacrifice to the Twelve Gods and hold a procession in arms if they got control of the city (T 32).[68] When the Megarians agreed, the Chalkidians marched to the agora in arms and drove them out. Thucydides confirms the expulsion of the Megarians by the Chalkidians (presumably in the eighth century B.C.) but says nothing about a sacrifice to the Twelve Gods.[69] It is debatable, therefore, whether the sacrifice took place or was merely a colorful detail added by Polyaenus. The excavation of Leontinoi has not yet produced an altar of the Twelve Gods,[70] but the location suggested, the marketplace, and the purpose of the cult, the welfare of the state, anticipate the cult as established in Athens in the sixth century B.C.

If there were an early recognition of the Twelve Gods at Leontinoi, one would expect it to have been derived from the mother cities, Megara and Chalkis. C. Petersen and O. Gruppe postulated that the Twelve developed within the sphere of Chalkidian colonization.[71] Weinreich correctly rejected this supposition.[72] There is no evidence that the Twelve were worshipped in Chalkis. The claim of Megara is better because the Megarian colonies of Byzantion and Chalkedon possessed altars of the Twelve Gods,[73] but at Megara itself there was no altar, only a set of statues of the Twelve which was placed in the temenos of Artemis long after the colonization period (Megara 1). The Leontinoi cult is therefore unsubstantiated.

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[68] Cf. C. Petersen, *Das Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen und Römer* II, Hamburg 1868, 3-4, rejected by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 790 B 37. Weinreich also doubted the derivation of the cult from Megara: ibid., 785 B 24.

[69] VI.3-4. Cf. also A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester 1964, 221-22.

[70] On excavations at Leontinoi see G. Rizza, CronArchStorArte 1 (1962) 3-22; E. Sjöqvist, *Sicily and the Greeks, Studies in the Interrelationship between the Indigenous Populations and the Greek Colonists* [= Jerome Lectures 9th Series], Ann Arbor 1973, 21, 23; R.J.A. Wilson, ArchRep 1981-1982, 90-91. I regret that I have not seen G. Rizza's paper; *Insediamenti coloniali greci in Sicilia nell' VIII e VII secolo a.c.* [= Cronache di Archeologia 17 (1978)], 26.

[71] C. Petersen, supra note 68; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* [= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.2.2], Munich 1906, II, 1097-1098.

[72] *Zwölfgötter* 830 F 90.

[73] Cf. T 11; supra 153-54.

Ionia

Wilamowitz and Weinreich regarded Ionia as the area in which the cult of the Twelve Gods developed.[74] In support of their theory they stated that the cult must have originated in an area where the number 12 had a role in political organization, where the individual deities were significant, and where the inclusion of Hephaistos as well as the exclusion of Dionysos could easily be explained. Wilamowitz also noted the presence of Dodekathea on the island of Kos and Delos as support.

The Ionians did have a confederacy of twelve cities, but there is little evidence that any of these cities honored the Twelve Gods before the Hellenistic period. Only in Magnesia on the Maeander were the tribes named after the twelve Olympians, and here the custom cannot be traced earlier than the fourth century B.C.[75] There is also a Magnesian inscription of 197/196 B.C., which states that the statues (xoana) of the Twelve Gods are to be decked out in their best clothes and brought to the marketplace to share in the festival of Zeus Sosipolis.[76] This sounds like a very ancient, primitive festival, but there is no evidence that it is. According to F. Sokolowski, the formula at the end of the decree implies that this is an extraordinary measure taken by the city at that time (i.e., 197/196 B.C.) to insure its security.[77] No other Ionian city is known to have honored the Twelve Gods before the second century.

The Dodekatheon on Kos cannot be taken as evidence for the Ionian origin of the cult because the island was settled by Dorians. On Delos J. Marcadé thought that the archaic statues which he attributed to the Dodekatheon showed Attic influence.[78] On both islands the cult appears later than it does in Athens.

Some of the twelve Olympians, Apollo and Artemis in particular, were major gods in Ionia; others were not. In regarding Hephaistos as native to Asia Minor, Wilamowitz and Weinreich were following L. Malten, but recently F. Brommer has shown that the cults on which Malten based his theory are late.[79] Hephaistos may be a Lemnian, but he is not Ionian and he does have an important role in Attic myth. Moreover Dionysos cannot be excluded: He was certainly one of the Twelve in Olympia in the fifth century B.C. (T 13 B), and he appears among them on what may be the earliest extant representation (Athens 1). Far from being a late intruder, he may be mentioned in the Pylos tablets.[80]

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[74] Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* I, 329; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 769 A 5; 772 A 8; 829-30 F 90.

[75] Infra, 221-22.

[76] T 7.

[77] F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* [= École Française d'Athènes, Travaux et Memoires 9], Paris 1955, 92. Even J. Harrison took the cult back no earlier than the time of Themistokles: *Themis; a Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912, 153-54.

[78] BCH 74 (1950) 211-15.

[79] L. Malten, *Hephaistos*, JdI 27 (1912) 232-64; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Mélanges Mansel [= Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, VII, 60], Ankara 1974, 139-45; idem, *Hephaistos; der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst*, Mainz 1978, 1-3.

The best attested of these early cults of the Twelve Gods are those of Olympia and the Hieron on the Bosphoros. In the case of the Hieron, as with most of the other early examples, an altar was established in a remote location on which a Greek hero supposedly sacrificed. At Olympia there were six altars in a panhellenic sanctuary on which athletic victors laid offerings. The cult is not limited to the Ionians but is valid for all Greeks. The founders are heroes recognized by all (Deukalion, Herakles) or leaders of expeditions in which the Greeks participated as a whole (Jason, Agamemnon). It is official rather than popular, and it centers on one or more altars. Such was the cult which Peisistratos the Younger introduced in the marketplace of Athens in the late sixth century B.C., to which we now turn.[81]

Athens and Attica

The Altar of the Twelve Gods

The texts mentioning the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora or marketplace of Athens were collected by R.E. Wycherley.[82] Thucydides states (VI.54.6-7 = T 14 A) that the younger Peisistratos during his archonship (generally dated 522/521 B.C.) dedicated an altar to the Twelve Gods in the agora. Shortly afterwards, according to Herodotus (VI.108.4 = T 14 B), Plataeans came to Athens to seek help and sat on the altar as suppliants.

From the fifth century B.C., the altar served as the focal point of the city. Herodotus and an Athenian inscription of the fifth century B.C. use the altar to reckon distances to places outside Athens (T 14 B, I). This practice may have gone back nearly to its founding, for the altar may have been the center for the herms erected by Hipparchus to mark the midpoints of the roads radiating out to the Attic demes.[83]

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[80] Gérard-Rousseau, *Mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, 74-76, 258-59; Chadwick in Ventris-Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*^{2} 127.

[81] Cf. L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I, Oxford 1896, 84-85, disregarded by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 830 F 90. My conclusions on the early cult essentially agree with those of E. Will, BCH 75 (1951), 233-39.

[82] *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* [= Athenian Agora 3], Princeton 1957, 119-22. For a more recent commentary on the passage in Thucydides see K.J. Dover in A.W. Gomme-A. Andrews-K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* IV, Oxford 1970, 331.

According to Plutarch (*Nicias* 13.2. = T 14 E), a man castrated himself on the Altar of the Twelve Gods after the herms were mutilated in 415 B.C. In the mid-fourth century Kallistratos vainly sought asylum there (T 14 C). In 280/279 B.C. a bronze statue of Demosthenes was set up near it (T 14 F).[84]

Excavations in the Agora revealed the actual remains of the peribolos or enclosure containing the Altar of the Twelve Gods, securely identified by the discovery in situ next to the parapet sill of a statue base with a dedication to the Twelve Gods by Leagros, son of Glaukon (T 14 G, figure 130).[85] It lies beside the Panathenaic Way in the northwestern part of the marketplace, east of the later Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios where Pausanias saw the Twelve Gods painted by Euphranor (figure 131).

The yellow poros sill measured 9.35 m. east-west by 9.85 m. north-south, and it preserved cuttings for the posts and dowel holes for the orthostates which comprised the parapet. In the fill below the later pavement, the excavators found fragments of the altar itself, a hawksbeak moulding and part of a volute. The altar was rectangular, provided with end barriers in the form of volutes. According to D.W. Rupp, this form (his type 1) appears in Attic vase painting about 540 B.C.[86] On the basis of the mouldings, the Altar of the Twelve Gods may be dated to the late sixth century B.C. Thus the archaeological evidence confirms the literary tradition. Furthermore, according to M. Crosby, it was the earliest structure on the site. Hence the altar of Peisistratos the Younger must have been a new foundation.

Some impression of the appearance of the archaic ensemble may be gained from a drawing on a chous (jug) decorated by the Altamura

[83] On the herms see J.F. Crome, AthMitt 60-61 (1935-36) 300-13, especially 305-307; E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* [= Athenian Agora 11], Princeton 1965, 112-14.

[84] The statue was erected in the archonship of Gorgias, 280/279 B.C. Pausanias placed it near the Temple of Ares: I.8.4.

[85] The basic publication of the altar is by M. Crosby, *The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens*, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 82-103. Cf. also H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 21 (1952) 47-82; Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens; the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center* [= Athenian Agora 14], Princeton 1972, 129-36.

In 1971 T.L. Shear, Jr., published a fragment of a poros coping found in the excavation of the Royal Stoa, which was thought possibly to have come from the second-phase parapet of the Altar of the Twelve Gods: Hesperia 40 (1971) 278, fig. 6. The fragment has since been assigned to the parapet between the columns of the south porch of the Royal Stoa (personal communication by H.A. Thompson, August 1981).

[86] *Athenian Altars and Aegean Schools of Altar Architecture in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, summarized in AJA 87 (1983) 256. Professor Rupp is currently doing an architectural study of these altars.

Painter (figure 132).[87] Here, however, the altar seems to be a somewhat later type with barriers crowned by palmettes, and it is enclosed by an open railing like the Monument of the Eponymous Heros in the agora.

There was no evidence that statues of the Twelve stood within or that the Twelve were carved in relief upon the altar as Weinreich thought possible.[88] M. Crosby suggested that the Twelve might have been depicted seated in pairs on the six slabs which formed the west wall of the parapet.[89] If so, they have completely vanished.

During the decade just before the Persian capture of Athens, Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated a bronze statue to the Twelve Gods. This represented a male figure with right foot advanced and stood by the west entrance. Leagros was a prominent Athenian aristocrat.[90] His is a frequent kalos-name on Athenian vases of ca. 510-500 B.C.; about 465 B.C., he was elected strategos and was killed while commanding troops in Thrace. His statue was removed shortly after it was dedicated, and the base was worn by pedestrian traffic before the rising ground level buried it. It is inferred that the area was damaged by the Persians during their occupation of Athens in 480/479 B.C.[91]

Recent excavation of the Panathenaic Way has revealed that in the mid-fifth century B.C. five evenly spaced square bases for posts were embedded in a row across the road to the east of the Altar of the Twelve Gods and ending in a circular pit 1.20 m. in diameter, evidently for a cylindrical base.[92] If the line were projected toward the altar, there would have been just room for five more bases between the pit and the parapet sill. T.L. Shear, Jr., deduced that these represented the stating lines for foot races.[93] The chous by the Altamura Painter and other vases depicting torch races to an altar may allude to the races which took place here by the Altar of the Twelve Gods.[94]

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[87] Berlin, Staatlichen Museen 1962.33. A. Greifenhagen, *Ein Satyrspiel des Aischylos?*, 118. WPrBerlin (1963); T.L. Shear, Jr., Hesperia 44 (1975) 365. H.A. Thompson kindly referred me to Greifenhagen's article.

[88] *Zwölfgötter* 792. Contra: Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 94, 96.

[89] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 96.

[90] Bibliography of Leagros: Herodotus IX.75; Pausanias I.29.4-5; Scholion on Aeschines II.31. A.E. Raubitschek, *Leagros*, Hesperia 8 (1939) 155-64; K. Kinzl-H. Marwitz, *Das Kleine Pauly* 3 (1968) sv. *Leagros 2*; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, no. 3027; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 132. Leagros was also named on 83 ostraka found in the Kerameikos excavations: R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism* [= Humanitas 4], Copenhagen 1972, 94; A.J. Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles; a Critical Survey of the Literary and Archaeological Evidence*, Montreal-London 1975, 130-31, 194.

[91] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 103; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 133.

[92] T.L. Shear, Jr., Hesperia 44 (1975) 363-65.

[93] Ibid., 364.

[94] Ibid., 365; Greifenhagen, *Ein Satyrspiel des Aischylos?* 12-14.

The precinct of the Twelve Gods was reconstructed and paved during the Peloponnesian War.[95] In addition to the altar, a statue base was placed on the north side of the enclosure, but there was nothing which might have held a row of twelve deities. The four three-figure reliefs, known only from copies, which have been attributed to the parapet, bear mythological subjects.[96]

This second altar remained in use well into the Roman period. Though not actually found in its vicinity, there are three dedications which might be associated with it. A statue base found on Salamis (T 14 J) bears a dedication by a victor in the Nemean and Isthmian Games, —s, the son of Kallaischros. A.E. Raubitschek has suggested that the donor might have been the tyrant Kritias.[97] From the fourth century B.C. there are dedications by an Athenian trierarch, Philippos, son of Iasodemos, and by the Boule (T 14 K, T 16 F). As we have noted, a statue of Demosthenes was erected in its vicinity in the third century B.C.

After the third century B.C., references to the Altar of the Twelve Gods cease, and it was formerly thought that the structure might have been renamed the Altar of Pity (Eleos) because Pausanias observed an altar with this designation in the Agora.[98] Recently E. Vanderpool has noted that Pausanias consistently refers to the old Athenian marketplace as the Kerameikos, not the Agora, and he deduced that the Altar of Eleos must therefore have stood in the later Roman marketplace to the east.[99] Consequently the Altar of the Twelve Gods may have retained its original designation throughout its history. Certainly in the second century after Christ, the priest of the Twelve Gods had a seat reserved for him in the Theater of Dionysos (T 16 I).

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[95] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 99; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 135-36. Cf. also T 14 H.

[96] H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 21 (1952) 47-82; E.B. Harrison, Hesperia 33 (1964) 76-82; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 135-36. The subjects of the reliefs are: Orpheus and Eurydike; the Daughters of Pelias; Herakles, Theseus and Perithoos in the Underworld; Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides. They do not seem to have any particular connection with the Twelve Gods, and E. Langlotz has denied that the foundations for the parapet of the second phase were strong enough to support relief slabs: *Das Hesperiden-Relief Albani*, Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub [= Bonner Jahrbucher Beihefte 39], Bonn 1977, 91-112, especially 94-101. Langlotz assigns the reliefs to a commemorative pillar.

[97] Hesperia 8 (1939) 157. J.K. Davies doubts the ascription because literary sources for Kritias do not credit him with any athletic victories but finds the date compatible: *Athenian Propertied Families* 327.

[98] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 102-103; Thompson, Hesperia 21 (1952) 47-82; reservations by Wycherley, CQ 4 (1954) 143-50; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 134-35. Contra, G. Zuntz, Classica et Mediaevalia 14 (1953) 71-85.

[99] Hesperia 43 (1974) 308-10; accepted by Thompson in the 3rd edition of the guide to the excavations, *The Athenian Agora*, Athens 1976, 98.

About the time of the Herulian raid (A.D. 267), the altar was dismantled.[100] Possibly the superstructure was incorporated in the defense wall along with so much other material from buildings in the Agora, but no fragments have been identified.[101] Though in a strongly pagan city like Athens, the cult could have survived well into the fourth century, the accumulation of fill above the foundations of the altar before a late Roman building with a courtyard finally encroached upon its site at the beginning of the fifth century suggests that the official cult ceased when the altar was removed.

As with the earlier Greek cults of the Twelve Gods, the worship is centered on an altar founded by a leader, here the archon Peisistratos the younger. Among the dedications there may be one by an athletic victor. We shall take up the question of Panhellenism later, when we have examined the representations of the Twelve Gods.

Euphranor's Painting(s) of the Twelve Gods (Athens 4)

In the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios just to the west of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (figure 131), Pausanias observed paintings by Euphranor of the Twelve Gods, Theseus with Demos and Demokrateia, and the Battle of Mantineia (T 15 A).[102] The location suggests that the gods were those to whom the altar was dedicated. Presumably the paintings belonged to a single program, authorized by the Demos or popular assembly of Athens shortly after the Battle of Mantineia in 362 B.C.[103] They were still in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios to be seen by Pausanias ca. A.D. 150, and they may have perished along with the stoa about the end of the fourth century.[104]

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[100] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 99, says the sill was covered by a layer of earth with sherds of the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ, one meter in depth.

[101] Ibid.; Langlotz, supra note 96, 94.

[102] Euphranor also carved a statue of Apollo Patroos, which has been recognized in an over-life-sized marble found in the Agora; H.A. Thompson, EphArch (1953-1954) III, 30-34; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, figs. 123-24. Cf. also W.E.D. Coulson, *Euphranor*, Greeley, Colorado, 1978, and the excellent new study by O. Palagia, *Euphranor* [= Monumenta Graeca et Romana 3], Leiden 1980.

[103] T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* v. Chr. [= Beiträge zur Archäologie 6], Würzberg 1973, 116-19; O. Palagia, *Euphranor* 50. Weinreich and other scholars suggested that the painting of Theseus also included the tribal heroes on analogy with the set of paintings in Elateia (Elateia 1): *Zwölfgötter* 780 B 15 with bibliography. Palagia wisely rejects this supposition: *Euphranor* 58 note 321. It is well to remember that Pausanias saw the paintings after the alterations to the back wall of the stoa. If the paintings were originally on the back wall of the stoa, I think it possible that Theseus appeared in the center with the Twelve Gods on either side. This composition would be comparable to that of the east friezes of the Parthenon and Hephaisteion, but, like all the other reconstructions, it is incapable of proof.

[104] Thompson, *The Athenian Agora* (guide, 3rd edition) 34.

It is uncertain whether the paintings were executed on the surface of the wall or on wooden panels or sheathing attached to it. When the stoa was excavated, it was discovered that the walls had been sealed to make them waterproof by pouring lead through vertical channels in the edges of the blocks and that the interior faces of the blocks were lightly stippled.[105] There was no indication that they were prepared to receive frescoes.

In the first century after Christ, the back wall was broken through to give access to two rooms added in back.[106] This would have destroyed anything painted directly on the surface of the back wall, though panel paintings could have been moved aside. After the change there were four spaces available in which to place the three subjects mentioned by Pausanias (and any other paintings the stoa may have contained). In the following discussion it is assumed that Euphranor's paintings constituted the sole, or at least the chief, decoration of the stoa.

Of the subjects mentioned by Pausanias, the three-figure composition of Theseus with Demos and Demokrateia would require the least width and may therefore be assigned to one of the side walls. According to Pausanias (T 15 A), the painting of Theseus was *peran* (opposite to, more rarely beyond) the painting(s) of the Twelve Gods. Consequently the Twelve Gods may have been placed on the north wall of the stoa, close to their altar, Theseus on the south wall opposite them, and the Battle of Mantineia on the back wall.[107] On the other hand, if *peran* is interpreted as "beyond," one can imagine Pausanias standing in front of the stoa, by the statues of Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian which he has just mentioned, looking at the back wall and seeing the Twelve Gods, and then turning to see Theseus on the south wall.[108] In this reconstruction, the Battle of Mantineia would occupy the north wall. The Twelve Gods would fit better on the back wall than the battle scene, for they could be arranged in two groups on either side of the portico leading to the rooms behind. Such an arrangement would be analogous to the assembly of the Twelve Gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon and to the six deities in the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, which loomed above the Stoa of Zeus

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[105] Hesperia 40 (1971) 278, fig. 5; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 97 note 85, 101. The paintings in the Stoa Poikile were on board and were removed by a proconsul about A.D. 400: Synesius, *Epistles* 54.135 = Wycherley, *Testimonia*, T 93-94.

[106] H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 35 (1966) 171-87; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 101-103; infra, Chapter III.

[107] The various possible arrangements are discussed by O. Palagia, *Euphranor* 50-51. For the positions held by various scholars see R. Vasić, AJA 86 (1979) 345 notes 4-6.

[108] Thompson, Hesperia 6 (1937) 69. Vasić also places the Twelve Gods on the back wall but reverses the positions of Theseus and the Battle of Mantineia: AJA 83 (1979) 346-47.

Eleutherios. In this location, the Twelve would have faced their altar, and, from the time of Augustus on, they would have appeared on either side of the rooms behind, which seem to have been dedicated to the imperial cult.[109]

The composition of the Twelve Gods depends on their location in the stoa. If they were on the back wall, then R. Vasić's reconstruction of a row of isolated figures, seated or standing, would fit the space available.[110] In support of this, it may be noted that most representations of the Twelve Gods show them as a row of isolated figures. The two paintings of them found in Pompeian compita or crossroads shrines have the Twelve standing in a row (figures 80-81), though neither seems to be a copy of Euphranor's painting(s) as V. Spinazzola suggested.[111] On the other hand, if they were on a side wall, then they might well have been grouped in a pyramidal composition as O. Palagia proposed.[112] There is a Hadrianic composition of this type depicting the Twelve Gods with Zeus enthroned in the center, which is carved on a base in the Capitoline Museum (frontispiece). The Capitoline relief cannot be a direct copy of Euphranor's painting because the figures are drawn from the Severe style rather than fourth-century types.

According to Valerius Maximus, writing in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), the figure of Poseidon among the Twelve Gods was an acknowledged masterpiece while that of Zeus was less inspired (T 15 C). The scholarly Byzantine bishop Eustathius claimed in his commentary on the *Iliad* that Euphranor based his conception of the king of the gods on Homer's description of Zeus receiving Thetis (T 15 F). Eustathius could hardly have known much about a painting presumed to have been destroyed hundreds of years before, but possibly there was a tradition that Zeus was enthroned, as he often is in groups of the Twelve Gods.

Euphranor's Hera, admired by Lucian for the coloring of her hair, may well have been another of the Twelve Gods in this painting (T 15 D). O. Palagia has suggested a fourth figure was the Hephaistos "having good feet" mentioned by Dio Chrysostom (T 15 E).[113]

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[109] References supra, note 106.

[110] AJA 83 (1979) 346-47 and ill. 2 b.

[111] *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza (anni 1910-1922)*, Rome 1952, 181-82.

[112] *Euphranor* 55-56.

[113] Ibid., 57. It seems more likely that Dio Chrysostom was thinking of a statue. F. Brommer, *Hephaistos* 90-94, identifies Euphranor's Hephaistos with the figures representing the god on Alexandria 2 and Ostia 1. The youthful head of Hephaistos on the "Altar of Gabii" (Gabii 1) could be the same type, which was presumably based on some well-known original.

The four gods named are Olympians and are also present among the Twelve Gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon. Though the altar had been founded by a member of the ruling family, the Peisistratids, here in the mid-fourth century B.C., they are juxtaposed with the legendary hero Theseus, with popular democracy, and with Athenian military success. In view of the theory espoused by C. Robert and A.E. Raubitschek that the Twelve originated as anonymous Attic heroes or deities,[114] we should observe that for Euphranor they were named anthropomorphic Greek gods and goddess(es).

Extant Representations

The Twelve Gods, so far as we have been able to determine, were not represented in their peribolos, nor is there any written evidence for statue groups or pictures of them earlier than Euphranor's painting(s). Yet one might expect to find the Twelve among the numerous assemblies of gods depicted in Attic vase-painting and sculpture. In accordance with what we know of them elsewhere, they should be major Attic deities, and they should include those gods named in connection with Euphranor's commission: Zeus and Poseidon certainly, probably Hera, and possibly Hephaistos.

Vase paintings showing groups of gods usually have a mythological subject such as the birth of Athena or the introduction of Herakles into Olympos.[115] M. Crosby noted that toward the end of the sixth century, about the time of the founding of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, assemblies of gods appear as a composition in themselves.[116] Often they are standing figures grouped in threes or fives, not twelve. The central deity may be Apollo, Athena, or Dionysos, and the choice of the rest seems to be based on their association with the god in the center.[117] E. Simon has studied the groups of gods pouring libations.[118]

One Attic vase, a black-figure kyathos or dipper found in a tomb at Vulci and dated 530/520 B.C. does seem to show the Twelve Gods (Athens 1, figures 4-6). It was signed by Lydos, not the well-known vase painter but a younger craftsman.[119] The gods are not named but can be identified in most instances from their attributes. They stand in pairs: Zeus (knobbed staff) facing a goddess with a pony-tail coiffure, most probably Nike;[120] Hephaistos (leaning on a staff) with Aphrodite (flower); Herakles (lion skin, club) with Athena (helmet, aegis, spear); Dionysos (vines) following Hermes (petasos, kerykeion, winged feet); Poseidon (trident) facing Demeter (wreath of grain); and Ares (sword) facing a goddess of whom the upper half is lost, possibly Hera.

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[114] Infra, 180-81.

[115] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Marburger WPr (1960) 44-45; H. Knell, Antaios 10 (1968-1969) 38-54. Cf. also A.B. Cook, *Zeus* III, Cambridge 1940, 1048-55. When Weinreich published *Zwölfgötter* in 1937, there were no vase paintings known which could be accepted as representations of the Twelve: *Zwölfgötter* 799-800 B 55-56.

[116] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 96.

[117] Knell, Antaios 10 (1968-1969) 40-41.

[118] *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953.

[119] F. Canciani, AntK 21 (1978) 19-20; M. Guarducci, QTNAC 9 (1980) 37.

Except for Herakles, all these deities appear on the east frieze of the Parthenon, though there Nike is demoted to an attendant; the ratio of male to female deities is the same. Zeus, Poseidon, Hephaistos, and possibly Hera are present in accordance with our information on Euphranor's set. Herakles was barred from the Twelve by Herodotus (II.43.1), but he does appear among them on the Albani puteal (Tibur/Tivoli 1) as well as in a compitum at Pompeii (Pompeii 1, figures 77, 80). Dionysos has already been found among the Twelve in Olympia,[121] and here is paired with Hermes as he will be in the Parthenon frieze.

On the basis of number, pairing and personnel, the Vulci kyathos may be accepted as the earliest extant representation of the Twelve Gods of Attica. Whether these were the gods to whom Peisistratos dedicated his altar is another matter. The elder Peisistratos owned land in Brauron, where Artemis was the chief goddess, and the younger is known to have established an altar to Apollo Pythios.[122] Surely, then, the Peisistratids would have numbered Apollo and Artemis among the Twelve Gods just as they are later included on the east frieze of the Parthenon. Thus it would appear that in Athens as early as the sixth century B.C. the Twelve were named Greek deities but that, at the same time, different individuals might include different deities in the group.

There is a second possible representation on a fragmentary cup by Epiktetos recently found in the Artemiseion on Thasos and published by J.-J. Maffre (Athens 2, figure 7).[123] On the three extant rim fragments

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[120] M. Guarducci identified the figure as Iris because of the resemblance of her coiffure to that of the figure next to Hera on the Parthenon frieze: QTNAC 9 (1980) 39, 42-43. I agree that the figures represent the same goddess, but here the closeness to Zeus suggests to me Nike rather than Iris.

[121] Supra 154-55 = T 13 B.

[122] Connection of elder Peisistratos with Brauron: J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* 452-54, who notes that it would be more significant if Peisistratos did *not* have a connection with Artemis. The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis of Athens is generally regarded as a Peisistratid foundation: Cf. L. Kahil, Hesperia 50 (1981) 253-63. Altar of Apollo Pythios: Thucydides VI.54.6; *IG* I^2 ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin 1924, no. 761.

[123] *Thasiaca* [= BCH Suppl. V], Paris 1979, 63-69, no. 21.

Hermes followed by Dionysos (panther on arm) greets Apollo Kitharoidos and Artemis. Maffre estimated the number of figures to a side as ranging between five and seven,[124] but the composition suggests an even number to a side, giving a total of twelve. Processions of the Twelve Gods occur on Neo-Attic reliefs, and the pairing is suitable for the Attic Twelve. Too little is preserved, however, for the identification as a representation of the Twelve to be certain.

In my dissertation, I raised the possibility that the cylindrical marble altar found by I. Papadimitriu at Brauron might have represented a procession of the Twelve Gods and thus served as a prototype for the later Neo-Attic cylinders.[125] Since then I have examined the altar itself and have concluded that the deities cannot be the Twelve Gods because they have Eirene in their midst as well as Leto, neither of whom belong among the Attic Twelve Gods.[126]

Gods are assembled on both pediments of the Parthenon as well as on the east frieze, and the fourteen metopes on the west façade depict the Battle of the Gods and Giants. Though the Twelve Gods might have been involved in all the events represented, a set of twelve deities can be distinguished only in the east frieze. According to the literary evidence (T 18 B-D), the Twelve might well have been present in the west pediment settling the dispute between Athena and Poseidon, but here the subsidiary figures seem to have been local heroes in accordance with another version of the myth (T 18 C). E. Simon has recently shown that the subject is the wrath of Poseidon after Attica was awarded to Athena.[127] Both pediments and the east metopes are based on myths, which determine what gods should be present.[128] On the two vases which we have just discussed and in later representations of the Twelve Gods we shall find them as isolated figures, at most passive observers of human activities rather than participants in an event.

There are fourteen deities altogether in the east frieze, but two of these, Nike or Iris and Eros, are standing figures, necessarily much smaller than the twelve seated gods (Athens 3, figures 8-12).[129] These may be regarded as assistants or attributes of the divinities by whom they stand. The divine figures are aloof from the action, passively attending the Panathenaic procession, like the gods approached by worshippers on votive reliefs.[130] Their presence at the chief religious festival of Athens indicates their benevolence towards the city and its people. As in Pindar's Olympian ode (T 13 C), they are the twelve sovereign gods, here ensuring the welfare of the city. They are not the canonical twelve Olympians, for they include Dionysos. They also differ from the Twelve Gods of later representations in that they seem like living beings sitting in relaxed positions, interacting with each other, not isolated.

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[124] Ibid., 66.

[125] The altar was published in preliminary form in To Ergon 1962, 32, fig. 43; BCH 87 (1963) 706, fig. 15.

[126] I am most grateful to Mr. Basileios Petrakos, Ephor of Antiquities, for enabling me to examine the altar in the Brauron Museum in June 1981.

[127] *Tainia; Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, Mainz am Rhein 1980, 239-55. The basic source for the sculpture is F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963.

[128] In the east metopes there are sixteen deities, including all the gods of the east frieze plus Herakles in metope 9 and some other god (in metope 6 according to Brommer or in metope 14 where he would be Helios). The myth requires the presence of Herakles. For the metopes the basic source is now F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon; Katalog und Untersuchung*, Mainz 1967.

In addition to the monumental study of the frieze by F. Brommer,[131] during the past two decades H. Knell, E.G. Pemberton, A. Linfert, and H. Kenner have published articles on the iconography of the gods.[132] In my discussion, I shall use parentheses to indicate my sources. The topics to be considered are: the arrangement of the deities, their association with cult places on or near the acropolis, their role in Attic cults and political aspirations, and their significance for Greeks in general.

The central episode of the peplos ceremony divides the gods into two groups of 6 + 1 figures. Each group consists of an inner pair of major gods carved on the central block of the frieze and an outer set of four (Linfert). It is also possible, however, to arrange the figures as triads (Knell). Nonetheless the figures are linked either physically or in terms of cult so that they form a unified whole.

Kenner and Linfert have demonstrated that all the members of the divine assembly have cults on the acropolis or in its immediate vicinity. Hermes at the left end can be connected with the Propylaia (Kenner). The theater of Dionysos lay on the south slope just below the Parthenon. If the goddess with the torch is Demeter, she could be associated with the

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[129] The juxtaposition of the winged goddess with Zeus on the Vulci kyathos (Athens 1) makes it almost certain that she is Nike. On this identification see most recently I.S. Mark, *Nike and the Cult of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis*, Ph.D. dissertation New York University 1979 [= DAI 40 (1980), 3594-A], chapter IV; H. Kenner, AnzWien 118 (1981) 296-97. Nike also possessed a shrine on the acropolis, and she is bracketed with Eros in T 17 A 3, being awarded his wings by the Twelve Gods. Contra: E. Simon, AthMitt 97 (1982) 127.

[130] J.H. Kroll, AJA 83 (1979) 349-52. As in votive reliefs, the gods are much larger than the worshippers and a bit aloof from them.

[131] *Der Parthenonfries; Katalog und Untersuchung*, Mainz 1977, especially 110-121.

[132] H. Knell, Antaios 10 (1968-1969) 38-54; E.G. Pemberton, AJA 80 (1976) 113-24; A. Linfert, AthMitt 94 (1979) 41-47; H. Kenner, AnzWien 118 (1981) 273-308. I am most grateful to Dr. Kenner for sending me an offprint of her valuable article. I regret that I have not seen A. Prevoost, *Die eigentaal van de antieke voorstellingen; de goden van de oostelijke Parthenonfries*, Kleio, NR 2 (1972) 167-83.

Eleusinion on the Panathenaic Way (Linfert). Recently H. Kenner has proposed that she be identified as Artemis-Hekate, who had a cult located in the area of the Propylaia,[133] but Demeter, too, may carry a torch and surely belongs next to the god of wine. Ares is recognized as the eponymous god of the Areopagos (Pemberton, Linfert, Kenner). In her own right, Hera has no connection with the acropolis, but here she appears as the Bride drawing aside her veil. Her marriage with Zeus, the Theogamia, was connected with the Cave of Olympian Zeus on the northwest slope and perhaps with that of Aglauros (Kenner). Zeus Polieus had a sanctuary on the acropolis (Linfert), and the marks of his thunderbolt were to be seen. Athena was, of course, the paramount deity worshipped there. Both Hephaistos and Poseidon had cults in the Erechtheion (Linfert). Apollo was connected with one of the caves (Linfert) and perhaps with the bronze lamp shaped like a palm tree in the Erechtheion (Kenner). Artemis Brauronia possessed her own shrine on the acropolis (Linfert), and Aphrodite one on the north slope (Linfert, Kenner). If the goddess standing beside Hera is Nike, then both minor deities have connections as well, Nike with the bastion before the Propylaia and Eros with his mother Aphrodite on the north slope (Kenner).

The designer of the frieze cannot have intended merely to show the deities worshipped here, for others like Pan and Aglauros are absent, and the arrangement of the figures does not conform to the topography of their shrines. The gods are seated according to rank with Zeus, the king of the gods, and Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, in the center. They are here because they are directly concerned with the prosperity of the Athenians.

To the left (figure 8), are Hermes and Dionysos, both male gods with chthonic associations (Knell, Linfert), sharing the Attic festival of Anthesteria (Pemberton). They are also paired on Athens 1 and 2. The deity next to Dionysos, as we have said, should be identified as Demeter, one of the great goddesses of Eleusis and the goddess of grain who would naturally be associated with the god of wine (Pemberton). As herms were set up by house doors to protect the inhabitants, so these three deities together ensure the fruitfulness of Attica.[134] Ares (figure 9) is an unlikely companion for Demeter though her sanctuary the Eleusinion was in the vicinity of the Hill of Ares (Linfert). Ares' position is determined by that of his mother Hera, who must have a central position beside Zeus (figure

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[133] AnzWien 118 (1981) 276-85.

[134] Linfert, AthMitt 94 (1979) 43, 45, regards these gods as *durchweg fremd*. They seem, in fact, to be closely connected with Athenian popular religion. Major Attic festivals honored Demeter and Dionysos, and popular outrage at the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C. led to Alkibiades' disgrace and exile.

10). Hera had no major Attic cult but shared with Zeus the great panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia (Linfert). The gap between the two groups of figures is bridged by the closeness between Zeus and his daughter Athena. As Savior Gods they both received sacrifices on the last day of the Attic year.[135]

On the opposite side (figure 11), Athena has the place of honor, as daughter of Zeus, patron goddess of Athens, and recipient of the peplos. She appears here as the city goddess, Athena Polias, rather than Parthenos or Promachos (Pemberton, Linfert). Hephaistos beside her is her colleague in fostering Athenian industry (Weinreich), sharing with her a temple overlooking the Agora and also worshipped in the Erechtheion (Linfert). Poseidon (figure 12) just beyond Hephaistos has a cult in the Erechtheion as well (Linfert) and is responsible for Athenian control of the sea. Poseidon is joined with Apollo who sits beside him, not only in myths like the building of the walls of Troy but also as a major god in Ionia (Linfert). Artemis is generally to be found next to her twin, but she too has important sanctuaries in Ionia at Ephesos and Magnesia (Pemberton, Linfert). G. Despinis has shown that Artemis and the last major deity, Aphrodite, are linked arm in arm (figure in text).[136] It is rather unusual to find the goddess of love separated from Ares, but her birth from the sea might tie her in a chiastic arrangement to Poseidon. Artemis and Aphrodite share an interest in the chief concerns of women in classical Athens (Knell, Pemberton). Aphrodite too has a major cult in Asia Minor at Aphrodisias (Linfert). As Zeus and Hera have ties with southern Greece, so these last four deities appeal to the Ionian and Carian cities of the Athenian empire. The outermost deities are closer to the needs and interests of the private citizens; the innermost, to the continued prosperity of the state. As a group they have the universality and power which the Twelve Gods require to ensure the safety and well-being of the city.

The composition of the frieze over the pronaos of the Hephaisteion (Athens 6, figure 133) is similar to that of the Parthenon in that again there are two groups of gods, here two sets of three, seated in the midst of a battle scene.[137] Scholars have now generally accepted K.O. Müller's interpretation of the subject as the conflict between Theseus and the

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[135] H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca 1977, 168-69.

[136] *Kernos; timetike prosphora ston kathegete Georgio Mpakalake* [= G. Bakalakis], Thessalonike 1972, 35-42.

[137] In studying this frieze I have been greatly aided by Professor J. Dörig, who is preparing a full publication of it. I am most grateful to him for generously providing photographs taken of the casts of the frieze for his work and for his sharing his views on the identities of the figures.

Pallantidae for control of Attica.[138] Of the gods to the left (block II, nos. 6-8, here figure 17), Athena is easily identified by the holes for attaching her aegis; the veiled goddess beside her is most probably Hera, and the half-draped god Zeus.[139] These are the supporters of Theseus, and their confident poses indicate that he will win.

Various identifications have been offered for the deities on the right (block V, nos. 22-24, here figure 18). B. Sauer, H.A. Thompson, and S. von Bockelberg call them Poseidon, Amphitrite, and Hephaistos; H. Koch and J. Dörig substitute Aphrodite for Amphitrite; C. Morgan preferred Apollo, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos; E. Diehl saw in them Hephaistos, Aphrodite and Dionysos, while E.B. Harrison, who thinks the temple was dedicated to Artemis Eukleia rather than Hephaistos, suggests Apollo, Artemis and Poseidon.[140] The characteristics of the first deity best suit Poseidon. He has a powerful torso, but the two flesh folds above the navel suggest middle age. Though his left arm is damaged, there is no trace of a kithara, Apollo's usual attribute. Diehl thought that the awkward position of the left foot suggested the lameness of Hephaistos, but von Bockelberg considered the foot normal.[141] The goddess in the center sits with drooping head. Her downcast air recalls the Demeter on the Parthenon frieze, but, as H.A. Thompson observed, she lacks the stateliness of Demeter.[142] Presumably she is the spouse of one of the gods on the right, therefore either Amphitrite or Aphrodite, and she seems more youthful than her counterpart Hera. She recalls the delicate Aphrodite who shrinks from bloodshed in the *Iliad*; at the same time, if she is stretching her right hand forward to restrain Poseidon or to comfort him, she might be his wife Amphitrite.[143] The last of the gods closely resembles Poseidon. He balances Athena, and the attachment hole in his left thigh could well have secured a hammer or tongs.[144] Consequently this should be Hephaistos, the god to whom the temple was dedicated, but the possibility cannot be altogether ruled out that he was Dionysos with a kantharos in his raised right hand and the thyrsos by his left side. The gods on the right are presumably those on whose support the Pallantidae counted, and the downcast air of the goddess may indicate sympathy for their inevitable defeat. In any case, six major deities sit here watching the battle to determine who will rule Athens. They may be imagined as having the same concern for the well-being of the city as the gods on the Parthenon frieze or those later painted in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Hence we may accept them as representatives of the Twelve Gods of Attica.

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[138] *Kunstarchäologische Werke* 4, Berlin 1873, 1-16; followed by H.A. Thompson, AJA 66 (1962) 343; S. von Bockelberg, AntP 18 (1979) 23-48.

[139] For earlier interpretations see the table compiled by B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, Leipzig 1899, 94. Stuart was the first to recognize Athena, Hera, and Zeus. Cf. most recently S. von Bockelberg, *AntP* 18 (1979) 25-26 and J. Dörig in his forthcoming study.

[140] Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion* 123-25; Thompson, AJA 66 (1962) 344; von Bockelberg, AntP 18 (1979) 28-29; H. Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel* 134-35; J. Dörig, forthcoming; C.H. Morgan, Hesperia 31 (1962) 222, 232 Appendix II; E. Diehl, AA (1963) 751-53; E.B. Harrison, AJA 81 (1977) 139 note 13.

[141] Diehl, AA (1963) 751-52; von Bockelberg, AntP 18 (1979) 29.

[142] AJA 66 (1962) 344, following B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion* 125.

[143] Compare the goddess with Poseidon on the Athens Twelve-Gods cylinder, Athens 5.

[144] Observed by Sauer, Thompson and Dörig.

Still another assembly of gods was carved on the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike (figures 134-35).[145] At least twenty-four deities were present, and, although some of the gods found on the east frieze of the Parthenon occupy the center, others are scattered among the lesser gods. As Weinreich has already observed, the Twelve do not stand out from the rest as a group.[146] Therefore we cannot take this frieze as a representation of the Twelve Gods. Yet it does seem to be a prototype for later representations of them in that it displays a row of statuesque deities, some seated, some standing, more like cult images than living beings.

The Athenian Cult of the Twelve Gods

Written and archaeological evidence agree that the Altar of the Twelve Gods was established in the Agora in the late sixth century B.C. The founder was a member of the ruling family, who was also a public magistrate. The altar was located in the economic and civic center of Athens and may have served as the focus for the Peisistratid system of roads connecting the Attic demes with the city. The conclusion seems inescapable that the Peisistratids erected the altar for pragmatic and utilitarian reasons, to aid in the unification of Attica as well as to insure the welfare of the state. If the set was identical with that in the east frieze of the Parthenon, it would have included not only the patron goddess of Athens, but deities associated with various outlying communities — Acharnai (Ares), Brauron (Artemis), Eleusis (Demeter), Eleutherae (Dionysos), and Sounion (Poseidon). In this respect it was a typical tyrannical foundation. However, the Twelve Gods, as we have seen, belonged to all the Greeks. Hence, in establishing an altar dedicated to them, the Peisistratids may have been looking beyond the borders of Attica, as they did in beginning a temple for Olympian Zeus (who presided over the panhellenic festival at Olympia where the Twelve were established) or founding an altar to Apollo Pythios (whose oracle at Delphi was consulted by all the Greeks).[147] From its inception, the cult of the Twelve Gods may have been connected with Athenian imperialism.

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[145] In situ. Pentelic marble. H., 0.46 m. The basic publication is by C. Blümel, *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike*, Berlin 1923; more recently, E.G. Pemberton, AJA 76 (1972) 303-10 with additional bibliography.

[146] *Zwölfgötter* 779-80 B 13.

In the fifth century, the representation of the Twelve Gods on the Parthenon reflects not only their concern for the well-being of Athens, but by implication their approval of her control over other cities. The refurbishing of their altar precinct may be attributed to the Athenians' need to keep the Twelve on their side in the current struggle with Sparta.

Much of the information on the Twelve Gods in Athens from the fourth century B.C. belongs to the year of the Battle of Mantineia or the decade which followed. The battle itself was commemorated by a painting commissioned of Euphranor along with others representing the Twelve Gods and Theseus with Demos and Democracy. In the same year, a treaty between Athens and four Peloponnesian states directs the herald to pray to the Twelve Gods along with Zeus Olympios, Athena Polias, Demeter and Kore, and the Semnai (T 16 D). Similarly the cleruchs dispatched to Potidaia in 362/361 B.C. sought the blessing of the Twelve Gods, the Semnai, and Herakles (T 16 E). Five years later, in the archonship of Agathokles, the Athenian Boule made a dedication to the Twelve Gods, and in 352/351 B.C. their counterparts among the Athenian cleruchs on Imbros in the northern Aegean made a similar dedication (T 16 F, T 27). Thus military victory, Athenian expansion, the flourishing of the Demos and Democracy at home and abroad are linked with the Twelve Gods in the fourth century B.C. Conversely, the orator Aischines could regard Alkibiades, who had brought so much trouble upon Athens in the late fifth century B.C., as having no respect for the Twelve Gods (T 16 G 2).

In the same decade following the battle of Mantineia, Kallistratos of Aphidna met his unhappy fate when he sought asylum on the Altar of the Twelve Gods (T 14 C). One of the leading orators during the Second Athenian Confederacy, he had helped negotiate peace with Sparta in 371 as a counterbalance to Thebes and was forced into exile about ten years later.[148] He went north, reorganizing the finances of Macedonia and initiating the Thasian settlement at Neapolis near the gold mines of Pangaion.[149] Such activities ran counter to Athenian expansion in the northern Aegean, and it is not surprising that he was put to death when he returned.

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[147] On religious foundations of tyrants see P. Lévêque, PP 28 no. 148 (1973) 25-26. On Peisistratid building policies see V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, London 1968, 81; C. Ampolo, PP 28 no. 151 (1973) 271-73; L.H. Jeffrey, *Archaic Greece*, New York 1976, 96-98; and especially J.S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* [= Scripta Archaeologica Groningana], Groningen 1970, 11-27. A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece, the Age of Experiment*, London 1980, 116-17, holds that Peisistratos centralized cults as a way to weaken individual factions within the state.

[148] On Kallistratos see R. Sealey, Historia 5 (1956) 178-203; H. Gärtner, *Das Kleine Pauly* 3 (1967) sv. *Kallistratos* 1; N.G.L. Hammond, *OCD*² (1970) sv. *Callistratus*.

What has survived of Attic tragedy seems not to mention the Twelve Gods. In Aeschylus' *Supplices* (463 B.C.?), the action is set in the vicinity of a temenos dedicated to a group of gods who include Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and Hermes, gods who are regularly included among the Twelve.[150] Yet Aeschylus never alludes to the gods as being twelve in number, and the precinct bears no resemblance to the Athenian Altar of the Twelve Gods, being placed on a hill well outside the city and containing a number of wooden statues of the gods.

In Greek comedy, on the other hand, there are a number of references to the Twelve Gods, always by their number with no indication of their separate identities and often in an oath (T 17). In Aristophanes' *Knights* (424 B.C.), one of Demos' slaves swears by the Twelve Gods that his fellow slaves will suffer for having conspired against Demos, i.e., the People (T 17 A 1). In the *Birds* (414 B.C.) a character attributes the moulting of the hoopoe to his neglect by the Twelve Gods (T 17 A 2). A fragment of Aristophanes' *Pythagoristes* alludes to the judicial function of the Twelve Gods (T 17 A 3). To preserve the peace in Olympos they have cut off the wings of Eros and given them instead to Nike, the goddess of victory. In all cases the Twelve are concerned with the welfare of the state in heaven or on earth.

Amphis, a writer of comedy in the mid-fourth century B.C., alludes to the Twelve as named gods, and the context suggests that they cover the entire range of divine power "from soup to nuts" (T 17 B).

The remaining examples lie outside the time span covered in this chapter but present the Twelve in a similar fashion as guardians of the established civil order. In Menander's *Samia* (ca. 310 B.C.), the master Demeas suspects his slave of plotting against him and threatens by the Twelve Gods to whip him (T 17 C 1). In the *Kolax* a purchase, perhaps of the hetaira-heroine, is involved (T 17 C 2). In one anonymous comic fragment the Twelve are regarded as saviors (T 17 D); in another the owner declares by the Twelve Gods that his slave must be crazy to want to be free (T 17 E). Plautus speaks of them as protectors in the *Epidicus* (T 38), presumably in imitation of Greek comedy.

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[149] On Kallistratos' activities in the northern Aegean see N.G.L. Hammond, in Hammond-G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia* II, Oxford 1979, 187-88; Griffith, ibid., 235-36.

[150] The relevant lines are: 209-10 (Zeus), 214 (Apollo), 217-18 (Poseidon), 220 (Hermes).

Three fourth-century Athenians connect the Twelve Gods with the functions of the state. In his *Hipparchicus* (T 16 A), Xenophon proposed that, along with processions making the rounds of the shrines in the agora, there should be dancing for the Twelve Gods as part of the Dionysia.[151] Xenophon has in mind an actual ceremony to be performed by the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora.

In a speech written by Demosthenes in 352 B.C., the right of the Areiopagos to conduct murder trials is traced back to the Twelve Gods who (as everybody knew) decided the cases between Poseidon and Ares over the murder of Poseidon's son and between Orestes and the Furies (T 18 A). Perhaps there had been an earlier tradition to this effect, but in the fifth century Aeschylus had Athena summon a jury of Athenian citizens to hear the trial of Orestes, and Euripides merely referred to "the gods", number not specified.[152] The judicial power of the Areiopagos had been limited in this period, but in the mid 350's the Council came back into prominence, and Demosthenes' remarks must be tied in with this resurgence.[153] The myths that the Twelve Gods had acted as the first jurors served to enhance the authority of the Areiopagos by giving it a divine origin.

Finally Plato gave the Twelve a central role in the ideal city (T 16 B). In *Laws* 745 D-E, he proposed that the citizens be divided into twelve tribes, unlike the ten tribes of contemporary Athens. Each tribe was to be named not for an ancestral hero but for one of the Twelve Gods, who would serve as its patron deity. As G.R. Morrow observed, there was no Athenian precedent for this organization, but the gods were generally considered to be the patrons and protectors of the civic order.[154] Plato's suggestion may have led to the naming of the tribes for the Twelve Gods in Magnesia on the Maeander and possibly also in Perge.[155]

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[151] L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 140 note 7.

[152] Aeschylus, *Eumenides* lines 487-89, 711-33 (for the number of jurors); Euripides, *Orestes*, lines 1650-52.

[153] P.J. Rhodes, *Athenian Democracy after 403 B.C.*, CJ 75 (1979-1980) 305-23, especially 319-20; K.M.T. Atkinson, *Demosthenes, Alexander, and Asebeia,*, Athenaeum 51 (1973) 310-35, especially 333; on the use of mythological argument by Athenian politicians: M.M. Markle III, JHS 96 (1976) 97-98. Compare also the words attributed to Plato by Aelius Aristeides (T 16 G 1).

[154] *Plato's Cretan City; a Historical Interpretation of the Laws*, Princeton 1960, 121, 435, 436. Morrow observed that almost every one of the Olympians is connected by Plato in some way with the city's life as well as Dionysos: ibid., 441-43.

According to tradition, the Athenians originally had four tribes, each of which was subdivided into three phratries: *Athenian Politeia* fragment 3, cited by C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1952 reprinted 1962, 48-59. There is no reason to suppose that there were, in fact, twelve phratries each with one of the Olympians with its patron, but the coincidence of number might be some justification for Plato's setting up twelve tribes named for the Twelve Gods.

[155] Infra, 221-23.

In *Laws* 828 B-D, Plato proposed that the ideal city should hold a festival each month for one of the Twelve Gods and that the festival of the twelfth month should be devoted to Plouton. There is no evidence before this time that the Greek Twelve as a group had any connection with the months, though individual months might be named from religious festivals. The table on page 178 gives the Athenian months and major festivals together with the gods honored.[156]

The chief festivals belonged to Athena, Demeter and Kore, and Dionysos. Traditionally some of the Twelve received honors in more than one month while others had none. Here Plato regularizes the festal calendar, putting each month under the care of one god, the gods being those for whom the tribes were named. His proposal may be regarded as an extension of the Athenian concept of the Twelve Gods as the divine guardians responsible for the welfare of the state, but it is not based on Athenian practice.

As we earlier observed, the Egyptians recognized a set of month gods, to which Herodotus referred (II.82.1 = T 2).[157] Just before this passage, Plato has advocated that each day some official should be sacrificing to some god on behalf of the state, the people and their possessions.[158] W.K.G. Guthrie notes that Plato uses a year of 365 days like the Egyptian solar year.[159] Plato could, in fact, have derived both daily and monthly sacrifices from Herodotus' statement that the Egyptians held that each month and each day was sacred to some god (II.82.1). He could also have learned about the Egyptian concept from the fourth-century astronomer Eudoxos, as other scholars have suggested.[160] The inspiration, then, may ultimately be Egyptian, but there is no reason to suppose that Plato was well informed about the Egyptian gods or concerned with their cult. The claim formerly made that Plato had absorbed the idea from the Chaldaeans via Eudoxos is now discredited.[161]

G.R. Morrow regards Plato's inclusion of Plouton among the gods to be honored as his real innovation. Apart from Byzantion (T 11 B), the

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[156] Based on Deubner's *Attische Feste*; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca 1977; and J.D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendars of Athens*, Princeton 1975.

[157] Supra, 147-50.

[158] *Laws* 828 B.

[159] *A History of Greek Philosophy* V, Cambridge 1978, 357 note 3.

[160] Cf. W. and H.-G. Gundel, *Astrologumena; die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte* [= Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 6], Wiesbaden 1966, 80-81. On Eudoxos as an astronomer see D.R. Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle*, Ithaca 1970, Chapter VI; O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 675-85. The fragments of Eudoxos have been collected by F. Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos*, Berlin 1966. Eudoxos did visit Egypt.

[161] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 825-26 E 85. Contra, Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* 451.

Attic Months and Festivals

Month	Deity indicated by month name	Major Festival	Deity honored by major festival	Metropolis Frieze	
				Festival(s)	Zodiac/Season
Hekatombaion	Apollo	Panathenaia	Athena	Theoria (Procession) Panathenaic ship	Leo, Sirius, Autumn
Metageitnion	Apollo			Herakles = Herakleia of Kynosarges	Virgo
Boedromion	Apollo	Eleusinian Mysteries	Demeter & Kore	Ephebe = Procession to Eleusis	Chelai (Claws)
Pyanopsion	Apollo	Thesmophoria	Demeter & Kore	Pyanopsia, Oschophoria, Thesmophoria	Scorpio Winter
Maimakterion	Zeus				Plowing & Sowing Sagittarius
Poseideon	Poseidon	Rural Dionysia	Dionysos	Theoria, judges for Rural Dionysia	Capricorn
Gamelion	Zeus & Hera	Lenaia	Dionysos	Lenaia, Hieros Gamos	Missing
Anthesterion	Dionysos	Anthesteria	Dionysos	Missing	Missing
Elaphebolion	Artemis	City Dionysia	Dionysos	Theoria, sacrifice for City Dionysia	Aries
Mounichion	Artemis			Artemis Mounichia	Taurus Summer
Thargelion	Apollo				Gemini
Skirophorion	?	Skira	Athena, Poseidon, Helios; Demeter & Kore	Bouphonos of Dipolieia	Cancer

god of the underworld was not regarded as one of the Greek Twelve. Plouton, according to Plato, should be honored as benefactor because the separation of body and soul is no worse than their union. Elsewhere he interprets the name of Plouton as "giver of wealth."[162] The Athenians in this period honored Plouton with the "strewing of couches."[163]

Morrow observes that the last month of the Attic year, to which Plato's twelfth month corresponded, was Skirophorion and that the festival from which it took its name may have been connected with the rape of Persephone by Plouton.[164] It is roughly equivalent to June, when today the vegetation dries up and dies in Attica. Thus the death of vegetation coinciding with the death of the year made it a particularly suitable month to be dedicated to Plouton, and there was already an Attic festival with which he might have been associated.

In the early third century B.C., the months of Demetrias in Thessaly were named after the twelve Olympians.[165] Demetrios Poliorketes the founder may have been inspired by Plato's recommendation, but, so far as we know, he did not include Plouton among the Twelve.

In the *Phaedrus* (246 E-247 A = T 19), Plato pictures the Twelve Gods as astral deities who drive through the heavens, maintaining order in the universe. The passage is embedded in his description of the journey of the soul. Zeus leads in his winged chariot, accompanied by a host of gods and daimons drawn up in eleven files, while Hestia remains in the house of the gods. Later he names Ares and Hera as the leaders of the martial and ruler souls respectively (252 C, 253 B) and says that other souls seek to emulate Apollo and the remaining gods.

R. Hackforth has summarized the scholarship on this passage.[166] As he says, it is essentially poetical, not a statement of theological or astronomical doctrine. It seems perfectly reasonable that Hestia as the goddess of the hearth should remain at home, that soldiers should cluster about the war god and rulers about the queen of the gods. There is no need to read into Plato's words an allusion to the constellations of the zodiac or to the Twelve Gods as their tutelary deities.[167] On the other hand, Plato's picture of the gods driving across the heavens overseeing the affairs of men could have been interpreted by astrologers in later times as supporting the association of the Twelve Gods with the signs of the zodiac. It certainly was the basis for the Neoplatonic Kosmos of concentric spheres (T 41 F, H), which we shall discuss in Chapter V.[168] In Plato's thought, the Twelve Gods are no longer the parochial Attic set who watch over the prosperity of Athens and ensure her dominance over other cities, not even the patrons of the ideal city, but universal deities concerned with the well-being of the Kosmos.

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[162] *Cratylus* 403 A; Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* 453. In art, Plouton regularly holds a cornucopia, symbol of wealth and fertility. Cf. K. Schauenburg, JdI 68 (1953) 38-72.

[163] *IG* II/III^2, 2, 2, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin 1931, nos. 1933-35. Cf. also Pausanias I.28.6 for a statue of Plouto in the sanctuary of the Semnai.

[164] Deubner, *Attische Feste* 40-46; Parke, *Festivals of the Athenian* 156-62. The source is a scholion on Lucian published by Rabe and cited in full by Deubner, p. 40 note 5. In honor of Eubouleus (who was swallowed up in the earth along with his herd of pigs when Plouto carried off Persephone) young pigs were thrown into chasms.

[165] Infra, 216-17.

[166] *Plato's Phaedrus,* Translated with Introduction and Commentary, Cambridge 1952, 69-76, especially 73-74; critique by D.R. Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle*, 114-15.

The Identities of theTwelve Gods of Attica

In the mid-fourth century B.C. the Twelve were named gods (T 17 B), and the Twelve Gods painted by Euphranor included Zeus, Poseidon, probably Hera, and possibly Hephaistos (T 15 C-F). C. Robert and A.E. Raubitschek have argued, however, that originally the Attic Twelve were more or less anonymous local deities or heroes.[169] Robert pointed to the myths in which the Twelve served as a panel of judges to decide disputes between Olympians: the trial of Ares for the murder of the son of Poseidon (T 18 A, C), the trial of Orestes in which Apollo appeared as a character witness (T 18 A), and the contest between Athena and Poseidon over Attica (T 18 B-D). It would be anomalous for a god involved in a case to serve on the panel hearing it. Raubitschek added that Attic inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. invoked Zeus and Athena separately from the Twelve Gods (here T 16 D), and he found on the east frieze of the Parthenon twelve male figures standing between the seated gods and the Athenian citizens, whom he identified as the local heroes who were honored as the Twelve.[170]

The Robert-Raubitschek theory certainly makes the myths in which the Twelve act as judges more comprehensible, but there is no evidence that any specific Attic hero or minor deity was one of the Twelve to balance those major deities whom we know Euphranor included. As early as the decade when the Altar of the Twelve Gods was founded, we have a vase with twelve named deities who can be equated with the Twelve Gods (Athens 1). The inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. merely show that gods might be invoked individually as well as collectively. On the Parthenon frieze, the seated deities represent the Twelve; the standing figures on either side are generally held to be the ten eponymous tribal heroes plus two marshals of the procession.[171]

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[167] On this interpretation see Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 823-24 E 83; Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus* 74, both with bibliography. Contra, G.J. de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato*, Amsterdam 1969, 131-32.

[168] Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus* 74; infra, 317-19.

[169] C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* [= L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* II], Berlin 1920-1926, 1321 and note 6; A.E. Raubitschek, *Die attischen Zwölfgötter*, in Opus Nobile; Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Ulf Jantzen, Wiesbaden 1969, 129-30.

[170] These would resemble the Hittite Twelve in being a male college.

Possibly at some remote time the Twelve were anonymous local deities or heroes, but as long as we know anything about them, they are named major Attic deities. Since they include Dionysos, they are not the twelve Olympians, and different gods may be included at different times or according to individual preference. The set on the Vulci kyathos (Athens 1) includes Nike(?) and Herakles whereas the Parthenon group has Artemis and Apollo with Nike reduced to an attendant (Athens 3). Plato specifically mentions Plouton as the twelfth month god in the *Laws* (T 16 B), but it is inconceivable that he imagined Plouton as one of the Twelve Gods driving through the heavens in the *Phaedrus* (T 19).

Other Deities Associated with the Twelve

In later times we shall find a connection between the Twelve Gods and the Mother of the Gods or Cybele (Curti 1, Ostia 1, Nablus 1, and Unknown Provenience 2). The Mother of the Gods had a shrine in the Agora of Athens, which gave its name to the Hellenistic Metroon where Athenian records were stored.[172] Other than proximity, there seems to be no relationship between the cult of the Mother of the Gods and that of the Twelve. However, after the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C., a man castrated himself with a stone upon the Altar of the Twelve Gods. His action, as J.S. Boersma has noted, belongs to the cult of Kybele rather than the Twelve.[173]

The trierarch Philippos made his dedication to Agathe Tyche as well as the Twelve Gods (T 14 K). The Tychaion in Alexandria contained statues of the Twelve Gods later on (Alexandria 1).

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[171] U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen; Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen* [= AthMitt Beiheft 5], Berlin 1976, 204; E.G. Pemberton, AJA 80 (1976) 114-15; F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* 225-56; E.B. Harrison, *The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora*, in Greek Numismatics and Archaeology; Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson, Wetteren 1979, 71-85.

[172] On the Hellenistic Metroon see H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 6 (1937) 172-203; Wycherley, *Testimonia* 150-60; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 35-38. On the cult of Kybele in the Agora see M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* II [= EPRO 50], Leiden 1981, 1-58, nos. 1-179.

[173] *Athenian Building Policy* 31-32.

Delos

Toward 300 B.C. a small temple was erected south of the Letoon on Delos, which has been identified on the basis of inscriptions as the Dodekatheon.[174] The temenos itself will be considered in Chapter II.[175] In 1950 J. Marcadé published a group of seven archaic statues reconstructed from fragments found some twenty meters east of the later Dodekatheon, which he attributed to the twelve stone images of the inscriptions.[176] Very little remains, but Marcadé recognized the Delian triad of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, a standing Athena, and seated figures of Zeus and Hera. He concluded that the statues were made about 500 B.C. and showed Attic influence.

E. Will observed in his publication of the Dodekatheon that there are questions about the statues, the origin of the style, the uniformity of scale, etc., which only a specialist in archaic sculpture could decide, and the identities of some of the figures are far from certain.[177] No base has been found for them within the temenos. There is not even proof that the sanctuary existed before the fourth century B.C., when the first of the extant altars was erected. Quite possibly the twelve images of the inscriptions could have been carved in the fourth century B.C. like those in Megara (Megara 1). However, no later group of statues of the Twelve Gods has been produced.

The cult of the Twelve Gods may therefore have been established as early as 500 B.C., presumably under Athenian influence, and Marcadé's fragments may be all that survives from this period. Among the deities identified, Leto is not an Olympian, but her cult was very important on Delos in the archaic period, and she had a temenos next to the Dodekatheon.

The Baltimore Relief

In the original publication of the Twelve-Gods relief now in the Walters Art Gallery (Unknown Provenience 1), E. Schmidt dated it to approximately 460 B.C. because of its mixture of archaic and Severe

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[174] T 26 A 1, B 1. The inscriptions relating to the Dodekatheon are collected by P. Bruneau, *Recherches zur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* [= BEFAR 217], Paris 1970, 438.

[175] Pp. 198-201.

[176] BCH 74 (1950) 181-219; cf. also Bruneau-Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1965, 43-44, pl. 5.

[177] *Le Dodékathéon* [= EAD 22], Paris 1955, 169. The criticisms which follow are based on Will and on H. Gallet de Santerre, RA 50 (1957) 61-66; idem, *Délos primitive et archaïque* [= BEFAR 192], Paris 1958, 266-67.

Style elements.[178] C. Havelock would place it as late as the first century B.C., and F. Brommer has challenged its authenticity.[179]

The twelve gods are crowded together in low relief (figure 124). Although they are all turned toward the right, they do not form a procession but rather pairs of deities, male and female. The couples are not quite canonical, for Zeus is with Athena instead of Hera. D. Willers finds this peculiarity along with the absence of identifying attributes for some of the figures an argument in favor of the genuineness of the relief.[180] I would add the cuttings for clamps on the back as evidence that the relief was broken and mended in antiquity.[181] The absence of clamp or dowel holes in the ends could be the consequence of the slab's having been freestanding or having been cut down — as it certainly was on the left end because part of the first goddess' arm is missing.

If the relief is genuine, it is extremely hard to date. In my dissertation, on the basis of the muscle cuirass worn by Ares/Mars, I followed Havelock in ascribing the entire relief to the first century B.C. The style, however, is archaizing rather than archaistic. The frontal, almond-shaped eye could hardly be later than the fifth century B.C., though Helios has one on an Etruscan mirror of the Hellenistic period now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[182] The swallowtail ends of the drapery on the Baltimore relief do not have the exaggerated flare of Neo-Attic archaistic drapery, nor do archaistic figures intersect the top border as these do.

The costumes, for the most part, can be duplicated on Greek works of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. Hermes, for example, resembles the Hermes on a relief from the Prytaneion on Thasos (ca. 470 B.C.).[183] His companion wears a chiton and himation similar to those of the seated goddess on the "Leukothea" relief in the Villa Albani.[184] Athena with her owl is very close to the Athena of the tondo of a cup by Douris in the Vatican, and there is an Artemis wearing a chlamys over her chiton on a terracotta plaque excavated in Brauron (500-480

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[178] Text to BrBr plate 660 (1912).

[179] Havelock, AJA 68 (1964) 57 note 48; F. Brommer, *Der Gott Vulkan auf provinzial römischen Reliefs*, Cologne 1973, 49-52; reiterated in *Hephaistos, der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst*, Mainz 1978, 247, 258 no. 8.

[180] *Zu den Anfängen der archaïstischen Plastik in Griechenland* [= AthMitt Beiheft 4], Berlin 1975, 56-58.

[181] Schmidt, text to BrBr pl. 660, 1, fig. 1.

[182] C.P. Perkins Collection, 95.72. M. Comstock-C.C. Vermeule, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Greenwich 1971, no. 391.

[183] Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 696. Cf. most recently W. Fuchs, *Skulptur der Griechen*, 2nd edition, Munich 1979, fig. 590 with bibliography.

[184] B.S. Ridgway, *Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1970, 94-95, 108, fig. 126, with bibliography.

B.C.).[185] For the remaining goddesses, the Lokrian plaques offer parallels.[186] Among the gods, Poseidon with his cloak draped over both shoulders recalls Oinomaos in the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the costume worn by Apollo recurs on vases by Psiax and the Berlin Painter.[187]

Three elements look distinctly later than 450 B.C.: the muscle cuirass, the trident of Poseidon, and the draping of Zeus' himation. The cuirass cast to fit the torso and decorated in imitation of human musculature came in during the early fifth century B.C.[188] Perhaps the earliest extant representation in sculpture is preserved on the torso of a warrior found on the Athenian acropolis and dated ca. 470/460 B.C.[189] The muscle cuirass was also depicted on Attic red-figure vases and in the Melian reliefs.[190] In general these representations of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. seem to be shorter, to cover less of the abdomen than the cuirass on the Baltimore relief, and to be more nipped in at the waist. Ares' cuirass looks more like those worn by Mars and a Roman officer on a cylindrical base in Cività Castellana, which has recently been redated from the first to the third century B.C.[191] Under the cuirass the Roman figures wear the same type of chitoniskos as the Baltimore Ares. There are also Neo-Attic representations of Ares/Mars wearing a muscle cuirass over a somewhat longer chiton.[192]

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[185] From Cerveteri. J.B. Beazley, *ARV*^{2}, 437 no. 116; 1653 with bibliography. Artemis: To Ergon 1961, 33, fig. 33.

[186] H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs; Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte von Lokroi Epizephyrioi*, Mainz am Rhein 1968, pls. 6, 1-3; 22, 1-2, 23, 5; E. Langlotz-M. Hirmer, *Art of Magna Graecia; Greek Art in Southern Italy and Sicily*, London 1965, pls. 72-73. Cf. also the costume worn by Leto on a bilingual amphora by Psiax now in Madrid. Inv. no. 11008 from Vulci: Beazley, *ARV*^{2} 7 no. 2.

[187] In addition to the vase by Psiax in Madrid, supra note 186, see Philadelphia, inv. no. 5399: Beazley, *ARV*^{2} 7 no. 3; Berlin Painter: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund 56.171.38: Beazley, *ARV*^{2} 197, 1633.

[188] A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung, eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Studie zur antiken Bewaffnung* I, Leipzig-Berlin 1919, 30-33; A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, Ithaca 1967, 92; K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie, und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* [= Archäologische Forschungen 4], Berlin 1978, 131.

[189] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 599. E. Langlotz in H. Schrader, ed., *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main, 1939, 202-204, no. 307, pls. 130-31; M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum; a Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, 128-29, fig. 246. 470/460 B.C.

[190] Schmidt, text to BrBr pl. 660, 8. Examples: Arias-Hirmer, *History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting*, New York ca. 1962, pl. 179; P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, Berlin 1931, pl. 15, no. 27.

[191] G. Hafner, *Das Rundrelief in Cività Castellana*, Aachener Kunstblätter des Museumsvereins 45 (1974) 17-31. For illustrations see T. Kraus, *Römisches Weltreich* [= Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 2], Berlin 1967, ill. 177; D.E. Strong, *Roman Art*, Penguin Books 1976, pl. 18.

[192] Ephesos 1; Tusculum 1. Professor J. Pollini kindly informed me of another from Pompeii: Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 6552. E. Dwyer, *Pompeian*

The trident held by Poseidon seems too heavy and ornate for the fifth century B.C. The closest parallels on coins occur on issues of the fourth century B.C.[193]

Zeus' himation seems to be wrapped around him with the end flung back over his left shoulder and hanging loose behind him, where it can be seen beneath his right elbow. However, when worn this way, the garment usually crosses the chest diagonally; Zeus' himation, on the contrary, is wrapped horizontally across the right side of the body and then swings vertically up to the left shoulder. The carver seems to have in mind another draping of the himation with the end drawn forward over the left shoulder — as it is worn by Apollo in the east frieze of the Parthenon (figure 12).

The relief is reputed to have come from Tarentum, but D. Willers finds its style quite unrelated to that of Tarentine reliefs, and there is no evidence that the cult of the Twelve Gods existed either there or in Tarentum's mother city of Sparta.[194] On the other hand, we have found parallels for some of its elements in Italy, and the curious mingling of archaic and later elements might be an indication of provincial origin. The strict alternation of sex also fits better with Italy, where we know that the Roman Di Consentes were six male and six female, than with mainland Greece where the sets in Athens and Olympia comprised seven male and five female. Apart from the possible existence of the cult in Leontinoi, the Baltimore relief may be our earliest evidence on the Twelve Gods in Italy.

Conclusions

Of the sets of twelve gods which have been found in neighboring cultures, none seems to be the source for the Greek Twelve Gods. The Egyptian month gods have most in common with the Greek Twelve and may have been the source for Plato's advising that monthly sacrifices be held for the Twelve in the ideal state. The Twelve Gods mentioned on the

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Oscilla Collections (in preparation), no. 29; idem in *Pompeii and the Vesuvian Landscape*, Washington 1979, 76, fig. 24.

[193] L. Anson, *Numismatica Graeca; Greek Coin-Types Classified for Immediate Identification* V, London 1910-1916, pls. XXII-XXIII. The closest examples are nos. 1123, 1128-30, all from Troezen and dated 400-322 B.C.

[194] *Zu den Anfängen der archaistische Plastik in Griechenland* 58. Schmidt observed that the first five gods on the relief, i.e., Apollo through Poseidon, did have cults in Sparta (text to BrBr pl. 660, 11) but that there was no information on the cult of the Twelve as a group. On Tarentine cults see P. Wuilleumier, *Tarent des origines à la conquête romaine* [= BEFAR 148], Paris 1939 reprinted 1968, 473-515. Again there is no recorded cult of the Twelve Gods as a group.

Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos are Lycian rather than Greek, but their association with the agora may indicate Greek influence on the cult.

Greek traditions that heroes founded altars to the Twelve Gods have not yet been confirmed by excavation. Among these, the altar in the Hieron on the Bosphoros certainly existed as early as the third century B.C. and its full investigation might elucidate the early history of the cult. As transmitted by literary tradition, these heroic cults differ from the Athenian in that the altars were said to have been established in remote locations rather than in the heart of the city. In both cases, however, the cult seems to have panhellenic associations.

Most of our information on the classical cult of the Twelve Gods relates to the Athenian altar of the Twelve Gods established in the marketplace of Athens by the younger Peisistratos in 522/521 B.C. This was an official civic cult for the well-being of the city which was maintained throughout pagan antiquity until the altar was dismantled after the Herulian raid of A.D. 267. There is no evidence that the Twelve were depicted in their precinct, but, from about 360 B.C. on, paintings of them by Euphranor could be seen in the adjacent Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. These paintings included at least two, possibly as many as four, named Olympians — Zeus, Poseidon, Hera(?), and Hephaistos(?). They may well have been the same deities as the Twelve Gods depicted on the east frieze of the Parthenon. In any case, we have found evidence that from the time of the dedication of the Altar, the Twelve were *named* Greek gods, not anonymous Attic deities or heroes. It has been observed that the six deities of the east frieze above the pronaos of the Hephaisteion have the role taken by the Twelve Gods in watching over Athenian affairs. We have also noted in Athens possible foreshadowings of the later association of the Twelve with the Mother of the Gods and with Tyche. In the *Laws* and the *Phaedrus* Plato used the Athenian concept of the Twelve Gods, making them patrons of the tribes in the ideal state, associating them with the months, and extending their domain to the entire universe.

Outside of Athens, almost nothing has survived from the cult of the Twelve Gods. There were six double altars in Olympia, which have perished, and possibly an open-air sanctuary with statues on Delos. The Baltimore relief may be evidence for the cult in Italy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK EXPANSION CA. 350-200 B.C.

As we observed in the first chapter, the earliest altars of the Twelve Gods were ascribed to heroes recognized by all the Greeks (like Deukalion and Herakles) or to leaders of pan-Greek enterprises such as Agamemnon and Jason. Traditionally the Twelve were the common gods of all Greeks. The cult had a special development in Athens. Here the Twelve were the patrons of the city state, concerned with the maintenance and prosperity of the civic order, especially justice, but also bestowing upon Athens primacy among Greek cities. In the writings of Plato, they transcend the particular geographical/temporal situation and become the guardians of the ideal state and the universe. These characteristics of the cult made it attractive to other Greek cities in the second half of the fourth century B.C. and may also account for the interest which Philip II of Macedon and Alexander displayed. As we investigate the cults and representations attested for this period, we shall also consider the question of Athenian and/or Argead influence.

Greece

Athens

Apsines, a writer of the third century after Christ, claimed that the Athenian orator Demades proposed that Philip II of Macedon be regarded as the Thirteenth God (T 16 H 1). Scholars have not accepted this as historical;[1] it looks like a duplication of Demades' proposal in 324 B.C. that Alexander be honored as the Thirteenth God (T 16 H 2-3), and, had it occurred, we should expect to find traces of it in the later debate. The time when such a matter might have been aired would have been after the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. E.A. Fredricksmeyer has recently shown that Philip II was honored at that time by having his statue placed in the shrine of his ancestor Herakles at Kynosarges outside the city of Athens, where *proskynesis* was paid to it.[2] This was, of course, far less than being admitted to the company of the Twelve Gods in the agora, but it gives a semblance of credibility to Apsines' story. Possibly there was talk of propitiating Philip by making him the Thirteenth God, which was resolved by giving him the inferior honor of a cult in Kynosarges.

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[1] A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 2nd edition, III, Leipzig 1887, 32 note 1; G.T. Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, Oxford 1979, 692 note 2.

[2] TAPA 109 (1979) 39-61.

There is no reason to doubt that Demades proposed to the Athenian assembly in 324 B.C.that Alexander be made the Thirteenth God, apparently at Alexander's behest (T 16 H 2-3).[3] Athens was not the only city where Alexander's deification was discussed at this time,[4] and we have echoes of the reactions of Demosthenes and others to the proposal.[5] Here we are concerned with the particular situation in Athens. Why should Alexander demand to be the colleague of the Twelve Gods? W.W. Tarn suggested that Alexander was seeking for himself a judicial status in the Greek cities.[6] In Athens, the authority of the Areiopagos was based, according to Demosthenes, upon the mythical trials over which the Twelve Gods had presided (T 18). Hence, as K.M.T. Atkinson has shown,[7] the position of Thirteenth God would have given Alexander presidency over the Areiopagus. Alexander could thus control public criminal investigations, and anyone who opposed his will would automatically be liable to trial for impiety (*asebeia*).[8] Through the counsel of Demosthenes, the Athenians avoided this trap by recognizing Alexander as a god without placing him on a par with the official Twelve.[9]

The honor finally paid to Alexander would have been comparable to that given Philip at Kynosarges. There is no indication that Alexander was represented with the Twelve Gods in Athens either during his lifetime or posthumously.[10] As it happened, Alexander's death soon proved his mortality, as Lucian duly observed in the *Dialogues of the Dead* (T 25 A), and Demades was convicted of impiety himself and heavily fined (T 16 H 2-3).

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[3] On Demades see H. Gärtner in *Das Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964) sv. *Demades*; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* 99-101, no. 3263.

[4] It has also been much discussed by modern scholars. C. Habicht doubted its historicity in the first edition of *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, Munich 1956, 29, but accepted it in the second, Munich 1970, 249. Plutarch, *Moralia* 219 E, and Aelian, *Varia Historia* II.19, say that Alexander himself demanded deification; Lucian (T 25 A) and Clement of Alexandria (T 25 B) merely that the Greeks made Alexander the Thirteenth God. Among modern scholars see: W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* II, Cambridge 1948, 370-73 reprinted in G.T. Griffith, *Alexander the Great: The Main Problems*, Cambridge 1966, 174-77; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, Historia 1 (1950) 363-88 = Griffith, *Alexander the Great*, 179-204; F. Taeger, *Charisma* I, Stuttgart 1957, 215-18; E.J. Bickerman, Athenaeum 41 (1963) 72-76; P.A. Brunt, G&R 12 (1965) 210-11; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse; das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, Vienna 1973, 525-31; J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great*, Pittsburgh 1974 reprinted 1979, 138-40; E. Fredericksmeyer, AJAH 4 (1979) 1-9; N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman*, London 1981, 253-54.

[5] Cf. especially K.M.T. Atkinson, *Demosthenes, Alexander, and Asebeia*, Athenaeum 51 (1973) 310-35.

[6] Reference supra, note 4.

[7] Athenaeum 51 (1973) 333.

[8] Ibid., 331-34. On the expansion of the power of the Areiopagos in the mid-fourth century B.C. see D.M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London-Ithaca 1978, 190-91.

[9] Athenaeum 51 (1973) 318-24, 334.

Though the Athenians might be pressed by the Macedonian kings and their local supporters to raise the Argeads to equality with the Twelve, they apparently continued their earlier association of the Twelve Gods with the Athenian Demos and Democracy. The person honored with a statue by the Altar of the Twelve Gods was Demosthenes, who had forged the coalition against Philip. He himself died in exile in 322. A Macedonian garrison held the Peiraeus, and Demetrios Poliorketes twice occupied the city of Athens.[11] However, in the archonship of Gorgias (280/279 B.C.) Athens again enjoyed democratic government while Macedon itself was weakened by contention for the throne (which resulted in the deaths in rapid succession of Demetrios Poliorketes, Lysimachos, and Seleukos I Nikator) as well as threatened by an invasion of Celtic barbarians.[12] These circumstances provided an opportunity for Demochares, the nephew and political heir of Demosthenes to propose that his uncle be honored with a portrait statue, which was placed near the Altar of the Twelve Gods (T 14 F).[13]

From the fourth century on, small trees or shrubs were planted around the precinct of the Twelve Gods. Planting holes were found on the south and west sides, and water was brought from the Southwest Fountain House to a collecting basin west of the precinct.[14]

In later Attic comedy, Menander's characters swore at least twice by the Twelve Gods (T 17 C). Alciphron had Menander himself use the oath in a fictive letter to Glykera where the playwright refuses to go to Egypt at

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[10] Examination of the Twelve-Gods cylinder in Athens convinced me that this could not have held a statue. See infra. Elsewhere, in Alexandria the Tychaion did contain a portrait of Alexander as well as statues of the Twelve Gods, but they were not assembled as a group.

[11] On the history of Athens in the late fourth and third centuries see most recently C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [= Vestigia 30], Munich 1979. Macedonian garrison: 95-107. Demetrios Poliorketes: 1-21, 62-67.

[12] Ibid., 81.

[13] On Demochares himself see J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 3716; H. Volkmann, *Das Kleine Pauly* I (1964) sv. *Demochares 3*; T.L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.* [= Hesperia Suppl. XVII], Princeton 1978, passim; C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens*, 22 note 1. According to Pausanias, the statue stood near the Temple of Ares (I.8.4), which lies south of the precinct of the Twelve Gods.

[14] H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 21 (1952) 50; 22 (1953), 46; idem, *Athenian Agora*^{3} (Guide), 98; R.E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, 66, 250.

Ptolemy's invitation (T 17 C).[15] In an anonymous comic fragment the speaker looks to the Twelve Gods for protection (T 17 D).

The one extant Athenian representation of the Twelve Gods from this period occurs on a relief cylinder found a century ago near the Church of St. Philip, not far from where the peribolos of the Twelve Gods was later discovered (Athens 5, figures 13-16).[16] The cylinder has a height of 0.44 m. and a diameter of 0.85 m. It is solid, and, as M. Crosby noted,[17] the top surface is quite level and smooth except for superficial scratches. Although the crowning moulding is broken off above the heads of the figures, the top is preserved to within a few centimeters of its original edge. No statue could have been fastened on top of it, nor is there any sign of a shallow channel around the edge, such as we shall find on the Dodekatheon cylinder in Ostia (Ostia 1).

Within the last decade, an early Hellenistic cylinder has been excavated in this part of the Agora, which resembles the Twelve-Gods cylinder in size and shape.[18] This new cylinder was set on top of a square, stepped base and was clearly intended for use as an altar because it was decorated with bucrania. Consequently the Twelve-Gods drum may have been part of a stepped altar, though where it stood is unknown. It is too small to have been itself the Altar of the Twelve Gods.[19]

From the observer's left to right, the following eight deities are extant: A graceful, draped and veiled goddess stands by a mature, bearded god seated upon a rock with his cloak wrapped about his loins (figure 13). The god is Poseidon, presumably once identified by a painted trident in his raised left hand. His companion seems to be the same modest creature who sits beside him in the Hephaisteion frieze (figure 18), possibly Aphrodite as E.G. Pemberton suggested,[20] possibly Amphitrite. Back to back with Poseidon, Demeter sits on her *kiste*, the cylindrical box in which the Eleusinian sacred objects were transported[21] (figure 14). She proffers wheat to Athena, who stands with her right hand clenched as if holding a (painted) spear. Her costume with the strap-like aegis adorned with a winged Medusa head may be compared with that of a torso of Athena of the late fifth century B.C. found in the agora.[22] Zeus is enthroned, as he may have been in Euphranor's painting (Athens 4, T 15 F), and holds a long scepter in his raised right hand (figure 15). Next to him stands Hera the Bride, wearing a himation with a thick, double roll about her waist. Apollo, almost nude, lounges on a rectangular block or altar, with his kithara against his left shoulder (figure 16). He looks toward a standing deity of whom only the torso is preserved with parts of the arms. This could be Artemis, Apollo's usual companion, once holding a bow in her left hand, but it seems too flat-chested and thick-waisted to be female. The diagonal drapery folds at the waist suggest a garment fastened on the left shoulder, leaving the right bare. Consequently this deity may be Hephaistos clad in an exomis as was the cult image in the Hephaisteion to the west of the agora.[23] Thus there would have been a pair of gods to the viewer's right of the divine sovereigns to balance the two goddesses to the left. With the possible exception of the first goddess, all eight represent Olympians, but Demeter, Athena, and Hephaistos(?) are Attic versions of these deities. Presumably these are the Attic Twelve, though without Dionysos among the extant gods we cannot be certain. The deities are not paired male and female nor are they grouped as they are on the Parthenon frieze.

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[15] Menander's relationship with Glykera was the subject of two Antioch mosaics and possibly a set of Neo-Attic reliefs. For the mosaics see A.M. Friend in R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III, Princeton 1941, nos. 110, 131, pls. 50, 63; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, 201-203. H. von Heintze gives references to the reliefs in her discussion of the example in the Lateran: W. Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, no. 1069.

[16] My warm thanks to Mrs. O. Tzachou-Alexandri and Dr. K. Raftopoulou of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, who made it possible for me to examine the cylinder in June 1981.

[17] Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 95.

[18] H.A. Thompson, *Athenian Agora* (Guide)^3 101-102, fig. 44.

[19] M. Crosby found no trace of a circular base on which the drum might have been set: Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 95. However what seems to be needed is a square one.

[20] AJA 80 (1976) 122.

[21] Eleusis, representations of Demeter seated upon *kiste*: O. Kern, AthMitt 17 (1892) 125-42, especially 128, fig. 2; 129, fig. 4; 131, 136-37; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the*

The date of the relief is disputed. M. Crosby and H.A. Thompson place it in the second half of the fourth century B.C., but G. Becatti and W. Fuchs have lowered it in date to the late Hellenistic period.[24] The low frieze with widely spaced figures has an effect similar to that of the frieze of the choregic monument of Lysikrates (335/334 B.C.).[25] Relief

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Eleusinian Mysteries, Princeton 1961, 159-60, fig. 56 (Caryatids of the Lesser Propylaia); 190, fig. 63, 245; fig. 57 (frieze of Lesser Propylaia). On the Athens relief the median band can be made out as well as arcades(?) on the sides. Demeter also has a cylindrical seat on the Alexandria cylinder (Alexandria 2).

[22] Agora S 654. T.L. Shear, AJA 40 (1936) 196, 198, fig. 14; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 164; G. Despinis, *Symbole sten melete tou ergou tou Agorakritou*, Athens 1971, 186 ff; *Athenian Agora* (Guide)^3 201, fig. 104.

[23] On the images of Hephaistos and Athena in the Hephaisteion see F. Brommer, *Hephaistos; der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst*, Mainz 1978, 75-86 with a thorough review of scholarship.

[24] Crosby, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 95 note 33; Thompson in Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 134 note 90; G. Becatti, ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939-1940) 92-93; W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, Berlin 1959, 144-45, 167 no. 29: Neo-Attic work based on fourth century types.

[25] The basic source on the monument is H. Riemann, *RE* suppl. VIII (1956) sv. *Lysikratesmonument*, cols. 281-87 with bibliography. Cf. also S. Ludakis, ArchDelt 21 (1966) 163-83; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* 348-51, figs. 450-52.

headings on Attic decrees of the fourth century B.C. provide parallels for several of the figures: The treaties between Athens and Kerkyra (ANM 1467 dated 375/374 B.C.) and Athens with four Peloponnesian states (ANM 1481 dated 362/361 B.C., here T 16 D) offer parallels for Poseidon and Zeus; Demokrateia on the Decree against Tyranny (Agora I 6524 dated 336 B.C.) wears a himation with a thick double roll around the waist similar to that worn by Hera; and still another heading (ANM 1473) has a goddess who resembles the deity standing before Poseidon.[26] As we have seen, there was great interest in the cult of the Twelve Gods in Athens in the mid-fourth century B.C., which culminated in Alexander's demand to be the Thirteenth God. The Twelve-Gods cylinder therefore fits the fourth century both in figural types and in theme. If it is not an original of this era, it must be a copy of one.

The Athens cylinder is the earliest of three which show the Twelve Gods as a circle of standing and seated deities, the other two being Alexandria 2 and Ostia 1. The three are independent creations, differing in the spacing and arrangement of the figures and in the types selected for the individual deities.

Megara

Just to the west of Attica, Pausanias saw a group of statues representing the Twelve Gods in the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira in Megara (Megara 1 = T 20). These were said to be the work of Praxiteles, but Pausanias did not describe them.

Megara seems to have been quite prosperous in the fourth century B.C. and to have commissioned several other works by Praxiteles.[27] The sanctuary of Artemis Soteira has not been excavated, but it was situated near the fountain of Theagenes in the center of the city.[28] According to Pausanias the goddess saved Megara from a detachment of the Persian army under Mardonius.[29] Hence her temenos would have been a suitable location for deities who watched over the prosperity of the state.

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[26] ANM 1467: Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* 588-91, pl. CIII; S Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, Athens 1968, 131. ANM 1481: Svoronos, 598-99, pl. CVI; Karouzou, 132. ANM 1473: Svoronos, 616, pl. CIX. Agora I 6524: B.D. Meritt, Hesperia 21 (1952) 355-59, no. 5, pl. 90; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora of Athens*, 61 note 173, pl. 53a. The general source on such reliefs is R.E. Binne-Böszel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Meeuws 1932, but they are currently being restudied by C. Lawton, Lawrence University, AJA 87 (1983) 242.

[27] R.P. Legon, *Megara; the Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 B.C.*, Ithaca-London 1981, 258-85. Statues by Praxiteles: Pausanias I.43.5-6, 44.2; K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, Lund 1934, 106; Legon, *Megara*, 284.

[28] Pausanias I.40.1-2. On the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira see A. Kaloyeropoulou, AAA 7 (1974), 146-48; A. Muller, BCH 105 (1981) 222-25. For the fountain-house of Theagenes see G. Gruben, ArchDelt 19 A (1964) 37-41; Legon, *Megara*, 97-98, 150-52.

[29] I.40.2-4. Legon, *Megara*, 169-70.

Beyond this we may inquire what circumstances led to the commissioning of the group from an Athenian sculptor active in the mid-fourth century B.C. During the Peloponnesian War, the Megaris was devastated as was Attica.[30] Thereafter, in the words of Isocrates,[31] the Megarians pursued a moderate policy, remaining at peace with their neighbors and avoiding internal strife for the most part. In the 340s, however, a pro-Macedonian element plotted a coup with the aid of Philip II.[32] Those in control of Megara, apparently the democrats, secretly obtained military aid from Athens and foiled the attempt. From this time until the battle of Chaeroneia, the Megarians seem to have remained on the side of Athens against Macedon, even contributing troops and money to the cause.[33] The years just before 338, therefore, would be the most likely time for the Megarians to have ordered a set of the Twelve Gods, whose cult was so prominent in Athens, from an Athenian sculptor. The placing of the group in the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira is comparable to the location of Euphranor's painting(s) of the Twelve Gods in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian agora some twenty years earlier, and we may assume that in Megara as in Athens the Twelve would have been regarded as patrons of the Demos and democracy. In Pausanias' day, it is interesting to note, the sanctuary of Artemis also contained statues of Roman emperors — but apparently not of Philip II or Alexander of Macedon.[34]

G. Becatti proposed that the gods on the Ostia cylinder (Ostia 1) were based on Praxiteles' group of the Twelve Gods.[35] In fact, as R. Carpenter and W. Fuchs have shown,[36] the Ostia group is eclectic. Some day the base(s) or fragments of the statues may be discovered in Megara; meanwhile it is fruitless to speculate on the appearance of the group.

Epidauros

In the fourth century B.C., the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros drew Greeks from many areas seeking to be cured of physical ailments.

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[30] Legon, *Megara*, 228-56.

[31] VIII.117-18. Cf. Legon, *Megara*, 265, 279-80.

[32] E.L. Highbarger, *History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*, Baltimore 1927, 193-94; Legon, *Megara*, 290-94; Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 496-99.

[33] Highbarger, *History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*, 341; Legon, *Megara*, 294.

[34] I.40.2. Weinreich saw a tie here between the Twelve Gods and the ruler cult: *Zwölfgötter* 785-86 B 24. If so it would have been much later, in Roman imperial times. The Megarians did offer Alexander citizenship: Plutarch, N.S. *Moralia* 826 C-D; Legon, *Megara*, 294-95.

[35] ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939-1940), 85-137; BdA 36 (1951) 103-200.

[36] R. Carpenter, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (1949) 71-74; W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, no. 3025.

Its international recognition made it comparable to the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, and it was thus an ideal location in which to set up a copy of the regulations governing the Second Hellenic League of 302 B.C.[37]

The cult of Asklepios had formed a tie between Athens and Epidauros since the fifth century B.C.[38] In addition to Athenians who came to consult the god of healing, several worked on the buildings in the sanctuary.[39]

At least one dedication was made to the Twelve Gods in the sanctuary of Asklepios during the fourth century B.C., of which the base has survived (Epidauros 1). This is a block of reddish stone bearing the inscription Dodeka Theon ("of the Twelve Gods") in letters of the fourth century B.C. The use of the genitive case for the dedication recurs on the Ostia Dodekatheon cylinder (Ostia 1). Below the inscription, an incised circle containing a ring of twelve dots symbolizes the Twelve as a united group of twelve equal members.[40] Contrary to K. Ziegler's suggestion, this has nothing to do with the Greek tholos.[41] It is important, however, as evidence for the recognition of the Twelve Gods in Epidauros.

A fictive triglyph altar has been reconstructed in the Museum at Epidauros (Epidauros 2, fig. 43). According to I. Svoronos,[42] the best preserved metope, from the 1884 excavation of the Asklepieion, is Attic work of the later fourth century B.C. R.A. Tomlinson has postulated that the fictive altar might reproduce Asklepios' own altar in the sanctuary.[43]

The triglyph altar was an established type in the Peloponnesos in the fourth century B.C. C. Yavis lists two rectangular examples, one of the late fifth century in Perachora, the other, which must be after 370 B.C., at Megalopolis.[44] The latter had eight metopes on the long sides. In addition coins issued by Mantineia after her reestablishment about 370 B.C. show a triglyph altar.[45] An Apulian vase once in the collection of Sir William Hamilton (Appendix III, 1, figure 173) depicted Hellas seated on a triglyph altar, surrounded by Olympians — Artemis, Apollo, Athena, Hera, and Zeus.[46]

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[37] *IG* IV², 1, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin 1929, no. 68; H.H. Schmitt, *Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.*, Munich 1969, no. 446; A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, Toronto 1969, 31. Internationality: V.K. Lambrinudakis, Archaiognosia 1 (1980) 60-61.

[38] Burford, *Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, 20-21.

[39] Ibid., 202.

[40] In Roman imperial times this symbol appears on dedications to "all the gods" (once with the number 13) and to Pantheios or Pantheion (with the number 12): *IG* IV², especially nos. 390, 549.

[41] *RE* 36, 2 (1949) 742. Tholoi usually have exterior as well as interior columns. The Thymele at Epidauros, for example had 26 Doric columns outside and 14 Corinthian columns inside: D.R. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1944, 329. I know on no tholos with a plan corresponding to the Epidauros symbol. For a list of tholoi see E. Fiechter, *RE* series 2, 11 (1936), sv. *Tholos*, 308-10.

[42] I. Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens 1908-1937, 369-70, 378.

[43] *Epidauros*, Austin 1983, 54-55. It is not certain that Asklepios' altar had triglyphs, but it was long and narrow. The temple was Doric.

[44] *Greek Altars; Origins and Typology*, St. Louis 1949, 138-39, 204-207, figs. 51-52.

On the Epidauros relief, each of the three metopes of which fragments survive seems to have had two figures side by side. In the present reconstruction, a standing warrior wearing a muscle cuirass occupies the left half of the first metope. His right hand is raised as if holding a (painted) spear, the right lowered as if resting on a shield. This is Ares; presumably the missing right half contained Aphrodite. The central metope shows a male wearing a himation seated on a rocky outcrop. Beside him can be perceived the arm of a female clad in a chiton and holding a vertical shaft in her right hand at shoulder level. The similarity of the male to Poseidon in the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens (figure 134) suggests he is Poseidon accompanied by some goddess such as Demeter.

The third and best preserved metope was long in the National Museum in Athens and is well known. On the left is a bearded god in a himation, leaning on a staff; to the right there stands Athena, identified by the straplike aegis she wears over her peplos and by the shield beside her right leg. Between them the deities hold a helmet. Most scholars have regarded the god as Hephaistos.[47] However, E. Löwy and I. Svoronos preferred to call him Asklepios because of the provenience of the relief and the resemblance of the figure to a well-known type of the god of healing.[48] F. Brommer withheld judgement.[49] The god does not have a snake, as Asklepios should. For the composition the closest parallel is an archaistic metope in Copenhagen,[50] on which the nude god who presents a helmet to Athena is surely Hephaistos. Though Hephaistos frequently wears an exomis and pilos, he may also be clad in a himation and is so depicted with Athena on the Parthenon frieze (Athens 3), the Ara Borghese (Rome 8, figure 97), and the Altar of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (Rome 6, figure 94). Of the two gods, Hephaistos is preferable.

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[45] Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, 379; F. Imhoof-Blumer-P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, JHS 7 (1886) 98 no. 4, pl. S XVIII.

[46] Discussed infra, 214.

[47] A. Furtwängler, SB Munich (1897) 289 ff.; E. Reisch, ÖJh 1 (1898) 79-82; B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, 248; C. Walston, *Alcamenes*, Cambridge 1926, 180; A.B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 207, fig. 126; F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen 1951, 51-52.

[48] E. Löwy, text to *EA* pl. 1256; I. Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, 371.

[49] Brommer places the relief among those which are not certainly identified as Hephaistos: *Hephaistos*, 244, no. 10; cf. also 102-103.

[50] Inv. no. 441. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 51-52, no. 35 with bibliography.

A metope in the Villa Albani has a pair of goddesses but is smaller than the Epidauros set and earlier (late fifth century B.C.): Inv. no. 178. W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, no. 3308 with bibliography.

There were at least three metopes, each with a pair of deities, who included Ares, Poseidon, Hephaistos, and Athena. It seems possible that originally there were six metopes in all and that the subject was the Twelve Gods, who received one indisputable dedication of the fourth century B.C. at Epidauros (Epidauros 1). Material, workmanship, and subject matter are Athenian. Presumably therefore the donor was Athens.

What occasioned such a dedication? I. Svoronos thought that the relief which he published might have been the heading for a treaty between Athens, Epidauros, and other Peloponnesian states at the time of the Lamian War.[51] It is now clear that the monument was a fictive altar, not an inscribed stele, but the Lamian War, which attempted to restore Greek independence from Macedon, could have evoked such a dedication as an expression of Panhellenism. The difficulty is that the war did not last long and ended in defeat for Athens. Possibly therefore the fictive altar should rather be connected with the League of Corinth, which was also an expression of Greek unity even if it was forced upon the Greeks by Philip II of Macedon. Philip certainly brought the Twelve Gods in to support his policy at Aigai (Aigai 1). As a symbol of Greek unity under the Twelve Gods, the fictive altar would be equivalent to the Apulian vase mentioned above, which showed Hellas seated upon an altar surrounded by gods. Its erection at Epidauros would be comparable to the setting up of the provisions for the second Hellenic League there later on.[52]

Finally there is in the National Museum in Athens a block from a rectangular altar, base or parapet, which was found in Epidauros and which has a frieze of deities[53] (figures 136-38). It has been dated anywhere from the fourth to the second century B.C.[54] I. Svoronos called it a representation of the Twelve Gods, identifying the extant figures as Nike, Hera, Zeus, and Hebe(?).[55] P. Kabbadias and S. Karouzou, however, call "Hera" and "Zeus" Hygieia and Asklepios.[56] Since none of the deities is certainly an Olympian and it is not known how many there were in all, Weinreich quite rightly did not include the frieze among representations of the Twelve Gods[57]

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[51] Athener Nationalmuseum, 379.

[52] Supra, note 37.

[53] Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1425. H., 0.62 m. Pres. L., 0.19 m. W. (side), 0.95 m. My thanks to Mrs. O. Tzachou-Alexandri and Dr. K. Raftopoulou for enabling me to examine this relief in June 1981. It has the peculiarity that Nike is carved at the corner with her wings extending on both adjacent faces. The best parallel I know for this feature would be on Roman sarcophagi. Cf. the example from Ephesos illustrated by M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, New York 1977, fig. 659.

[54] E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich 1922, 28-30, 32, 35, 39, ca. 350 B.C.; followed by W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 53 note 39, *EAA* 5 (1963) 466 sv. *Nike*; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Catalogue of Sculpture*, 101, ca. 370 B.C. G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolid*, 402, Hellenistic. G. Becatti, Critica d'Arte 6 (1941), 42-43, Neo-Attic work of second century B.C.; followed by C. Havelock,

Arcadia

From Tegea there is a multiple herm, which is on display in the local museum (Tegea 1, figure 106). This is a block divided by incised lines into six vertical shafts, each topped by a bearded male head. Though the heads are battered, they look classical rather than archaic/archaistic. All are exactly alike; they are distinguished neither by attributes nor by inscriptions. On the front the word Anetheke ("he dedicated") is inscribed in the Ionic alphabet. The use of Ionic letters indicates that the inscription postdates the formation of the Arcadian League in 370 B.C., and it could belong to the late fourth or early third century B.C.[58] The six heads might represent the male half of a set of Twelve Gods.

A second multiple herm was found in Tegea, which has three shafts preserved out of at least four (Tegea 2, figure 107). The heads, which were carved in high relief at the tops of the shafts, are largely broken away. Inscriptions in letters of the third century B.C. identify the gods as Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter.[59]

At Thelpousa in western Arcadia, Pausanias says that there was a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods which was in ruins in his day.[60] Members of the French School explored Thelpousa in 1938.[61] Although they did not identify the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, they did find the agora with stoas probably of the fourth century B.C. as well as a later building of the Roman period.

Taken together, the evidence suggests that there was a cult of the Twelve Gods in Arcadia from the late fourth century B.C. on, that these

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AJA 68 (1964) 49. D. Willers, *Zu den Anfängen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland* [= AthMitt Beiheft 4], Berlin 1975, 28, after 150 B.C.

[55] *Athener National museum* 418-24.

[56] P. Kabbadias, ArchEph (1895) 180-81; S. Karouzou, supra note 54, 101. Cf. also W. Fuchs, *EAA* 5 (1966) 466 sv. *Nike*.

[57] *Zwölfgötter* 781 B 19.

[58] F.A. Cooper, Hesperia 44 (1975) 225 note 5, 230.

[59] The ephor for Lakonia, T. Spyropoulos, kindly supplied a photograph of this herm. I was not able to locate it when I visited the Tegea Museum in June 1981.

[60] VIII.25.3 = T 12; cited by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 781 B 20.

[61] BCH 63 (1939) 301; D. Leekley-R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece*, Park Ridge, N.J., 1976, 54.

consisted of six male and six female deities, and that among them were Zeus, Demeter, and Poseidon. The cult could have been very old, but it is not attested before the fourth century. Earlier we mentioned a treaty between Athens and Arcadia among other Peloponnesian states dated 362/361 B.C., in which the Twelve Gods were invoked (T 16 D).[62] The cult of the Twelve Gods might have been introduced as a result of this closer relationship with Athens, as was the use of the Ionic alphabet,[63] or it might be an expression of the unification of Arcadia through the establishment of the League. In either case the Twelve could have been regarded as the patrons of democracy.[64] How long the Twelve flourished in Arcadia is unknown, but, when Pausanias visited Thelpousa, the cult was moribund as it was in Olympia just to the west.

Of the gods attested for the Arcadian Twelve, Zeus, Poseidon and Demeter all belong among the Attic Twelve. They also had ancient and important cults in the Peloponnesus.[65] The pairing of Demeter and Poseidon recalls the Arcadian myth recounted by Pausanias that these deities mated in the form of horses at Thelpousa.[66] Their Roman equivalents, Ceres and Neptune, are also paired among the month gods.[67]

Delos

The Accounts of the Hieropoioi on Delos dated to 282, 269 and 250 B.C. refer to a building identified as the place where the twelve (images) are (T 26 A 1-3). Those of the second century call what must be the same place the Dodekatheon (T 26 A 4-8). R. Vallois identified the actual precinct south of the Letoon.[68] Here were found six or seven altars: to the east of the later temple a row of two, A and B, A being on the axis of the temple; beyond these a row of three, C, D, and E, plus two smaller monuments east of Altar D, F and G.[69] Of these, C, D, probably E, and the first stage of B belong to the fourth century B.C. while the rest are later. Altar C was inscribed in the Roman period with the names of Athena, Zeus, and Hera (T 26 C).

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[62] On this treaty see most recently S. Dušanić, *Arkadika*, AthMitt 94 (1979) 128-35.

[63] F.A. Cooper, Hesperia 44 (1975) 230-31.

[64] For Arcadia this may be an oversimplification, but Tegea at least had a democratic government from 370 on: J. Roy, Historia 20 (1971) 589. Roy recognizes the conflict between oligarchs and democrats but considers the objectives of both were social and economic rather than constitutional: ibid., 269-99. Pro-Athenian would not necessarily mean democratic, therefore, and might only be anti-Spartan. Cf. also E.I. MacQueen, Historia 27 (1978) 40-64.

[65] L. Séchan-P. Lévêque, *Les grandes divinités de la Grèce*, Paris 1966, 107-108, 135-36.

[66] VIII.25.4-7.

[67] See Table in Chapter III, 268, and 272.

[68] BCH 53 (1929) 225-49.

[69] Ibid., 225-33; E. Will, *Le Dodékathéon* [= EAD 22], Paris 1955, 157-61.

Toward the end of the fourth century B.C., a temple was built in the precinct.[70] This is presumably the building to which the inscriptions refer. The Doric order was used, and the plan was hexastyle amphiprostyle, that is, with six columns in front and in back, making a total of twelve. The date of the structure to the period of Antigonid ascendancy before the battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.) and the resemblance of its forms to the Hall of the Bulls and the later Stoa of Antigonas Gonatas suggest that the donor was Demetrios Poliorketes or Antigonos Monophthalmos.[71]

There seems to be no reason to doubt that this was the Dodekatheon of the inscriptions; yet there was no provision within the building for the twelve images. Instead the excavators found the substructure of a base suitable in dimensions for a single colossal statue, a base which had later been enlarged so that two figures could be set on it.[72] They also found fragments of one or two colossal male statues, including a male portrait head which lay on the step at the southwest corner of the temple.[73] The head depicts a young man wearing the diadem of a Hellenistic ruler, quite similar to the well-known head of Alexander from Pergamon and deliberately imitating Alexander in the hair style, the moist eye turned heavenwards and the tilted head.[74] C. Picard identified it as a portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes, postulating that the holes above the diadem were for the attachment of bull's horns;[75] J. Marcadé accepted the identification but suggested that the holes were more likely intended for attaching locks of hair.[76]

In my opinion the profile of the head does not resemble coin portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes; the hair is longer and the firm rounded chin is quite different from Demetrios' incipient double chin.[77] The head does have affinities with another portrait head found in the temenos of Apollo on Delos and identified as that of another imitator of Alexander, Mithridates VI of Pontus (128-67 B.C.).[78] If the Dodekatheon head does represent Mithridates, then it must be a replacement. From the date of the temple, if not the head, the original occupant must have been a Hellenistic ruler, most probably an Antigonid.

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[70] The basic publication is by E. Will, *Le Dodékathéon*. Cf. also P. Bruneau-J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1965, 106-109.

[71] Will, *Dodékathéon*, 154.

[72] Ibid., 141-43.

[73] Ibid., 181-82, pl. XVI.

[74] Delos Museum, inv. no. A4184. C. Picard, MonPiot 41 (1946) 73-90; idem, RA 6th series 22 (1944) 5-37; Will, *Dodékathéon*, 172-82; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos; Étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde basse découverte dans l'île* [= BEFAR 215], Paris, 1969, 137, 263-68. A.F. Stewart, *Attika; Studies in the Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* [= JHS Suppl. Paper 14], London 1979, identifies the head as Mithridates on p. 89, note 11.

[75] References in note 74.

[76] Reference in note 74.

[77] The closest of the coin portraits is E.T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London 1927, 122, no. 137, pl. XIV, 4: tetradrachm issued in Macedon ca. 290 B.C. G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* III, London 1965, 256 does not mention the head from the Dodekatheon in her analysis of portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes nor does she mention the Athens head of Mithridates VI in her discussion of the latter's portraits on p. 275.

E. Will suggested that the second statue in the Dodekatheon might have represented Zeus, but J. Marcadé discovered in the storeroom of the Delos Museum a fragment of a second colossal head.[79] Since this had the hair parted like that of the Dodekatheon head and was also provided with an encircling band, it must also have depicted a Hellenistic ruler.

We have then two kings, one added to the first. In the fourth century Athens controlled Delos down to about 314 when Delos established her independence under the protection of Antigonos Monophthalmos.[80] A festival was established called the Antigoneia, and an inscription of 306 B.C. provided for the celebration of a second festival, the Demetrieia, in alternate years with the Antigoneia.[81] It is tempting to connect the enlargement of the base in the Dodekatheon with this sequence of events and to postulate that the Delians placed a statue of Antigonos Monophthalmos in the Dodekatheon in gratitude for his freeing them from Athenian control and later added one of his son. The subsequent history of the temenos would substantiate this, for Antigonos was killed at Ipsos and Demetrios barely retained the islands under his rule.[82] The Dodekatheon was maintained, but it was apparently not lavishly endowed for the only dedication listed in the second-century inventories (T 26 B) is a damaged chariot group of gilded wood. In the end, the Romans encroached upon the territory of the Twelve to build the Granite Monument and the Agora of the Italians.[83]

The Dodekatheon on Delos is unusual in providing evidence for the association of a Hellenistic ruler or rulers with the Twelve Gods. Previously, as we have seen, Alexander and possibly Philip II before him had sought recognition as the Thirteenth God.[84] Subsequently we find only a posthumous cult of Eumenes II of Pergamon (197-160/159 B.C.)

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[78] Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 429. C. Michalowski, *Les portraits hellénistiques et romains* [= EAD 13], Paris 1932, 5-8, no. 2, pl. VII; Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, 266-67.

[79] Inv. no. A5943. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, 263.

[80] W.A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, Oxford 1933, 85-89.

[81] Ibid., 97-101; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* [= BEFAR 217], Paris 1970, 564-67.

[82] E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (*323-30 av. J.C.*) I, Nancy 1966, 71-73.

[83] Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 440-41.

[84] Supra, 187-89; infra, 214-16.

and the Twelve Gods attested for Elaia/Pergamon and Kos (T 9, T 29 A 3).

Except for Altar C, dedicated to Athena, Zeus, and Hera (T 26 C), the gods who comprised the Twelve are not named. R. Vallois ascribed Altar D to the Delian triad of Apollo, Artemis and Leto because it was the largest and was centrally located.[85] He also postulated that a third triad consisted of Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Eubouleus because these were represented on a trapezophoros (a support for an altar or table) found in the area.[86] The latter, however, could belong to the nearby Thesmophorion and have nothing to do with the Twelve Gods. For the last three Vallois proposed Poseidon, Aphrodite, and Dionysos or Hermes; P. Bruneau Poseidon, Aphrodite, and Eileithyia.[87] Bruneau himself rightly warns that such efforts are hypothetical and usually fruitless.[88] We simply do not know which twelve gods the Delians recognized.

Lebadeia, Boeotia

On a limestone votive relief from Lebadeia now in the National Museum in Athens (Lebadeia 1, figure 62), four small donors approach an enthroned goddess with a lion. Eleven standing isocephalic figures occupy the background. In the original publication, O. Walter stated that the relief could not be earlier than the Hellenistic period; subsequent writers accept it as Hellenistic.[89]

Walter called the seated goddess Demeter-Europa; the lion, however, is the common attribute of the Magna Mater or Kybele, and her cult is now attested at Lebadeia by inscriptions found subsequently and dated about 200 B.C.[90] Most of the eleven standing figures can readily be identified as gods or demigods connected with Kybele. Farthest to the right are the Dioskouroi wearing piloi and chlamydes. To the left of them are three young warriors armed with round shields — the Kouretes. The middle of the row is occupied by a goddess holding a pair of torches and a bearded god provided with a cornucopia and flanked by two snakes. The goddess is Hekate. Her companion is clearly chthonic (snakes) and a provider of abundance (cornucopia); he could be Trophonios as suggested

[85] BCH 53 (1929) 231-32.

[86] Ibid., 232, 242-46.

[87] Vallois, BCH 53 (1929) 232; Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 440.

[88] Ibid., Bruneau's handling of the cults connected with the Dodekatheon is admirable.

[89] ÖJh 31 (1939) 60 and note 35; followed by F. Brommer, *RE* suppl. VIII (1956) sv. *Pan*, 983, 995; J. Haldane, Phoenix 22 (1968) 20 note 8; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, London 1977, 36, 76, 80, fig. 27; idem, *CCCA* II, *Graecia atque Insulae* [= EPRO 50], Leiden 1982, 131-32, no. 432, pl. CXXVII.

[90] O. Walter, AA (1942), 114-15; J. Jannoray, BCH 64 (1940-1941) 40-55.

by Walter or Zeus Meilichios, who is named in the dedicatory inscriptions along with Kybele.[91] To the left of these stands Pan, recognizable by his goat horns and legs, holding pedum and syrinx, and next to Pan Dionysos in high boots and chitoniskos, with his thyrsos and kantharos. Pan's association with Kybele as the Meter Theon goes back to the time of Pindar in Thebes.[92] The god with the cornucopia is paired with Hekate on a relief in Edinburgh, with Dionysos on a fourth-century relief in Chalkis.[93]

The two figures nearest Kybele wear feminine attire. One carries a large key; the face of the second is concealed by a veil. In the mortal world, as Walter observed,[94] these types represent the *mystagogos* introducing the *myste*, the candidate for admission especially into the Eleusinian mysteries. Here their size and position differentiate them from the mortals and make them one with the gods. Consequently Walter identified the figure with the key as Persephone, the other as a heroized dead person, presumably the *pater familias* of the mortals at the right. Thus the relief would be a monument of the cult of the dead rather than an ordinary votive relief. In favor of this interpretation, the table set with cakes recalls the tables with food on reliefs depicting cults of heroes or of the heroized dead (*Totenmahl* reliefs).[95] Offerings of the same sort may be provided for chthonic deities in representations of the *theoxenia*. In contrast to the *Totenmahl* reliefs, there are certainly gods present here, and it seems more probable that the veiled figure is also divine, presumably a goddess from her feminine dress and possibly Demeter as M.J. Vermaseren hazarded.[96]

The relief seems to be a manifestation of a mystery cult associated with Kybele, the Mother of the Gods, at Lebadeia. Not only are the gods chthonic, but the type of ceremony and the presence of ordinary, private individuals set the rites apart from the official sacrifices to the Twelve Gods for the welfare of the state. The closest analogy might be the agricultural deities whom Varro contrasts with the official Di Consentes at the beginning of his book on agriculture (T 36 A).

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[91] Walter, ÖJh 31 (1939) 60-61; inscriptions supra, note 90. His name is less important than his function, and M.J. Vermaseren leaves him anonymous: *CCCA* II, 132 no. 6. Cf. also M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* [= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2, 2nd edition], Munich 1961, 642, Trophonios, Plouto or Zeus Meilichios; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, 136-37, possibly Trophonios.

[92] Pindar, *Pythian Ode* III.77-79; frags. 95-100 (Snell); Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 726; J. Haldane, Phoenix 22 (1968) 18-31. Pan holds a rectangular Greek syrinx, not the Roman kind with pipes of graduated sizes. He is equal in height to the other gods as in archaistic reliefs: cf. C. Havelock, AJA 68 (1964), pls. 20-21, figs. 14-16.

[93] Edinburgh: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge 1882, 298 no. 3; K. Schauenburg, JdI 68 (1953) 59, fig. 15. Chalkis Museum, inv. no. 337: Snijder, RA 5th series, 20 (1924) 42-43, pl. 3; Walter, ÖJh 31 (1939) 61 note 42; C. Picard, BCH 68-69 (1944-1945) 264-65, fig. 13; K. Schauenburg, JdI 68 (1953) 45, no. 17.

[94] Walter, ÖJh 31 (1939) 66-67. G. Sanders in M.J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* [= EPRO 93], Leiden 1981, 273, also interprets the veiled figure as the *myste* led in to the Magna Mater by a priestess and Dionysos.

[95] U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, 24-31.

[96] *Cybele and Attis* 36; idem, *CCCA* II, 132.

Elateia, Phocis

Pliny the Elder wrote that Mnason, tyrant of Elateia, commissioned Asklepiodoros of Athens to paint the Twelve Gods, paying him thirty minas per deity (T 21 = Elateia 1). This painting seems to have been one of a set of three, the others being one of thirty heroes for which Mnason paid Theomnestos (otherwise unknown)[97] twenty minas per hero and a battle with the Persians containing a hundred figures for which Aristeides of Thebes received ten minas per figure.[98] According to Pliny, Asklepiodoros and Aristeides both flourished in the 112th Olympiad (332/331-329/328 B.C.), which could be an approximate date for the program at Elateia.[99] The subject matter, as T. Schreiber, E. Pfuhl and T. Hölscher have remarked, mirrors the paintings executed by Euphranor some thirty years earlier for the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Athens 4).[100] Since Euphranor's battle was the contemporary Athenian victory at Mantineia, it seems likely that Aristeides' *Battle with the Persians* commemorated one of Alexander's recent successes at the Granikos (334 B.C.), Issus (333 B.C.) or Gaugamela (331 B.C.), the more so as the Phocian role in the earlier Persian War had not been glorious.[101] It would thus have been comparable to the statues erected at Dion in Macedon, immortalizing the twenty-five Companions who fell at the Granikos.[102] Theomnestos' painting obviously differed from Euphranor's *Theseus* in the number of heroes, perhaps also in omitting Demos and Democracy. It is more difficult to judge the relationship between Asklepiodoros' painting and its counterpart by Euphranor because they had the same subject — the Twelve Gods. As an Athenian, Asklepiodoros must have known Euphranor's work and may have been influenced by it. However Asklepiodoros was rated as a major Athenian painter by Plutarch,[103] and on analogy with what leading Athenian dramatists did, we would expect him to produce his own version of the theme.

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[97] He could have been an Athenian like Asklepiodoros, for J. Kirchner lists 17 persons by that name: *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin 1901-1903, nos. 6962-78. One of these, no. 6976 = Theomnestos of Rhamnous, would have been a contemporary: Cf. J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* 273. On the painter: G. Lippold, *RE* series 2, 15 (1934) sv. *Theomnestos 15.*

[98] On the painting see especially T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [= Beiträge zur Archäologie 6], Würzburg 1973, 119-21. On the painter see L. Urlichs, RhM 25 (1870), 507-17; A. Rumpf, *Das Kleine Pauly* I (1964) sv. *Aristeides 6* with more recent bibliography; O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, 68-70.

[99] *Natural Histories* XXXV.107.

[100] T. Schreiber, *Festschrift O. Benndorf*, Vienna 1898, 95ff; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, II, 746-47; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder*, 120-21.

Mnason's paintings may have adorned a stoa like Euphranor's. For what little has been excavated of the ancient city see P. Paris, *Elatée; la ville, temple d'Athéna Cranaia* [= BEFAR 60], Paris 1892.

[101] It was the Phocians who allowed Leonidas to be outflanked by the Persians at Thermopylae.

Mnason, son of Mnaseas, must himself have been acquainted with Euphranor's paintings. In 348 during the primacy of Phalaikos in Phocis, he was in Athens, where he was an admirer of Aristotle.[104] After Phalaikos was forced out of Phocis by Philip II of Macedon in 346, Mnason seems to have been back in Elateia, for Aeschines later called upon him to witness to his efforts on behalf of the Phocians at that time.[105] In 343 B.C. Mnason returned to Athens as an ambassador from Phocis.[106] This record hints that Mnason was a leader among the Phocians and belonged to the faction opposed to Phalaikos. The antagonism may have gone back a generation, for his father Mnaseas was the rival of the son of Onomarchos for the hand of an heiress.[107] Mnason was also a man of wealth: Apart from the money spent on the paintings, he was reputed to have owned more than a thousand slaves.[108] He would thus have been just the sort of man to be installed by Philip II as tyrant of Elateia. To remain in control Mnason must have been a friend of Alexander as well. As in Athens, the Twelve Gods would have been concerned with the well-being of Elateia and the whole program would have had patriotic connotations for the people of Elateia without giving offense to their Macedonian neighbors.

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[102] Arrian, *Anabasis* I.16.4; Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* I.11.3-4: group carried off to Rome by Metellus Macedonicus in 146 B.C. M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, Chicago 1964, 35-36.

[103] *Moralia, De gloria Atheniensia* 2 cited by Palagia, *Euphranor* 2, no. 14. On the painter see J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* no. 2625; O. Rossbach, *RE* 4 (1896) sv. Asklepiodoros. According to M.B. Walbank, the name is extremely rare in Attica in the fourth century B.C., and he may therefore be identical with a member of the family of Philagros Erchieus: AJAH 4 (1979) 86-91.

[104] Timaios, fragment 67 = Müller, *FHG* I, 207-208, from Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* VI.264 c. On Mnason and his career see L. Urlichs, RhM 25 (1870) 510-11; A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1885-87, I, 491-92; II, 409; III, 39. Cf. also Aelian, *VH* III.19.

[105] *On the Embassy*, 2.142-43.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Aristotle, *Politics*, V.3.4 (1304 a).

[108] Timaios, fragment 67 from Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* VI.264 c. Diodorus Siculus says in XVI.38 that a Mnaseas was a spokesman for Phalaikos, but it seems hardly possible that this Mnaseas was the father of Mnason: Cf. A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* I, 491-92.

Pherai, Thessaly

In 1974 Stephen G. Miller published a monument dedicated to six goddesses in Pherai[109] (Pherai 1, figure 75). The two extant blocks were found on the slope of the acropolis (down which they had apparently fallen) and are now in the Museum in Volo. They form the right end of a base or altar.

On the preserved front face five and a half pointed stelai were carved in relief. Presumably the half stele was completed on the missing block to the left. The stelai bear the names of six goddesses, Themis, Aphrodite, Athena, Enodia, Demeter and Histia (Hestia). For reasons not entirely clear, the names were inscribed three times, the second time in the same order as the first but retrograde, the third time in the same order as the first except for Athena and Aphrodite being interchanged. The earliest of the inscriptions, from the letter forms, is "well on in the fourth century B.C.;"[110] the latest early third century B.C.

The crowning moulding is lost. Miller postulated that it might have held small figures of the goddesses named on the stelai or possibly just heads like those on a slab from Dilophos now in the Larissa Museum.[111] In the latter case the effect would have been somewhat similar to the multiple herms found at Tegea (Tegea 1-2, figures 106-107). However the names engraved on the stelai would have sufficed without any representation.

Four of the goddesses are immediately recognizable as Olympians. Enodia, according to Miller, is the local equivalent of Artemis, and Themis could replace Hera because Hesiod names her as the consort of Zeus (*Theogony* 901-906).[112] As a group, these six goddesses could be the female half of a Thessalian set of the Twelve Gods, Miller concludes.[113] Presumably their six male counterparts were honored in a similar way.

The Pherai monument belongs to a small category of pieces which do not show the Twelve Gods in anthropomorphic form, the others being the Tegea herms and the circle of dots on Epidauros 1. Here the names of the goddesses indicate that the set was not the canonical twelve Olympians, though it may have consisted of six gods and six goddesses. The cult could be that supposedly established by Deukalion (T 22), but this particular manifestation must have been evoked by the needs of its own time. Miller suggested, on analogy with the Athenian Altar of the Twelve Gods which was founded by a member of the tyrant's family, that the cult at Pherai was established by Alexander of Pherai (369-358 B.C.) or by the sons of Jason, who were expelled by Philip II of Macedon in 344 B.C.[114] However by the mid-fourth century B.C. in Athens the Twelve Gods had become the patrons of Demos and Democracy. This did not, of course, prevent Mnason of Elateia commissioning a painting of them in the latter fourth century. Possibly then the cult was established by some tyrant of Pherai. The source, however, was not Athens, for the goddesses are different.

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[109] CSCA 7 (1974) 231-56.

[110] Ibid., 235-36.

[111] Ibid., 242-45, pl. 3, 2.

[112] Ibid., 251-55.

[113] Ibid., 250.

Miller explains the erasing and reinscribing of the names by postulating that the heads of the goddesses were removed on occasion to be carried in procession as were the images of the Twelve Gods at Aigai in 336 B.C.[115] This is not a valid comparison, for the Aigai procession was part of a special occasion and the gods were represented by full-length statues, not heads.[116] A closer analogy might be the Roman lectisternium (Rome 1 = T 34). However a better explanation lies in the political disturbances in Pherai in the second half of the fourth century B.C. We have already referred to the expulsion of the tyrants by Philip II in 344 B.C. The monument could have been damaged at this time and also in 302 B.C. when Demetrios Poliorketes besieged Kassander's garrison there, as Miller himself noted.[117] The Twelve Gods may have been regarded not merely as the guardians of Pherai but as the patrons of a particular faction, and their vicissitudes might reflect the changing fortunes of their proteges.

Macedon

Nothing suggests the existence of a cult of the Twelve Gods in Macedon prior to Philip II's notorious procession at Aigai in 336 B.C. Even much later, after the Roman conquest, S. Düll found no evidence for the cult in northern Macedonia outside of a single area under Roman influence.[118] We have already had reason to introduce three Macedonian kings in our discussion of the Twelve Gods, and we shall now investigate them more thoroughly.

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[114] Ibid., 237.

[115] Ibid., 240.

[116] Infra, 210-12.

[117] CSCA 7 (1974) 237.

[118] *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit; eine kultische und typologische Untersuchung anhand epigraphischer, numismatischer und archäologischer Denkmäler* [= Münchener Archäologische Studien 7], Munich 1977, 39.

Philip II (359-336 B.C.)

Before 338 B.C., so far as we know, Philip II showed no interest in the Twelve Gods. The treaty which he made with the Chalcidians in 356 B.C. invokes Zeus, Ge, Helios, and Poseidon in the oath; sacrifices are to be made to Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes; copies are to be placed in the Temple of Artemis in Olynthos, the Temple of Zeus in Dion, and the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.[119] After 338 Demades may have proposed that the Athenians honor Philip as the Thirteenth God, and Philip certainly had his portrait carried with images of the Twelve Gods in the Aigai procession (Aigai 1). We have already considered the historicity of Demades' proposal, observing that in the event Philip did receive lesser divine honor.[120]

Though the Macedonians did not consider Philip a god,[121] he did receive other tokens of adulation from the Greeks. His supporters in Eresos on the island of Lesbos dedicated altars to Zeus Philippios; others in Ephesos placed his portrait in the Temple of Artemis; at Megalopolis in Arcadia a building was named the Philippeion in his honor.[122] None of these actions involved the Twelve Gods, nor do they necessarily imply that Philip was raised to divine status.

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[119] M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, Oxford 1948, no. 158; H. Bengtson, *Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* II, Munich-Berlin 1962, no. 308; Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 244.

[120] Supra, 187-88.

[121] The question of Philip II's status has been much discussed. Among modern scholars see L. Cerfaux-J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* [= Bibliothèque de Théologie, series III, 5], Tournai, Belgium, 1957, 124-25; F. Taeger, *Charisma; Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes* I, Stuttgart 1957, 173-78; E. Badian, Phoenix 17 (1963), 246-47; R.H. Crum, *Philip of Macedon and the City-State; a Study of Theopompus, Aristotle, Polybius and Panaetius* [= Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University 1966, summarized in DAI 27, 10 (April 1967) 3437-38A], Chapter IV; J.R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperalism*, London 1976, 307 note 58; idem in M.B. Hatzopoulos-L.D. Loukopoulos, *Philip of Macedon*, Athens 1980, 152; G.T. Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 682-83, 695; G. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*, London-Boston 1978, 179; N.G.L. Hammond in Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulos, *Philip of Macedon*, 168.

[122] Lesbos: *IG* XII, 2, no. 526a; M.N. Tod, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, no. 191; A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks; the Epigraphic Evidence*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1980, Chapter II, especially 58-59, 68; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 14-16; Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 720-21.

Ephesos: Arrian, *Anabasis* I.17.11 plus modern scholarship cited under Lesbos. Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 683, does not regard the statue as a claim to divinity.

Megalopolis: Pausanias VIII.30.6, cited by Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, 68.

Philip himself initiated a sumptuous building within the Altis at Olympia, which bore his name and which later contained chryselephantine portraits by Leochares of Philip, his parents, Olympias, and Alexander.[123] The Philippeion at Olympia may provide a key to his intentions at Aigai, even though the statues, especially the portrait of Olympias, may have been added by Alexander to his father's project.[124]

This was a circular edifice placed just inside the west entrance to the Altis between the Prytaneion or Council House and the hieron of Pelops, whom Philip claimed as an ancestor.[125] Though the Twelve Gods had possessed six double altars in the Altis as early as the fifth century B.C., there was, so far as we can tell, no connection between the Philippeion and the altars of the Twelve Gods such as we found on Delos in the introduction of a Hellenistic ruler cult within the Dodekatheon.[126] The double altar of Dionysos and the Charites was near the Pelopeion (T 13 F), but it need not have been on the same side as the Philippeion, and the altars seem to have been scattered rather than grouped in a precinct.[127]

The circular plan of the Philippeion does not in itself imply a connection with the ruler cult. It is quite true, as K. Ziegler and H. Koethe showed, that in later times there might be a ruler cult in a circular building,[128] but the building which housed the ruler cult on Delos in the Dodekatheon was rectangular.[129] Though rare, the tholos form existed long before the ruler cult. There was an archaic tholos in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi as well as one erected in the fourth century B.C. in the

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[123] Pausanias V.20.9-10. The basic modern source on the building is H. Schleif-W. Zschietzschmann, *Olympische Forschungen* I, Berlin 1944, 1-52, pls. 1-21; most recently Stella G. Miller, *The Philippeion and Macedonian Hellenistic Architecture*, AthMitt 88 (1973), 189-213.

[124] For a concise presentation of possible interpretations see L. Drees, *Olympia; Gods, Artists, and Athletes*, New-York-Washington 1968, 121-23, who inclines to divinization of ruler. Schlief's theory that the building was intended for Hestia's hearth has been refuted by S.G. Miller, AthMitt 88 (1973) 191; Miller, ibid., 192, propaganda stressing Philip's descent from Pelops. F. Taeger, *Charisma* I, 173-74, holds the building was the work of Alexander rather than Philip and hence indicative of Alexander's religious policies. Cf. also H.-V. Herrman, *Olympia, Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich 1972, 171-72, ruler cult or treasury; R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1972, 63, monument of Chaeroneia victory; A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, 128-33, ruler cult; J.R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, 307 note 58, treasury erected by Alexander; G.T. Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 691-94, neither heroon nor temple; P. Lévêque in Hatzopoulos-Loukopoulos, *Philip of Macedon*, 182, Philip's project for hero cult and inauguration of dynastic cult.

[125] References for Philippeion supra, note 123.

[126] Supra, 199-200.

[127] Supra, 155-56.

[128] Ziegler, *RE* 36, 2 (1949) sv. *Pantheion*, 741-42; Koethe, JdI 48 (1933), 85-203. Cf. also O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 838 N 101.

Sanctuary of Athena Pronoia below.[130] Their function is uncertain but presumably had nothing to do with a ruler cult. The Thymele at Epidauros has aroused much discussion, but G. Roux has argued persuasively that it was designed as a "tomb" for Asklepios.[131] It might be regarded as a heroon. Finally though much smaller, as befits a private commission, the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates in Athens (335/334 B.C.) indicates that at the very time when the Philippeion was built a tholos might simply commemorate a dramatic victory. R.A. Tomlinson, therefore, may well be right in considering the Philippeion as a memorial of Philip's victory at Chaeroneia,[132] tactless as such a reminder would have been. On the other hand, Stella G. Miller seems to me to come closer to Philip's actual intentions in observing that the building's magnificence would have been a way of justifying Philips's claim to preeminence among the Greeks and its proximity to the Pelopeion would have recalled the Macedonian king's kinship to Pelops and to Herakles.[133]

The chryselephantine portraits within would also have been a witness to the wealth of Macedon whether they were the gift of Philip or of Alexander. Though these materials were generally used for cult images, they could be used for portraits of mortals dedicated in sanctuaries,[134] and miniature chryselephantine portraits of Philip and his family seem to have adorned furniture placed in the Royal Tomb at Vergina.[135] It is hard to believe that all five portraits in the Philippeion could have been intended to be cult images. On the contrary they seem analogous to the group of family portraits dedicated by Daochos, tetrarch of Thessaly, at Delphi or to Alexander's war memorial at Dion which represented the Companions who fell at the Granikos.[136] Neither the Philippeion nor its

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[129] Supra, 199.

[130] E. Fiechter, *RE* series 2, 11 (1936) sv. *tholos*, 308-309 with bibliography; Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, 68-69.

[131] G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux iv^e et iii^e siècles avant J.-C.* [= BEFAR 199], Paris 1961, 187-99 with survey of earlier interpretations.

[132] *Greek Sanctuaries* 63.

[133] AthMitt 88 (1973) 192. Cf. also the placing of Philip's statue in the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges: e.a. Fredricksmeyer, supra note 2.

[134] As proof of this G.T. Griffith notes chryselephantine statues of Praxiteles' mistress Phryne dedicated at Thespiae and Delphi: *History of Macedonia* II, 694 and note 1 citing Plutarch, *Moralia* 336 C-D, 401 D, 753 F; Pausanias X.15.1; K. Scott, TAPA 62 (1931) 101 ff.

[135] *The Search for Alexander; an Exhibition*, Boston 1980, no. 171, pl. 34, with bibliography.

[136] On Daochos' dedication see T. Dohrn, AntP 8 (1968), 33-51; for more information on Daochos himself see M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, revised edition, New York 1961, 33; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975, 468-70. References for the war memorial at Dion supra, note 102.

contents justifies the conclusion that Philip aimed at self-deification. He may have meant only to show the Greeks that their new master was no barbarian but a wealthy, cultured Greek of impeccable ancestry.

At Aigai Philip certainly had his portrait carried with images of the Twelve Gods. The question is whether, as Diodorus Siculus stated in the first century B.C. (T 23), he was thereby showing himself as the equal (synthronos) of the Twelve.[137] The festival at Aigai was not a regularly celebrated religious event but the culmination of Philip's preparations for invading the Persian Empire. He had already dispatched troops to Asia Minor, commanded by Attalos and Parmenio and had consulted the Delphic oracle about the success of the project. Now he ordered sacrifices to the gods to ensure divine favor and, as a practical measure to guard against treachery in the rear, married his daughter to Alexander of Epirus. Greeks were invited from everywhere to the festivities, which included lavish feasting and musical contests. According to Diodorus Siculus, the purpose was to win the good will of the Greeks and justify Philip's leadership.[138]

This was the context in which the procession took place. Was Philip indulging himself in an act of hubris, for which he paid with his life almost immediately? It seems more likely that he intended to show the support of the Twelve Gods, the Greek gods par excellence, for the expedition against Persia and their approval of him as commander. There is a Greek political precedent: When Peisistratos was first expelled from Athens, according to Herodotus, he engineered his welcome back by driving to the city accompanied by a tall girl dressed in armor.[139] Heralds ran before him, proclaiming that the goddess Athena herself was bringing back her favorite Peisistratos. Peisistratos did not claim divinity for himself, but he did claim divine patronage. Philip II had a more sophisticated crowd to impress, but he too was making a bid for leadership. If he had succeeded in conquering the Persian Empire as Alexander did, he might well have demanded recognition as the Thirteenth God, but surely he would not have invited divine retribution beforehand.[140]

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[137] For recent scholarly debate on this question see supra, note 121.

[138] XVI.91.6. Aside from the procession, the celebration at Aigai recalls Philip II's celebration of the Olympia at Dion after the capture of Olynthos: Diodorus Siculus XVI.55. There too Philip's object was to win adherents through lavish display and generosity. It is conceivable that the gods to whom the sacrifices were made were the Olympians, but Diodorus does not name them.

[139] Herodotus I.60.3-5.

[140] This is, of course, how the assemblage would have viewed it, especially after the assassination. Cf. Cerfaux-Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, 124-25; Griffith in Hammond-Griffith, *History of Macedonia* II, 682-84.

There is no Greek religious precedent for the Aigai procession. Processions did have an important role in Greek religious ceremonies, but most of them were groups of people bringing offerings to the deities (like the Panathenaia) or making pilgrimages to shrines (like the Eleusinia).[141] The participants might carry divine symbols like the phalloi in Dionysiac celebrations; they did not carry representations of the gods unless the object of the procession was to transfer the image to a new shrine or to purify it (Plynteria). In later times there were processions to theaters with images of gods such as Dionysos, who had a connection with the theater; the one procession with images of the Twelve Gods was established at Magnesia on the Maeander in 196 B.C. (T 7) and ended in the agora.[142]

Outside of Greece, there is evidence in Egypt and Assyria for processions with images of the gods.[143] A scholion on the *Iliad* (T 4) mentions a procession from the Temple of Amun at Thebes to the Siwa Oasis with images of the Egyptian Twelve Gods.[144] So far as the rest of the proceedings are known, Philip was following Greek custom, and it seems unlikely therefore that he would have been inspired by oriental practices in this one detail.

In the time of Diodorus, there was a very good Roman parallel for the procession at Aigai, the pompa circensis. This was an outgrowth of the Roman triumph, so thanks for victories already bestowed rather than a way to obtain divine favor.[145] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the pompa circensis was Greek in origin.[146] It may have been inspired by Hellenistic processions like that of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in 271/270 B.C., which in turn went back to Aigai, but there would have been an Etruscan element as well.[147]

Diodorus did not name the individual deities. For him they would have probably been the canonical twelve Olympians just as they were to Wilamowitz and Weinreich.[148] U. Wilcken saw in them the Twelve Gods of Macedon,[149] but there is no other evidence that the cult existed there. It seems more probable that, as a ruler with Greek pretensions, Philip II deliberately introduced the Twelve Gods as a badge of his Greekness. Before Chaeroneia the Twelve Gods had been the special patrons of Athens. After Chaeroneia, Philip II treated Athens particularly leniently, and it may have been his intention to show that the gods who had fostered Athens were now his patrons.

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[141] On Greek religious processions see M.P. Nilsson, JdI 31 (1916), 309-39; F. Bömer, *RE* 42 (1952) sv. *Pompa*, especially 1889-95; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 163-66. Of the processions cited by Bömer under the heading of the Twelve Gods (nos. 139-43), only that of Aigai and the later procession at Magnesia on the Maeander involved Greeks carrying images of the Twelve Gods. At Vergina, the remains of a theater of the fourth century B.C. have recently been discovered near the palace, which may be the theater to which the images of the Twelve Gods were brought: ArchRep 1982-83, 3; N.A. Winter, AJA 88 (1984) 56.

[142] Infra, 248-50.

[143] H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* sv. *Prozession*; R. Krauspe, *Die Prozession des Kultesbildes im alten Ägypten* [= Ph.D. dissertation, Leipzig 1966]; W. Barta, KairoMitt 23 (1968) 75-78; A. Salonen, *Prozessionswagen der babylonischen Götter* [= Studia Orientalia 13, 2], Helsinki 1946.

[144] Supra, 150-51.

[145] On the pompa circensis see F. Bömer, *RE* 42 (1952) sv. *Pompa*, 1976-78; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 806 C 66.

[146] *Roman Antiquities* VII.71.3.

[147] Bömer supra note 145.

The word used by Diodorus for the Aigai figures, both of the gods and of Philip II, is *eidolon*, not *agalma*, which may imply that they were likenesses rather than cult images.[150] Because they were carried on a special occasion rather than in a recurring religious festival, they may have been made just for this purpose, as were presumably the figures of gods and heroes carried in the great procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (271/270 B.C.) and Antiochus IV Epiphanes (168 B.C.).[151]

Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.)

When Alexander founded the city named in his honor at the mouth of the Nile in 331 B.C., he himself laid out the agora and indicated how many temples there should be and to what gods.[152] Unfortunately Arrian in his account did not indicate which gods were so honored. Long afterwards Libanius described the Tychaion in Alexandria and mentioned that it contained statues of the Twelve Gods (Alexandria 1 = T 24 A). As P.M. Fraser has observed, the building, a rotunda with apses and interior columns, sounds more like the work of Roman imperial architects than those of Alexander's day.[153] According to Ammianus Marcellinus,[154] much of Bruchion (the Ptolemaic palace area) was destroyed by civil disturbances in the reign of Aurelian (A.D. 270-275). Hence Fraser considers the late Roman and Byzantine descriptions and representations of Alexandria to be of little use in reconstructing Hellenistic Alexandria.[155] Yet the Tychaion, which was near the Mouseion (T 24 A = Libanius 22.8), should have been in the area laid out by Alexander. Certainly the late third-century B.C. cylinder of the Twelve Gods (Alexandria 2) was found in the Ptolemaic palace region.

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[148] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II, Berlin 1931, 351; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 787 B 28.

[149] *Alexander the Great* (translated by G.C. Richards from the German edition of 1931), New York 1967, 187.

[150] This distinction was made by A.B. Nock, HSCP 41 (1930), 1-3, 21. Cf. also W. Fauth, *Das Kleine Pauly* I (1964), sv. *Agalma*, interpreting *agalma* as "pleasing image", a dedication or idol; A. Rumpf, *Das Kleine Pauly* II (1967), sv. *Eidolon*, interpreting *eidolon* as a shade or mirror image, idol only in Septuagint and New Testament; Griffith in Hammond-Griffin, 683 note 2.

[151] Ptolemy II Philadelphos: see infra, p. 224-25; Antiochos IV Epiphanes: infra, 248.

[152] Arrian III.1.5; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. Oxford 1972, I, 1-7; 193; II, 326 note 13 quoting the passage in Arrian.

[153] Ibid., II, 392-93 note 417.

[154] XXII.16.15 = F. Schmidt, *Pinakes* fragment 23 a quoted by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 24 note 47. Fraser also quotes Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.*, col. 250 C on the desolate state of Alexandria.

Long before 331 B.C. Pindar had called Tyche the "Supporter of the City" (Pherepolis).[156] We have already mentioned an Athenian dedication of ca. 370 B.C. to the Twelve Gods and Agathe Tyche (T 14 K). Here in Alexandria the cult could well go back to the founding of the city, though in her temple, Tyche was shown crowning Alexander for his victories rather than as founder (T 24 A = Libanius 22.6). If so, the building described by Libanius must have been a late replacement for the original shrine.

In any case, the Tychaion had a central place in the municipal government of Alexandria, for the city's laws were engraved on bronze stelai set up within or on the bronze doors.[157] It seems probable that the Twelve Gods were included in their role of patrons of the city state, though by the time of Libanius they would also have been the universal cosmic deities envisioned by Sallustius (T 41 F). Since the Tychaion contained portraits only of the best of the kings, neither it nor the Twelve Gods need be connected with the ruler cult in Alexandria. The cult of Tyche was still flourishing in the fourth century after Christ, and the building was not converted to secular use before A.D. 391.[158]

From Alexandria, which might be said to represent the westernmost part of his conquests, Alexander pushed east until his troops rebelled by the Hyphasis River in India. Here at the easternmost limit of his conquests Alexander erected twelve altars according to Curtius Rufus (T 24 B 2) or, according to Diodorus Siculus, altars of the Twelve Gods (T 24

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[155] *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 10. Fraser regards Tyche or rather Agatha Tyche as the personal fortune of Queens Arsinoe and Berenike: *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 241-43.

[156] Pausanias IV.30.6; Plutarch, *De Rom. fort.* 10, p. 322 c = Pindar, Fragment 39 (Snell).

[157] Stelai: T 24 A = Libanius 22.8; doors: Theophyl. Simocatt. 8.13, cited by C.M. Bowra, CQ 54 (1960) 123.

[158] According to Ammianus Marcellinus a derogatory remark about the Tychaion by George of Cappadocia, the Christian bishop of Alexandria, led to his being lynched in A.D. 361: XXII.11.7, cited by D. Bowder, *The Age of Constantine and Julian*, New York 1978, 108-109.

On the conversion of the Tychaion to a tavern see the poem by Palladas, *Anthologia Palatina* IX.180 cited by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 393 note 418 and the discussion by C.M. Bowra, CQ 54 (1960) 122-25.

B 1). For Diodorus the gods were presumably the usual Greek Twelve, but Flavius Philostratus, a protege of Julia Domna, named Father Ammon, Brother Herakles, Athena Pronoia, Olympian Zeus, the Samothracian Kabeiroi, Indian Helios, and Delphian Apollo (T 24 B 3). Weinreich rightly doubted the veracity of Philostratus; the mixed group of deities is more in keeping with the taste of the Severan period than that of Alexander of Macedon.[159]

The chief importance of the event for us is the fact that the Twelve Gods were chosen to be honored so far from home. Alexander's sacrifices and games at the end of his conquests are the counterpart of Philip's at Aigai before undertaking the invasion of the Persian empire. Both honored the Twelve Gods. In addition to his father, Alexander may have been emulating Greek heroes like Jason and Agamemnon who sacrificed to the Twelve Gods while on expeditions in Asia or his own ancestor Herakles, who was said to have founded altars to the Twelve Gods in Olympia.[160] In Athens the Twelve Gods had been responsible for the political and military well-being of the state; here the successful conquest of Asia may have been attributed to their favor.

A similar concept is reflected on two Apulian vases of approximately the same period (Appendix III, 1-2 figures 173-74). Both show in the lower part of the main zone a battle between Greeks and Persians which is related to that of the Alexander mosaic.[161] Above the battle there is a row of gods with Nike offering a wreath to a female seated upon an altar — the personification of Hellas. Except for Pan who helped at Marathon, all the gods shown flanking the center group are usually numbered among the Twelve and can be taken as their representatives. Thus the scene can be interpreted as Greece triumphant over Persia through the benevolence of the Twelve Gods. The Dareios krater (Appendix III, 3) shows a variation on the theme. Here Asia sits on the altar, which is at the right edge. Her associate is Apate, personification of trickery and deceit. In the center stands Hellas flanked by Olympians — Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite, Zeus, and Athena.

On the vases as in the cults Alexander is a mortal distinct from the Twelve Gods. However after his return from India in 324 B.C. a change occurred. According to Lucian, some Greeks added Alexander to the Twelve Gods, built temples to him and sacrificed to him as the snake's son (T 25 A); in the words of Clement of Alexandria, the Greeks put it on record that Alexander of Macedon was the Thirteenth God (T 25 B).[162] In Athens, as we observed at the beginning of this chapter, the assembly avoided recognizing Alexander as the Thirteenth God but acknowledged him as a lesser deity. On Thasos, which was closer to Macedon, an inscription found in the agora and dated to the late fourth century B.C. lists among the state religious festivals a Dodekatheia immediately followed by an Alexandreia (T 28). F. Salviat, who published the inscription, thought that the festivals of the Twelve Gods and Alexander must have been interrelated because of their juxtaposition.[163] Thus, whether or not the title of Thirteenth God was in use, it seems clear that the cult of Alexander on Thasos was associated with that of the Twelve Gods. Salviat further postulated that the Dodekatheia had been recently established, perhaps under Macedonian influence.[164] Habicht deduced that the Alexandreia celebrated Alexander's birthday and so was established during his lifetime like the festivals founded by the Ionian Koinon and some of its member cities.[165] It would appear from Lucian and Clement of Alexandria that Thasos was not alone in associating Alexander with the Twelve, but as yet we can name no other Greek city state.

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[159] *Zwölfgötter* 796 B 52.

[160] T 13. On altars of the Twelve Gods founded by heroes see supra 153-55.

[161] T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder* 174-80 with bibliography. M. Schmidt discusses Macedonian propaganda on Apulian vases in M. Schmidt-A.D. Trendall-A. Cambitoglou, *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel*, Mainz 1976, 107-108.

On Thasos the cult of the Twelve Gods was official rather than private. F. Salviat suggests that their precinct may have been a circular peribolos with an altar, which encroached upon the temenos of Zeus Agoraios in the marketplace.[166] The cult of the Twelve Gods, as we have seen, commonly centered upon an altar, but the Thasos peribolos is no earlier than the third century B.C. Which gods were included is not known. They may have been the twelve Olympians, but, if they were the major gods of Thasos, Salviat suggests that they would have included Dionysos and Herakles instead of Ares and Hephaistos.[167]

Alexander seems to have taken the initiative for his apotheosis.[168] His justification would have been his conquests. His motivation, apart from megalomania, may have been to consolidate his hold over the Greek cities by giving himself a superior status.[169] K.M.T. Atkinson has made out a good case for this in Athens.[170] In 323 B.C. the Greeks did send embassies to Alexander in Babylon, which seem to have recognized his divinity.[171] His death soon afterwards put an end to the matter.

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[162] J. Straub also includes the statement by St. John Chrysostom that the Roman Senate declared Alexander a god (T 42 A): *Regeneratio Imperii*, Darmstadt 1972, 178-94. Alexander of Macedon, though certainly not deified by the Roman Senate, offers a better contrast to Christ than does Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235), who was (T 42 B). The Christian polemicist may have conflated the two traditions. Cf. infra, 283.

[163] BCH 82 (1958) 239-44; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*², 251-52.

[164] BCH 82 (1958) 239.

[165] *Gottmenschentum*², 251-52; on Ionian cults: 17, 19-20, 21. At Megalopolis in Arcadia, E. Fredricksmeyer has recently postulated that Alexander may have been deified as the son of Ammon: AJAH 4 (1979) 1-3.

[166] BCH 82 (1958) 244. On the periobolos see BCH 74 (1950) 337-41; École Française d'Athènes, *Guide de Thasos*, Paris 1968, 34.

[167] BCH 58 (1958) 240-42.

[168] References supra, note 4.

Demetrios Poliorketes (336-283 B.C., king of Macedon 294-283 B.C.)

We have already considered the possibility that the temple erected in the Dodekatheon on Delos contained statues of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes.[172]

Athens welcomed Demetrios enthusiastically as a liberator in 307 B.C. They voted him and Antigonos the rank of Saviors and eponymous heroes,[173] but they did not, so far as is known, associate either with the Twelve Gods.

After becoming king of Macedon, in 293 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes gathered the Magnetes of Thessaly together into a new city named after himself.[174] It was presumably at this time that the Magnetes adopted a calendar quite different both from the Macedonian calendar and from those used in the vicinity, although the inscriptions with the names of the months date from the second century B.C. or later.[175] All of the ten months for which the names are known are called after Olympians: Aphrodision, Areios, Artemision, Athenaion, Deios (of Zeus), Demetrion (of Demeter, not of Demetrios), Hephaistion, Hermaion, Hestios, and Posideon. This is the earliest certain association of the twelve Olympians as a group with the months; unfortunately we do not know the order of the months, and so we cannot tell whether this was the basis for the later Roman system of tutelary month gods.[176]

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[169] So W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* II, 370-73; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse*, 528-31.

[170] Athenaeum 51 (1973) 310-35.

[171] F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse*, 530; E. Fredricksmeyer, AJAH 4 (1979) 3-7.

[172] Supra, 199-200.

[173] W.S. Ferguson, Hesperia 17 (1948) 112-36, especially 113 citing Hyperides, *Etitaph*. 21-22; E. Will *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (*323-30 av. J.-V.*) I, Nancy 1966, 63 with additional bibliography.

[174] On Demetrias and its founding see F. Stählin-E. Meyer-A. Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias; Beschreibung der Reste und Stadtgeschichte*, Berlin 1934, especially 183-84.

[175] F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* IX, 2, p. 320; F. Stählin, AthMitt 54 (1929) 201-226; N.Y. Yannopoulos, ArchEph (1930), 100-101, nos. 1-2; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 786-87 B 27; A. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology; Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity* [= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I, 7], Munich 1972, 85; J. and L. Robert, REG 86 (1973), 69.

[176] For the Roman system see T 40 A-B; Chapter III, Table on page 268.

Possibly, as Weinreich held, the source for this innovation was Plato's recommendation in the *Laws* that a festival be celebrated each month in honor of one of the Twelve Gods (T 16 B).[177] Demetrios himself had lived in Athens, and E. Meyer saw Athenian and also Platonic inspiration in the civic organization of Demetrias.[178] Nonetheless, as Weinreich noted, Plato included Plouton among the gods to be honored; hence his system is not the direct prototype for that of Demetrias. Weinreich observed that the tribes of Magnesia on the Maeander were named for the Twelve Gods as a second instance of Athenian influence,[179] but the two borrowings are independent.

As founder of the new city, Demetrios Poliorketes shared a sanctuary with the heroes of the villages which had been incorporated.[180] There is no evidence that his cult was combined with that of the Twelve Gods at Demetrias. Thus, though Demetrios may have recommended naming the months for the Twelve Gods at Demetrias, the Dodekathion on Delos is the only possible instance in which he and/or his father may have been directly associated with the Twelve Gods.

Asia Minor

Hieron on the Bosphoros

In Chapter I we discussed the tradition that the Greek hero Jason had sacrificed to the Twelve Gods on the shore of the Bosphoros.[181] The literary references to this belong to the third and second centuries B.C. Apollonius Rhodius includes it in his *Argonautica* (T 11 A), and Polybios locates the incident in the Hieron on the Asiatic shore, twelve stades away from the Serapeion of Thrace on the European shore of the Bosphoros (T 11 C). The site is thought to lie in the region of the modern village of Anadolu Kavağı, where a mediaeval castle preserves architectural members from a Greek temple.[182]

From the Hieron an inscription is known with regulations concerning a priesthood of the Twelve Gods (T 11 D). It was written in the Chalkedonian dialect on a gabled marble stele and is dated to the third century

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[177] *Zwölfgötter* 786-87 B 27. He observes the absence of Plouton (mentioned by Plato) from the Demetrias set.

[178] *Pagasai und Demetrias* 186-87.

[179] Supra, note 177.

[180] Stählin, AthMitt 54 (1929), 207-208; E. Meyer in Stählin, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, 183-84; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*² 75-76 no. 25, based on *IG* IX, 2, no. 1099 b.

[181] Pp. 153-54.

[182] S. Toy, Archaeologia 80 (1930) 216, 226-27, ascribing the building of the castle to Manuel Comnenus. Cf. also F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I, Oxford 1957, 488-89.

B.C.[183] The rules are those of an association founded by a certain Nikomachos, not official statutes. The sacrifices were to be made on the altar of the Twelve Gods. Whoever purchased the priesthood was to receive as recompense the hides and legs of the bulls which were offered.

Jason's altar was no literary fantasy but a structure actually being used for sacrifices to the Twelve Gods in the third century B.C. If its remains could be discovered and excavated, it might reveal much about the age and nature of the cult of the Twelve Gods.

Mytilene, Lesbos

Off the coast of Asia Minor, the island of Lesbos with its chief city, Mytilene, was an ally of Athens in the fourth century B.C. and later came under Macedonian control. Unlike Imbros, which received a cleruchy from Athens, which made a dedication to the Twelve Gods (T 27), Mytilene retained its native Aetolian population. However, a newly discovered decree, written in the local dialect and dated to the fourth century B.C., also recognizes the Twelve Gods (T 65). The Boule and Demos of Mytilene are to pray to the Twelve along with Zeus, Homonoia and Dike, to make sacrifice, and to hold a solemn procession. The inscription will be published in its entirety by B. Petrakos.

Kos

In his study of the religious statutes of Kos, R. Herzog held that the state organization of the cult of the Twelve Gods dated from the synoecism of 366/365 B.C.[184] The extant documents belong to the mid-fourth century B.C. or later (T 29). As in Athens, it was an official cult. The Twelve Gods had a priest and a sanctuary in which, during the third century B.C., proxeny decrees were set up. The sanctuary has not been located, but the names of a priest and priestess of the first century B.C.-A.D. are known from inscriptions set up in their honor (T 29 C). Both were leading citizens of Kos, the priest serving as Monarch of the island and the priestess combining the priesthood of the Twelve Gods with those of Asklepios and the Roman emperor.

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[183] My comments are based on F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* [= École Française d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires 19], Paris 1955, 11-13, no. 2. I am much indebted to Professor L. Robert for information on the date of the inscription and for the reference to Sokolowski's monograph. Weinreich cites the date incorrectly as the third century after Christ: *Zwölfgötter* 794 B 49. H. Sumner-Boyd and J. Freely suggest that the inscription may have been found when work was done on the medieval fortifications at Anadolu Kavagi in 1783 or 1794: *Strolling through Istanbul*, 499-500. In the nineteenth century it was in the Mordtmann collection in Istanbul but is now lost.

[184] *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* [= AbhBerlin, 1928 no. 6], Berlin 1929, 46-48; Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 789-90 B 34; most recently S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos, an Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period* [= Hypomnemata 51], Göttingen 1978, 324 with bibliography.

Oddly enough, though the priest of the Twelve Gods is mentioned in the festival calendars, no sacrifice to the Twelve Gods is specified (T 29 A). However the second-century Calendar of the Gymnasium does mention sacrifices and a contest in connection with the procession of Eumenes (i.e., a procession carrying a statue of Eumenes II of Pergamon) to the Dodekatheon (T 29 A 3).

As in Athens, the Twelve Gods were presumably concerned with the welfare of the state. Beyond this, if the cult was established in 366/365 B.C., it must have been created by the democratic government which seems to have taken over at that time and may be connected with the unification of the Koans into a single city.[185] Whether this had anything to do with the Athenian attack on Samos in this year is uncertain;[186] Kos was at least nominally independent. In the Hellenistic period Kos was admired for having a stable, orderly democratic government, which may have been the consequence of her devotion to the Twelve Gods.[187]

The ancient sources nowhere indicate which deities were included among the Twelve. R. Herzog suggested that the Koans would have recognized Dionysos and Herakles rather than Ares and Hephaistos, whose names are not attested epigraphically.[188] Among the goddesses, he held that Artemis, Athena, Demeter, and Hera were surely among the Twelve; for the remaining two he considered Rhea, Leto and Hekate possible as well as Aphrodite and Hestia. M.H. Chambers agreed with Herzog on the first ten deities.[189] For the other two he suggested Aphrodite and probably Hekate.

In addition to the public cult there was in the first half of the third century B.C. a private one established by the dedication of land together with the gardens and buildings on it to the Twelve Gods and the hero Charmylos (T 29 D). The most recent study of the inscription is by S.M. Sherwin-White.[190]

Near the church into which the inscription was built may be seen the crypt and podium of a monumental tomb.[191] A flight of steps leads down into a barrel-vaulted chamber with six loculi or recesses for sarcophagi on either side. To the right and left of this central staircase, other steps give access to the platform for the superstructure. On the basis of mouldings incorporated in the church, P. Schazman concluded that the latter consisted of two storeys and that there were two rooms on the first floor, each with a doorway in the façade.[192]

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[185] Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 63-66.

[186] Ibid., 65-66.

[187] Ibid., 85, 88-90. Sherwin-White, however, does not bring in the Twelve Gods.

[188] *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* 46-48.

[189] HTR 48 (1955) 153-54.

[190] ZPE 24 (1977) 208-17 with complete bibliography.

[191] JdI 49 (1934) 110-27; for the present appearance see BSA 65 (1970) pl. 22.

It seems probable that this is not the cult of a remote eponymous ancestor/hero but a new family cult foundation as R. Herzog suggested.[193] S.M. Sherwin-White compares a late fourth-century precinct of Herakles Diamedonteios established by one Diomedon of Kos.[194] To put up such a structure indicates that Charmylos was wealthy, but he was a private citizen, not a ruler. As with the Lebadeia relief (Lebadeia 1), we have a unique cult of the Twelve Gods related to the individual rather than the state. Whereas the Lebadeia relief seems to represent a mystery cult of Kybele, here the context is funerary. By the inclusion of Plouton among the Twelve, Plato extended their sovereignty to Hades;[195] otherwise we have no Greek counterpart for this cult.

Hierapytna, Crete

Although the evidence for the cult in Hierapytna is later than the period covered in this chapter, it seemed advisable to discuss it here because it seems to be an offshoot of the Koan cult.

Inscriptions of the second century B.C. prove the existence of a cult of the Twelve Gods in Hierapytna (T 30). Two are building inscriptions which associate the Twelve Gods with Apollo Dekatophoros and Athena Polias (T 30 B-C); the third is a treaty between Hierapytna and Knossos, one copy of which was to be set up in the Dodekatheon (T 30 A). The precinct has not been located, but to be generally accessible it must have been near the center of the city. It contained a temple like the Dodekatheon on Delos (but here not connected with a ruler), and the gods must have been thought to protect the city's interests as elsewhere.

The gods are associated with civic deities but are not themselves named. No other Cretan city is known to have had a cult of the Twelve Gods. Consequently M. Guarducci believed that Hierapytna, which was on friendly terms with the islands of the Dodekanese, might have introduced the Koan cult.[196]

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[192] Ibid., 117-18. There are twin lintels; hence the division of the lower storey into two rooms, but it seems poor construction to me to base a wall on the keystones of a vault.

[193] *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* 31; Sherwin-White, ZPE 24 (1977) 209-10 reviews scholarship. Weinreich accepts Herzog's interpretation: *Zwölfgötter* 789-90 B 34.

[194] ZPE 24 (1977) 210-13.

[195] Supra, 177, 179.

[196] *Inscriptiones Creticae* III, 58. Cf. also R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, New York 1962, 291.

Magnesia on the Maeander

The Magnesian procession with images of the Twelve Gods was a second-century innovation and will be considered in Chapter III. The cult itself is older, for inscriptions dated to the first half of the third century B.C. or thereafter indicate that at least eight of the tribes were named for Olympians: Aphrodisias, Apollonias, Areis, Dias (of Zeus), Hephaistias, Hermeis, Histias (of Hestia), Poseidonias; the two others known honored Seleukos and Attalos.[197] In addition the altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora, which is mentioned in the inscription of 196 B.C. (T 7) must have existed in the third century B.C. and might have been founded when the Magnesians occupied the new site by the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.[198]

O. Kern, J. Harrison, and A. von Premerstein noted that the Magnesian cult resembled that of Athens, both centering on an altar in the marketplace, and concluded that the founder was Themistokles, who was given Magnesia by the Great King after he was ostracized about 470 B.C.[199] Themistokles is said to have celebrated two peculiarly Athenian festivals in Magnesia, the Panathenaia and the Dionysiac Choes.[200] He had an indirect link with the cult of the Twelve Gods, for one of the letters ascribed to him is addressed to the Leagros who dedicated a statue to the Twelve Gods in Athens (T 14 G).[201] It is conceivable, then, that Themistokles introduced the cult to Magnesia. On the other hand, we have found in Megara and Arcadia that the Twelve Gods appear in the fourth century B.C. as a consequence of closer relationships with Athens at that time; in Kos the cult is connected with a synoecism fostered by a democratic government in the fourth century B.C. Themistokles certainly could not have named the tribes after the Twelve Gods, for the Athenian tribes in his day were named after Attic heroes and the Attic Twelve included Dionysos in place of Hestia. Until it is proved that the cult of the Twelve Gods existed in the Magnesia of Themistokles' era, it is best to assume that it was introduced at a later time.

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[197] O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin 1900 reprinted 1967, 212 sv. *Phyllen*. The suggestion that there were twelve tribes named for the Twelve Gods was made by E. Szántó, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, Tübingen 1906, 275, cited by C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*^{2}, 91.

[198] Diodorus Siculus XIV.36.4; Strabo XIV.1.40, cited by F.J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles; a Historical Commentary*, Princeton 1980, 223. The testimonia on Magnesia were collected by O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, v-xviii. In the *Hellenica*, Xenophon refers to the site as Leukophrys: III.2.19; IV.8.17 (events of 399, 391 B.C.).

[199] Kern, AA (1894), 83-84; Harrison, *Themis; a Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912, 153-54; von Premerstein, AthMitt 38 (1913) 222-23.

[200] Possis of Magnesia, fragment 1 from Athenaeus 12.533 D-E; Jacoby, *FGrH* III B (1964), no.480. On Themistokles' exile see A.J. Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles; a Critical Survey of the Literary and Archaeological Evidence*, Montreal-London 1975, especially 42, 107-108, 117-18; R.J. Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, London 1978, 147, 150-53.

[201] R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, Paris 1873, 747, letter 8; trans. R.J. Lenardon, *Saga of Themistocles*, 167-71.

Again it is unlikely that the cult with its Athenian associations would have been established when the new city was founded in the early fourth century B.C. because the transfer was sponsored by a Spartan general, Thibron.[202]

The inspiration for naming the tribes after the Twelve Gods, as Stählin observed, may have come from Plato's recommendation in the *Laws* (T 16 B).[203] It must have accompanied a complete change in government, and it occurred before the early third century B.C. when the tribal names are attested. After Alexander defeated the Persian army at the Granikos in 334 B.C., a number of Greek cities in Asia Minor which had been ruled by pro-Persian oligarchies established democratic governments and went over to Alexander. Arrian specifically mentions Magnesia as yielding to Alexander and says that he instructed Parmenio to expel the oligarchs, establish democracies and make laws for the cities in general.[204] As the champions of democracy and the patrons of Plato's ideal city, the Twelve Gods would have been most suitable to be chosen as the eponyms of the tribes in the new Magnesian government. Consequently I consider it most probable that the cult of the Twelve Gods was introduced in 334 B.C. when the tribes were named for the Twelve Gods and that the altar was founded at the same time in the marketplace because this was the center of democratic government. It would thus be somewhat comparable to Alexandria where we have ascribed the cult of Tyche and the Twelve Gods to Alexander.

The tribes provide eight of the names of the Twelve Gods of Magnesia. All are Olympians, and they include the least popular, Ares, Hephaistos, and Hestia. Consequently the Twelve Gods here must have been synonymous with the Twelve Olympians, as they were later in Demetrias in Thessaly. In both cases the inspiration for using the names of the Twelve Gods seems to be derived from Plato's *Laws*, and the innovation was made under Macedonian auspices.

Perge, Pamphylia

In 1956 M. Mansel suggested that the south gateway of Perge, which he excavated, was provided in the Hellenistic period with twelve niches which might have contained statues of the Twelve Gods.[205] F. Brommer accepted this interpretation, but H. Lauter has shown that the niches in question do not belong to the Hellenistic façade but to the Roman remodelling.[206] After the rebuilding there were far more than twelve niches; hence in neither phase can the gateway be connected with the Twelve Gods.

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[202] Diodorus Siculus XIV.36.4.

[203] *RE* 27 (1928) 464-65; cited by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 793 B 43.

[204] Arrian, *Anabasis* I.18.1; quoted by Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia* xii no. XLVIII. Cf. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great*, 59.

As in Magnesia, there is evidence that two or perhaps three of the tribes of Perge bore the names of Olympians: Hephaistos, Hermes, and possibly Athena.[207] Though the testimonia are late, the tribes of Perge may have been named after the twelve Olympians.

Ptolemaic Egypt

Among the Hellenistic kingdoms there are representations of the Twelve Gods only in Egypt, but here we find both the Egyptian month gods and the Greek twelve, existing side by side quite independently.

Egyptian Month Gods

The concept of the tutelary month gods, which existed as early as the eighteenth dynasty and which was mentioned by Herodotus,[208] either continued down into the Hellenistic period or was revived in the time of Alexander. Among the Macedonian rulers of Egypt, Alexander himself, Philip III Arrhidaios, and Ptolemy II Philadelphos appear in the guise of Egyptian pharaohs making offerings to the month gods on Egyptian clepsydrae.[209] In addition the month gods participate in a procession of Egyptian astral deities depicted in the outer hypostyle hall of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, 170-116 B.C.).[210]

On a unique clepsydra in the Oriental Institute in Chicago (Appendix I, 11), the god Ptah is assimilated with Queen Arsinoe II, the sister/wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[211] This clepsydra has other peculiarities, which suggest the maker was selecting types almost at random from the repertory of astronomical deities such as appear on the ceiling of Ramses

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[205] AA (1956) 105.

[206] Brommer, *Mélanges Mansel* I, Ankara 1974, 144-45; Lauter, BonnJbb 172 (1972), 1-11.

[207] G.E. Bean, JHS 69 (1949), 73-75; Brommer, *Mélanges Mansel* I, 144-45.

[208] Supra, 147-48.

[209] Appendix I, nos. 6-12.

[210] Appendix I, no. 13.

[211] Established by J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 (1971) 239-70. My special thanks to Mrs. Linn K. Buss for telling me about the clepsydra and to Ms. Anita Ghaemi of the Oriental Institute for providing information and enabling me to examine it.

II (figure 160).[212] The deities of the first five months appear in the correct order from right to left, beginning to the left of the orifice. Sekhmet is repeated for the tenth month; there are three hawk-gods in the positions of the ninth, eleventh and twelfth months, and a single figure of Ta-urt replaces the two hippopotamus-standards for the sixth and seventh months. According to J. Quaegebeur, who published the clepsydra, Arsinoe II was incorporated into the Memphis cults after her death in 270 B.C.[213] Thus the clepsydra belongs to the paraphernalia of an Egyptian ruler cult.

Finally a Greek papyrus of the second century B.C., a complaint of Ptolemaios son of Glaukos against Argeios to Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, invokes the blessing of Isis, Sarapis and the Twelve Gods of Herakleopolis upon the rulers (T 5). The principals are Greeks or Macedonians, but Herakleopolis was an Egyptian city. Presumably the Twelve Gods here were an Egyptian set; yet the guardianship of the state was a function of the Greek Twelve. Unfortunately the Twelve Gods of Herakleopolis are otherwise unknown.

Alexandria

We have already considered the possibility that the Tychaion in Alexandria, which contained statues of the Twelve Gods (Alexandria 1 = T 24 A) was founded by Alexander the Great.[214] There is no evidence linking the Twelve Gods with the cults of Alexander as founder and of the Lagides.

Early in his reign, Ptolemy II Philadelphos (283-246 B.C.) held a great festival in honor of Alexander and Ptolemy I Soter. From Kallixeinos' description of the festal procession, it appears that in one section there were carried statues of Zeus and numerous (*pampolloi*) other gods.[215] There were many other representations as well, including Alexander, Ptolemy I Soter, and personifications of the Greek cities which had been occupied by the Persians, but the emphasis was on the cult of Dionysos. Though the prototype may have been Philip II's procession with the

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[212] I am much indebted to Ms. Arielle Kozloff of the Cleveland Museum of Art for going over the iconography with me.

[213] JNES 30 (1971) 262-70.

[214] Supra, 212-13. On the ruler cult see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 215-46.

[215] Jacoby *FGrH* III C 1 (1958), no. 627, fragment 2 quoted from Athenaeus 5.25-35(36). The description of Zeus and the other gods occurs in chapter 5.34. On the procession see F. Caspari, Hermes 68 (1933), 400-414; V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks*, Oxford 1938, 2-7; P. Goukowsky, REA 71 (1969) 328-29; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 191, 193, 194; II, 343 note 97; E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983.

Twelve Gods at Aigai (Aigai 1), here there is no indication that the Twelve Gods were carried as a group, nor that they were associated with the rulers. Ptolemy's procession does serve as a link between the Aigai procession and the later Roman pompa circensis (Rome 2 = T 35).

Alexandria Cylinder

Building operations in the area of the Ptolemaic palaces some twenty years ago turned up a white marble cylindrical relief on which were preserved parts of eleven gods, both seated and standing (Alexandria 2, figures 1-3). It is estimated that there would have been space for fifteen figures in all. The shape recalls the Dodekatheon cylinder in Athens (Athens 5), but the figures are in higher relief and placed closer together, like those on the Twelve-Gods cylinder in Ostia (Ostia 1). Scholars generally date the work to the late third or early second century B.C.[216]

On the Athens cylinder (figures 13-16) it may be recalled that the seated figures were turned alternately left and right. Here the seats are arranged so that they center on a standing figure, the seventh from the left, who crosses his legs as if leaning on a staff (figure 2). To his right a fully draped goddess sits upon a cylinder provided with top and bottom mouldings like an altar. From other representations, most notably the Lovatelli urn,[217] it is clear that this seat is a variation of the kiste which holds Demeter on the Athens cylinder and that the goddess is Demeter. On the Lovatelli urn the headdress indicates that she is the Alexandrian Demeter rather than the Eleusinian; here the provenience supports this interpretation.[218] Both have a young, draped male figure with crossed legs standing in front of the goddess. On the Lovatelli urn Kore stands behind Demeter; on the Alexandria cylinder she is probably the goddess seated on a throne with claw feet on the other side of the standing figure. Thus the center is occupied by a triad consisting of Demeter, Kore(?), and a younger or inferior god. In the company of the Eleusinian goddesses, the standing figure corresponds to Triptolemos. Normally Triptolemos is identified by his winged chariot, but an Attic Red-Figure lekythos found in Gela shows a Triptolemos very like this figure — wearing a himation over a chiton and leaning on a staff with his legs crossed.[219] Triptolemos is also one of the identifications suggested for the figure on the Lovatelli urn.[220] It seems possible, therefore, that these three figures represent the Alexandrian version of the Eleusinian triad. There was a sanctuary of Demeter in one of the suburbs of Alexandria, which was called Eleusis, and Demeter herself was equated with the Egyptian goddess Isis as early as the time of Herodotus.[221]

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[216] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 209; II, 335 note 157.

[217] Rome, Terme Museum. Marble funerary urn found in columbarium on Esquiline near the Porta Maggiore in Rome. H., 0.294 m.; D., 0.32 m. E.C. Lovatelli, BullComm 7 (1879), 5-18, pls. 1-5; G.E. Rizzo, RömMitt 25 (1910) 131-40, pl. VII, fig. 9; P. Roussel, BCH 54 (1930), 58-65; G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 205-207, fig. 83.

[218] Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 206-207.

P.M. Fraser postulated that the cylinder depicted the current Ptolemy as the Thirteenth God.[222] If so he would have been the figure we have called Triptolemos. C. Picard and A. Alföldi have argued that the Tazza Farnese shows a Ptolemaic king in the guise of Triptolemos.[223] C.H. Roberts and M.P. Nilsson connect a papyrus fragment from Antinoopolis in which Triptolemos is invoked with a mystery cult in honor of a Ptolemaic king.[224] It is not impossible, therefore, that the Triptolemos on the Alexandria cylinder had the head of one of the Ptolemies. It has also been observed that another Eleusinian type, the "Eubouleus" head, is a portrait of Alexander, and G. Schwarz has recently showed that this type represents Triptolemos rather than Eubouleus.[225] Three portrait heads of Alexander probably came from statues of him clad in a himation.[226] Thus the central figure on the Alexandria cylinder could have represented either Alexander or a Ptolemy in the company of the Eleusinian goddesses. In either case he would have been in the guise of Triptolemos.

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[219] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 315. Lekythos by the Eucharides Painter, ca. 490/480 B.C. H., 0.328 m. D., 0.109 m. *CVA* Great Britain 3, Ashmolean 1, Oxford 1927, 26, pl. 33; 1, Beazley, *ARV*², 229 no. 47; illustrated by K. Branigan-M. Vickers, *Hellas; the Civilizations of Ancient Greece*, New York-St. Louis-San Francisco 1981, 199. In the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, there is a Hephaistos with crossed legs leaning on a staff between two standing goddesses (here fig. 134, fourth deity from the right). Hephaistos, however, has no connection with the Eleusinian goddesses.

[220] Others are Herakles, Iacchos, and Eubouleus. Cf. P. Roussel, BCH 54 (1930), 38-65; Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 207.

[221] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 198-201 (cult of Demeter in Eleusis, the suburb of Alexandria); Herodotus II.59, 156 (equation of Demeter with Isis).

[222] *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 208; II, 355 note 159. Fraser cites as support the proposal that Alexander be made the Thirteenth God in Athens (T 16 H 2-3) and the cult of Eumenes II in the Pergamene kingdom (T 9). Here the connection seems to be primarily with the Eleusinian goddesses and secondarily with the Twelve. In my opinion the central figure can hardly be the Thirteenth God when there are fifteen figures, and it is extremely hazardous to postulate that a headless figure without royal insignia represents a ruler.

[223] C. Picard, AntCl 20 (1951), 351-81; A. Alföldi, Chiron 9 (1979), 553-605, especially 564-70; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 340-4; note 95.

[224] Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri* I (1950), no. 18; Nilsson, HTR 50 (1957) 65-66; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 341 note 95; A. Alföldi, Chiron 9 (1979) 563.

[225] E.B. Harrison identified the Eubouleus head as a type of Alexander: Hesperia 29 (1960), 382-89. Cf. also G. Schwarz, *Triptolemos-Alexander*, Forschungen und Funde; Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch, Innsbruck 1980, 449-55.

[226] M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, figs. 47-49 (Priene), 80-85 (Egypt), 86 (so-called Inopus in Louvre).

On either side of the triad eight deities are preserved out of (probably) twelve. Most of them can be identified on the basis of resemblances to the figures on the Athens or Ostia cylinders. At the left edge of the extant portion, a draped, standing frontal goddess may be Athena, but she is preserved only to the waist and has no visible attributes. Next to her, a young god (figure 1) has the garb and stance of Hephaistos on the Ostia cylinder. A second draped, standing goddess with a veil covering her hair must be Hera. Next to her is Zeus, enthroned right but looking back toward his wife. His eagle stands by his feet. The fifth deity is a muscular god, nude but for the chlamys over his left arm. His right hand rests upon his hip; the left was extended forward, holding an attribute. The ninth god, just beyond the central triad, is similar (figure 3), and the two may be identified as Ares and Hermes. Balancing Zeus to the right of the triad is a half-draped god seated on a less imposing throne and holding a dolphin on his left forearm. Clearly he is Poseidon, god of the sea and brother of Zeus. From her position, the goddess standing beside him should be either Amphitrite or Aphrodite, as on the Athens cylinder. All eight belong to the circle of the Twelve Gods. They could well have represented the Twelve Gods of Alexandria, whose statues are known to have stood in the Tychaion (Alexandria 1), here in association with the Eleusinian triad and possibly Alexander or a Ptolemy rather than with Tyche.

The material, the form of the monument, and the iconography are entirely Greek with no admixture of Egyptian elements.

Naiskos of Kybele

The Cairo Museum possesses a small, mould-made stucco plaque which shows Kybele seated in a shrine (Unknown Provenience 2, figures 125-26). Its history is unknown, but it must have been made in Egypt and probably in or near Alexandria because its iconography belongs entirely to the Hellenic tradition. C. Picard, who published it, considered it Ptolemaic, not later than the third century B.C.[227].

The shrine architecture combines Ionic columns with a Doric triglyph frieze, a mixture of orders found in the Hellenistic period, which was condemned by Vitruvius.[228] The low pediment with acroteria in the form of acanthos leaves supporting rampant lions looks Greek, and the radiate head of Helios in the center[229] could be compared to Dorian disk-acroteria, but the little Korybantes running up the eaves recall Etruscan ornament.[230] Within the pediment, a couchant lion and lioness flank a central object which Picard tentatively identifies as a draped throne.[231] In the shrine below Hermes Kadmilos and Hekate stand beside Kybele — as they commonly do, including Neapolis/Nablus 1 here. Finally the shrine is set on a podium decorated with a frieze of twelve deities.

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[227] MonPiot 49 (1957) 51, 65.

[228] I.2.6. Cf. D.S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1954, 162.

[229] K. Schauenburg, *Helios; archäologisch-mythologische Studien über die antiken Sonnengott*, Berlin 1955, notes that the association of the sun god with Kybele exists from the fourth century B.C.: pp. 22, 46-47.

Greek temples do not have podia nor do the naiskoi of Kybele as a general rule. There is, however, a terracotta naiskos of Kybele published with the Sabouroff Collection, which has a frieze of panthers and bulls below the shrine proper.[232] Though it was said to have been found near Smyrna, A. Furtwängler related it to terracottas from Myrina in Aeolis and dated it to the second century B.C.[233]

Because of the small scale and the unclear impression it is difficult to identify the individual gods on the Cairo naiskos. They are isolated, statuesque figures as in other representations of the Twelve, symmetrically arranged. Artemis and Apollo Kitharoidos at the left end balance a pair of goddesses at the right. The third and tenth figures from the left are Athena and Ares, each holding a spear in the raised right hand and resting the left on a round shield. The figures in the center are less clearly defined than those on the outside, perhaps because the stucco was pressed into the mould at each edge. However, the two deities in the middle seem to be enthroned and to hold long scepters. The one to the viewer's left raises a hand toward the head, the gesture of Hera; that to the right seems to be bearded and should therefore be Zeus. The goddess on the other side of Zeus(?) holds torches and here could be Demeter; the young nude god on the other side of Hera(?) has the look of Hermes, but none of his usual attributes can be made out. The frieze contains exactly twelve figures, several of which are recognizable Olympians and all of which look Hellenic. Though we cannot name them all, we can accept them as a set of the Greek Twelve Gods.

Just as in the Tychaion of Alexandria and the Alexandria cylinder, the Twelve occupy a secondary position; here they are smaller than and subordinate to Kybele. In this context Kybele must be regarded as the Mother of the Gods (Meter Theon), the Twelve as her children. In his work on Ptolemaic Alexandria, P.M. Fraser cites two dedications to the Mother of the Gods, both from Canopus and dated to the second century B.C.[234] There was also a Metroon at Philadelphia in the early second century B.C.[235] The Cairo naiskos is a private memorial of the same cult, which testifies to its Hellenic character. Representations of the Twelve in the company of the Mother of the Gods are rare. In the Athenian agora, as we have seen, the cults were separate.[236] However, a statuette from a sanctuary of the Mother at Curti near Capua in Italy shows the Twelve reduced to swaddled babies in the arms of the Mother goddess (Curti 1), and on the gold diadem from Nablus, the central triad are flanked by twelve gods (Neapolis/Nablus 1).

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[230] Compare the raking sima from a fifth-century Etruscan temple at Arezzo to which figures of warriors were attached: A. Boethius in Boethius-J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* [= Pelican History of Art], Harmondsworth-Baltimore 1970, 54; Banti, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1973, 172, 272, figs. 84, 85a.

[231] MonPiot 49 (1957) 44-45. He compares it to a similar form in the pediment of the supposed Temple of Cybele in the Villa Medici relief ascribed to the Ara Pietatis: M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, no. 2, with bibliography.

[232] H., 0.245 m. W., 0.165 m. Th., 0.01 m. E. Curtius, AthMitt 2 (1877), 48-52, pl. 3; A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff; Kunstdenkmäler aus Griechenland*, Berlin 1883-87, pl. 137.

[233] *Sammlung Sabouroff*, text to pl. 137.

The cult of the Greek Twelve Gods may have been introduced by Alexander. As in Greece they were the patrons of the city but here they assisted Tyche. On the Alexandria cylinder they are colleagues of the Eleusinian triad, which may include Alexander or the reigning Ptolemy in the guise of Triptolemos. Otherwise they have no connection with the ruler. On the Cairo naiskos they appear as the offspring of the Mother of the Gods.

Conclusions

In the mid to late fourth century B.C., the official civic cult of the Twelve Gods is attested in a number of Greek cities. It may be connected with the institution of a democratic government as in Megara, Arcadia, Kos, and Magnesia; often there may be some connection with Athens as in Megara, Arcadia, Elateia, Demetrias. Tyrants may also be involved (Elateia, Pherai?), and in three instances Alexander the Great may have had something to do with the founding — Magnesia, Alexandria, altars by the Hyphasis.

The Twelve may be associated with individual Olympians, with Artemis Soteira in Megara (T 20), later on with Zeus Polieus, Delian Apollo and Athena on Kos (T 29 C 1) and with Apollo Dekatophoros and Athena Polias at Hierapytna in Crete (T 30 B-C). In Egypt they are subordinate to Tyche (T 24 A), the Eleusinian triad (Alexandria 2), and Kybele as the Mother of the Gods (Unknown Provenience 2).

Their essential role as the gods recognized by all Greeks as distinct from barbarians finds expression on Apulian vases where victorious

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[234] *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 277; II, 432-33, notes 720, 721.

[235] Ibid., I, 277-79.

[236] Supra, 181.

Hellas sits on an altar in the midst of representative gods while a battle between Greeks and Persians unfolds below. Philip's introduction of them in the Aigai procession seems to have been intended to proclaim that he was the person chosen by the Twelve to lead the Greeks against the Persians rather than a claim of equality with them. Its counterpart is Alexander's raising of altars to the Twelve at the limit of his conquests. The fictive triglyph altar at Epidauros may also reflect the panhellenic nature of the cult whether it be connected with the League of Corinth or Athens' attempt to rally the Greeks against Macedon after Alexander's death.

Had he survived, Philip II may have intended to make himself the equal of the Twelve; Alexander demanded recognition as the Thirteenth God and apparently obtained it on Thasos. There is evidence for the introduction of a ruler cult, probably of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes, in the Dodekatheon on Delos. Possibly a Ptolemaic king appeared in the guise of Triptolemos surrounded by the Twelve Gods on Alexandria 2. However kings who tried to associate themselves with the Twelve Gods quickly came to bad ends: Philip II was assassinated at Aigai; Alexander died of fever in Babylon; Antigonos Monophthalmos was slaughtered at Ipsos and Demetrios left with only a few shreds of power. Hellenistic rulers thereafter seem to have avoided association with the Twelve for a century. Demetrios may have named the months for the Twelve Gods in the city which he founded in Thessaly, but he was not worshipped with them. In Alexandria the Twelve concern themselves with the welfare of the city rather than the ruling dynasty.

The Twelve were represented in various ways: by a circle containing a ring of twelve dots at Epidauros, by herms in Tegea, by stelai possibly topped by divine heads in Pherai, by portable images at Aigai, by stationary figures in Megara and Alexandria. There are four extant stone reliefs and a stucco plaque. The Athens and Alexandria cylinders are independent creations. Their circular form implies the unity of the group, though in Alexandria it may admit the Eleusinian triad as well. At Epidauros, the votive triglyph altar included at least three metopes, each representing a god and (probably) a goddess, and may originally have represented the Twelve. All three seem to be public monuments rather than private possessions. With these may be grouped the small stucco Naiskos of Kybele, which shows the Twelve as a group though the individual gods cannot all be named.

In at least one instance, the Pherai altar, the deities included non-Olympians, but there is considerable uniformity among the sets, the more so when we consider that none of the sets is both completely preserved and identifiable. The following table shows the extant figures according to their position (counted from the left edge):

Source	Aphrodite	Apollo	Ares	Artemis	Athena	Demeter	Hephaistos	Hera	Hermes	Hestia	Poseidon	Zeus	Other Deities/ Rulers
Alexandria 2	11?		5/9		1?	6	2	3	5/9		10	4	7 Triptolemos; 8 Kore
Athens 5	1?	7			4	3	8?	6			2	5	
Epidauros 2	?		1		6		5				3		4 goddess
Pherai 1	2				3	5				6			1 Themis; 4 Enodia
Tegea 2						3					2	1	
Unknown Provenience 2		2	10	1	3	8		6	5?			7?	4 Dionysos (Schauenburg)
Demetrias (months)	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
Magnesia (tribes)	x	x	x				x		x	x	x	x	Attalos, Seleukos
Perge (tribes)					x		x		x				

Finally the votive relief from Lebadeia differs from all the rest in the roster of gods and their rustic/chthonic associations. Like the Naiskos of Kybele, it is a private cult monument. Another example of a private cult of the Twelve Gods, here in a funerary context, is the Charmyleion on Kos.

The association of the Twelve Gods with the tribes and with the months seems inspired by Plato's *Laws*.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EXPANSION OF ROME

Early Italy

The ancient references to an Etruscan set of Twelve Gods come from later Roman writers. According to Seneca (T 33 A), Jupiter (i.e., Tinia) hurled his second thunderbolt only with the consent of the Twelve Gods. Arnobius cites Varro as believing that the number and names of the gods in the inmost recesses of heaven were unknown but goes on to say that the Etruscans called a set of six male and six female deities Consentes and Complices because they rose and set together, that their names were unknown but that they acted as the chief gods and counsellors of Jupiter (T 33 B). O. Weinreich and A.J. Pfiffig agree on the importance of the number twelve in the religious and political organization of Etruria.[1] Earlier F. Boll had noted that the rising and setting of the deities recalls the constellations of the zodiac which, according to Roman astrologers, were under the tutelage of the twelve Olympians.[2] The Olympians, of course, were named gods who included Jupiter. So were the major Etruscan gods whom we would expect to function as Tinia's counsellors,[3] and hence Arnobius' statement seems to be contradictory.

If the Etruscans came from Anatolia and brought the Twelve Gods with them, the gods might originally have been an anonymous set comparable to the Hittite Twelve (Yazilikaya 1-2). There is, in fact, a curious bucchero patera from an Etruscan tomb at Caere, which is dated to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. and which has twelve identical male heads in relief on the outside[4] (fig. 139). Unfortunately there is no way to prove that these are the Etruscan Twelve: they could be purely decorative.

It is also possible that the Etruscan Twelve were adopted from or modified in imitation of the Greek Twelve just as known Etruscan deities were hellenized in form. The earliest extant Attic representation, on a

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[1] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 818 D 79; A. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, Graz 1975, 31.

[2] *Sphaera*, 478; cited by Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 819.

[3] Weinreich gives known Etruscan equivalents for the Olympians in *Zwölfgötter*, 820 D 79. These may well have been included among the Etruscan Twelve, but we have no confirmation.

[4] Tomba dei Leoni Dipinti. Rome, Villa Giulia, no inv. number. D., 0.177 m. L. Banti, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture*, 222, pl. 11 a; M. Pallottino-G. Proietti, eds., *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1980, 126, figs. 155-56.

Black-Figure kyathos (Athens 1), was found in an Etruscan tomb of the fifth century B.C. at Vulci. In Etruscan art, T.N. Gantz has recognized an assembly of eight gods depicted on a set of terracotta plaques found in Murlo.[5] These include the Etruscan equivalents of Zeus, Athena, Hera, Demeter, Persephone, and a god with a double axe, whom Gantz related to Dionysos but who could also be identified as Hephaistos. Except for their number, these deities seem quite similar to the Attic Twelve.

There are no Etruscan representations which can be certainly identified as the Twelve Gods. In the balance of the sexes and the association with the zodiac they resemble the Roman Di Consentes, on whom we are better informed.

Near Lavinium in the territory of the Latins, a group of thirteen altars was excavated some twenty years ago.[6] The earliest go back to the sixth century B.C.; with one was found a dedication to Castor and Pollux.[7] In the fourth century B.C. twelve altars of Greek type seem to have been in use, and G. Pugliese-Carratelli suggested that the cult was influenced by the Greek cult of the Twelve Gods.[8] G. Dury-Moyaers regards the cult as Italo-Roman.[9] On the basis of a third century B.C. inscription mentioning Ceres, she postulates a set of twelve agrarian deities comparable to those invoked by Varro at the beginning of his *Res Rusticae* (T 36 A). F. Castagnoli, who excavated the site, identified the sanctuary as the Aphrodision mentioned by Strabo and regarded the twelve altars as belonging to the twelve individual cities which comprised the Latin League.[10] A. Alföldi saw the sanctuary as combining the federal cult of Venus/Aphrodite with that of the Penates.[11] Except for Alexander, who erected twelve altars by the Hyphasis,[12] the Greeks did not raise separate altars for each of the Twelve Gods, and only Ceres/Demeter of the gods named in the inscriptions belongs among the Greek Twelve. Consequently it seems unlikely that this sanctuary had anything to do with the Greek cult of the Twelve Gods. It is more probable that, as Dury-Moyaers proposed, it housed a native cult of agrarian deities.

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[5] Studi Etruschi, series II, 39 (1971), 3-24.

[6] The basic publication is F. Castagnoli et al. [= Università di Roma, Istituto di Topografia Antica], *Lavinium* II, *Le tredici are*, Rome 1975. More recent discussion: C.F. Giuliani-P. Sommella, PP 32 (1977), 356-72; G. Dury-Moyaers, *Enée et Lavinium; à propos des découvertes archéologiques récents* [= Collection Latomus 174], Brussels 1981, 129-43. 181-205.

[7] Cf. most recently G. Dury-Moyaers, *Enée et Lavinium*, 198-205 with earlier bibliography.

[8] Studi Etruschi 33 (1965) 228; PP 23 (1968) 341. Pugliese-Carratelli based his theory on the number of altars and the dedications to Ceres and the Dioscuri, whom he regarded as Greek in origin.

[9] *Enée et Lavinium*, 181-98.

[10] Strabo V.3.5. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* I, Rome 1972, 111-12; *Lavinium* II, 5; PP 32 (1977) 345 note 14; G. Dury-Moyaers, *Enée et Lavinium* 195, notes 73-74.

[11] *Early Rome and the Latins* [= Jerome Lectures, Seventh Series], Ann Arbor 1963, 265-71.

[12] See supra, 213-14.

In her discussion of the altars of Lavinium, Dury-Moyaers introduced as a parallel not only the rustic deities listed by Varro, but the twelve agricultural spirits whom Fabius Pictor said the flamen invoked in celebrating the Sacrum Cereale in honor of Tellus and Ceres (T 54 B).[13] These are mere abstractions. There is also the set of twelve altars dedicated by Titus Tatius, some to single gods, others to divine pairs (T 54 A).[14] These enumerations attest to a Latin or Roman propensity for arranging deities in sets of twelve; they shed no light on the official Roman cult of the Di Consentes. Only Varro refers to the group he names in the *Res Rusticae* (T 36 A) as the twelve Di Consentes, and he clearly distinguishes them from the official Di Consentes in the forum.

South of Latium, the native Samnites may have recognized a set of Twelve Gods. According to Festus citing Alfius' book on the Punic War, Samnite mercenaries in Sicily shook the names of the Twelve Gods in a helmet to determine which should be their patron and the name of Mamers (Oscan for Mars) most appropriately fell out (T 39).[15] By the third century B.C. the Samnites had been exposed to Greek culture for generations, and the troops in question had been employed by the Greek tyrant of Syracuse. If not Greek in origin, the Twelve Gods recognized by the Samnites would have been hellenized.

In the Samnite territory, a series of over a hundred limestone statuettes depicting a mother holding one or more swaddled babies was found in a native sanctuary dedicated to a mother goddess at Curti near Capua.[16] Presumably these are thank-offerings from women who prayed for children; hence they could represent either the goddess herself or her grateful devotees. Though most scholars including Wilamowitz have regarded them as the latter, J. Heurgon observed that one was found in a tufa aedicula beside the altar and must surely be the goddess.[17] Another example, Curti 1 (fig. 37), also may be identified as the Mother Goddess, for she holds twelve babies, far too many for a mortal woman to bear at one time. This statuette is carved in a primitive, non-Greek style and is dated to the second century B.C. The number of offspring suggests that the native Italian goddess here has been identified with the Greek Meter Theon. Her twelve swaddled infants are not differentiated, but they are clearly subordinate to her as are the adult Twelve shown below the Mother of the Gods on the naiskos in Cairo (Unknown Provenience 2, fig. 126). Thus at Curti the Greek concept of the Mother of the Gods has penetrated the native mother-goddess cult though the craftsmen and the worshippers, to judge from the inscriptions in Oscan and Latin,[18] were the native Samnites.

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[13] Dury-Moyaers, *Enée et Lavinium*, 191-92. Cf. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 810 C 70.

[14] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 817-18, D 78.

[15] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 816 D 77.

[16] H. Koch, RömMitt 22 (1907), 361-428; R.M. Peterson, *Cults of Campania* [= PAAR 1], Rome 1919, 338-42; J. Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue preromaine des origines à la deuxième guerre punique* [= BEFAR 154], Paris 1942, 334-37.

[17] *Recherches sur ... Capoue*, 335.

Finally, from the Greek settlements in southern Italy come the relief of the Twelve Gods in Baltimore (Unknown Provenience 1, fig. 124) and the Apulian vases which show Hellas seated on an altar in the midst of gods representative of the Twelve (Appendix III). We cannot name any Greek city in this area which had a cult of the Twelve Gods; yet it must have been here where the Romans first became aware of the Greek cult of the Twelve Gods as guardians of the state. The Apulian vases reveal the Twelve Gods ordaining victory for the Greeks against the barbarians, and victory over Hannibal was just what the Romans needed in 217 B.C.

The Introduction of the Twelve Gods in Rome

A distich attributed to Ennius, a writer of the early second century B.C., lists twelve gods (T 37): Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, and Apollo. Both Apuleius and Martianus Capella, who quote the lines, call these the Twelve Gods, and Capella calls them the mighty associates of Jupiter Tonans like the Etruscan Twelve.[19] Their names identify them as the twelve Olympians, and they are also known as the Di Consentes.

In the written sources these gods are mentioned in connection with two ceremonies, the lectisternium and the pompa circensis, which were of Republican origin. They also possessed a portico named in their honor in the Roman Forum. The earliest datable evidence for the cult of the Twelve Gods in Rome concerns the lectisternium.

The Lectisternium

In 217 B.C., the Romans suffered a serious defeat by Lake Trasimene at the hands of Hannibal. The Senate reacted characteristically in two ways. They appointed a dictator to take charge of the army, and, to restore civilian morale, they ordered the Roman priestly college of the decemviri to consult the Sibylline books and determine how the wrath of the gods might be appeased (T 34 A).[20] In due course the decemviri reported that, among other rites, the Romans should hold a lectisternium (literally a strewing of couches, in fact a sacred banquet) in honor of the gods, which the Senate thereupon decreed. Livy, who described the event some two centuries later, stated that six couches (*pulvinaria*) were set up in public, one for Jupiter and Juno, a second for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, and the last for Mercury and Ceres, twelve gods in all. These are the very gods listed by Ennius (T 37), though here they are paired male and female. Thus we have evidence from 217 B.C. for an official Roman cult of the Twelve Gods together with their individual names. It should be stressed that this lectisternium was a public ceremony performed by Roman officials for the protection of the city under threat of Carthaginian attack.

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[18] Koch, RömMitt 22 (1907), 365; Peterson, *Cults of Campania*, 339. The three Latin inscriptions are published in *CIL* X (1883), nos. 3817-19.

[19] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 801 C 59. Skutsch assigns the fragment to *Annals* VII and connects it with the lectisternium of 217 B.C.: CQ 58 (1964) 85-86 = *Studia Enniana*, London 1968, 103-105.

These gods have nothing whatever to do with the Sacrum Cereale, nor can they be derived from the altars of Titus Tatius. The decemviri ostensibly followed the Sybilline books, which were written in Greek. The function to be accomplished by the gods was the usual task of the Greek Twelve. The place where the gods were officially honored was the Forum, the Roman equivalent of the Greek agora where sacrifices were made to the Twelve Gods for the welfare of the state as early as the sixth century B.C. in Athens. However, the only Greek festival in which representations of the Twelve Gods were brought to the agora and placed on couches, so far as we know, was instituted at Magnesia on the Maeander some twenty years after the first Roman lectisternium for the Twelve Gods.[21]

According to Livy, the Romans had celebrated five earlier lectisternia between 399 and 326 B.C.,[22] which honored six deities: Apollo and

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[20] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 802-806 C 63-64 with earlier scholarship; R. Schilling, *Religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste* [= BEFAR 178], Paris 1954, 206-209; J. Gagé, *Apollon romain; essai sur le culte d'Apollon des origines à Auguste* [= BEFAR 182], Paris 1955, 168-79; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 253; G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, Chicago 1970 based on French edition of 1966, 476-77; B. Combet-Farnoux, *Mercure romain; le culte publique de Mercure et la fonction mercantile à Rome de la république archaïque à l'époque augustéenne* [= BEFAR 238], Rome 1980, 394-95, 397-401.

[21] Magnesia 1 = T 7. Infra, 248-50.

[22] Livy V.13.6; VII.2.2; VII.27.1; VIII.25.1 (numbered the fifth celebration); on the first see also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, XII.9. Cf. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 803 C 63, who counts only the four actually in Livy's text; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 171-79; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 242-44; R.M. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, Oxford 1965, 655-57; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 443. C. Milani has recently proposed that the term *lectisternium* occurs in Linear B: Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti Lettere 110 (1976), 231-46.

Latona, Hercules and Diana, and Neptune and Mercury. These may have been derived from Greek *theoxenia* held for Apollo as the god of healing because at least three were evoked by pestilences and none certainly by a military crisis.[23] In 217 B.C. the decemviri took a ceremony which had worked for ending pestilence and applied it to the current danger. To make it more effective, they broke with the traditional number, choice and ranking of the gods to be propitiated and summoned the gods whose business it was to protect cities from attack. They used the Roman equivalents of the individual members of the Greek Twelve, and the major Roman gods, the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, plus Mars, the father of Romulus, and Venus, the ancestress of the Latins, took precedence over Apollo, the chief god in the earlier lectisternia. Two of the original six, Latona and Hercules, were excluded, presumably because their Greek equivalents, Leto and Herakles, did not normally belong among the Twelve. In the case of Hercules moreover, as G. Dumézil noted,[24] the god had been invoked shortly before the disaster by Lake Trasimene and had done nothing to avert the catastrophe. Plainly, in the eyes of the Romans, he was on the side of Hannibal like his Phoenician counterpart Melkart. In the event, Rome was saved from Hannibal; therefore the innovation was justified.

Weinreich regarded the set adopted by the Romans as the Attic Twelve.[25] As we have seen, Hestia was not originally one of the Attic group, but Plato mentions her in the *Phaedrus* (T 19). She is one of the twelve attested by the names of the tribes in Magnesia on the Maeander and the months in Demetrias.[26] Whatever its origin, the set was recognized by Greeks at the end of the fourth century B.C. In Weinreich's opinion what was most important was that the Roman set included both old indigenous gods and newcomers.[27]

Three of the pairs differ from those usual among the Greeks and those attested for the twelve Olympians as tutelae of the months, Neptune with Minerva, Vulcan with Vesta, and Mercury with Ceres. Weinreich summarizes earlier speculation on why this should be.[28] More recently B. Combet-Farnoux has seen political implications in the pairing of Mercury with Ceres and has suggested that this was a concession to the plebeians who were largely tradesmen and farmers.[29]

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[23] On theoxenia see most recently W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 175-76.

[24] *Archaic Roman Religion*, 476-77; cf. also Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, 656.

[25] *Zwölfgötter* 803 C 63.

[26] Cf. supra, 221-22, 216-17.

[27] *Zwölfgötter* 804 C 63.

[28] Ibid., 803-804 C 63-64.

[29] *Mercure romain*, 394-401.

Another question is whether the gods were represented in tangible form and, if so, how. It seems probable that in the fourth-century celebrations of the lectisternium, the gods were not represented in human shape. An Etruscan tomb painting found in Tarquinia and dated to the midfifth century shows a similar type of ceremony.[30] In the center of a group of people shown on benches is set a couch or *pulvinar* which holds two ovoid white objects resting on cushions and encircled by wreaths. The white objects are taken to embody the supernatural beings, the spirits of the deceased or gods, who are being honored with the feast. As in the lectisternium there are two individuals per couch, and the wreaths recall Festus' statement (T 34 C) that the Romans placed *struppi* (small bundles of foliage) on the couches "pro deorum capitibus."[31] Consequently the gods of the Roman lectisternia may have been represented in some such fashions as the "eggs."

By the third century B.C. when the lectisternium of the Twelve Gods was instituted, the forms symbolizing the gods may have become more humanized, but Livy recounts that an earthquake during the lectisternium of 179 B.C. caused the heads of the gods, which were placed on the couches, to turn away (T 34 B). His syntax implies that the heads alone were on the couches, and certainly heads by themselves would be more capable of turning as the earth shook than would be heads fastened on statues. As late as 179 B.C., then, the gods may have been "eggs" provided perhaps with human features. The heads on the top of the "Altar" of Gabii (Gabii 1, figure 48) could be a later version of this type of representation. These also are paired male and female, though the system is that of the tutelae of the months, not of the lectisternium.

By the first century B.C. it is possible that the heads had been replaced by full-length statues of the gods. In his youth, Octavian was rumored to have posed as Apollo in a mock celebration of the lectisternium[32] (T 34 D). The very fact that such a rumor was credible implies that the gods at this time were shown in wholly anthropomorphic form. The decree of 196 B.C. instituting a similar rite in Magnesia on the Maeander (T 7 = Magnesia 1) refers to *xoana*, wooden statues of the gods. In the Palestrina/Praeneste Museum there is a small marble couch holding two three-quarter-length female figures (figure 140), which O.J. Brendel equated with the Fortunae of Antium,[33] and which could illustrate such statues.

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[30] Tarquinia, Tomba del Letto Funebre. F. Messerschmidt, Studi Etruschi 3 (1929), 519-24, pl. LVI; J. Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 174-75.

[31] In *Zeus* II, Cambridge 1925, 1170-72, A.B. Cook interpreted Festus' definition to mean that the gods themselves were represented by twisted bundles of herbs rather like scarecrows and that in the lectisternium of 179 B.C. the wool wrappings on Zeus slipped off. In my opinion the painting published by Messerschmidt, supra note 30, fits Festus' definition better. Cf. also the heads mounted on a slab in the Larisa Museum: S.G. Miller, CSCA 7 (1974), 242-45, pl. 3, 2.

[32] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 804-805 C 64; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 296; J. Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 485-88.

Under the Flavian dynasty, lectisternia were held after the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 and after the great fire in Rome of A.D. 80.[34] From the coins issued by Titus and Domitian to commemorate these events, it appears that the gods were symbolized by their attributes. The coinage of Titus includes three relevant types.[35] On each a draped *pulvinar* is shown supporting a winged thunderbolt (for Jupiter), a Corinthian helmet (for Mars or Minerva), or an arc with three-pronged appendages, which is taken to symbolize Apollo and Diana. In the coinage of Domitian, the first and third types are repeated.[36]

The way in which the gods were represented for the lectisternium seems to have changed in the course of time, from simple, egg-shaped forms to heads, to full-length figures, and finally to divine attributes. However from the inception in 217 B.C. of the lectisternium in honour of the Twelve Gods the deities seem to have been the twelve Olympians. The last celebration known to have taken place occurred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 166 (T 34 E).

The Pompa circensis (?)

The Pompa circensis formed part of the Ludi romani and plebei, which K. Latte postulates existed as early as the fourth and third centuries B.C.[37] Livy certainly records a celebration of the Ludi plebei in 216 B.C.[38] Some form of the Pompa circensis may have existed before the lectisternium of 217 B.C., but our knowledge of it is derived chiefly from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who described it as it was in his own day, the time of Augustus, though he claimed to base his account on that of Fabius Pictor and did include some archaic survivals like the loincloths worn by the contestants in the games and various musical instruments.[39]

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[33] Inv. no. 51. H., 0.50 m. Early Imperial. O.J. Brendel, AJA 64 (1960), 41-48; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, pl. 7; P. Romanelli, *Palestrina*, Naples 1967, 93, fig. 151; most recently V. Lauria, *The Cult and Iconography of the Goddess Fortuna in Rome and Latium* (Ph.D. dissertation in Classical Archaeology, Harvard University 1980, summarized in HSCP 85 (1981) 305-307), 28-29. Dr. Lauria kindly provided me with copies of the relevant pages of his dissertation, for which I am most grateful.

[34] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* II, *Vespasian to Domitian*, London 1930, lxxii-lxxiii, lxxxv, based on numismatic evidence.

[35] Ibid., 231-33, nos. 49-63, pl. 45, 9-15; 240, nos. 97-103, pl. 46, 12-14.

[36] Ibid., 299-303, nos. 7, 9-10, 16. 26-27, pl. 59, 6-8, 11, 19-20.

[37] *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 248.

[38] XXIII.30.17. Cf. Haber, *RE* suppl. 5 (1931), sv. *Ludi publici*.

[39] *Roman Antiquities* VII.71.1; 72.2, 5 = T 35 A.

In the first century B.C., then, the long procession began at the Capitolium and crossed the Forum on its way to the Circus Maximus with the figure of Victory at its head and, at the end, the images of the gods carried on the shoulders of men. Dionysius declared that the images were exactly like the Greek (T 35 A), and one would expect this to be the case in his lifetime. If the Pompa circensis was based on the earlier processions of Philip II at Aigai (Aigai 1 = T 23) and Ptolemy II Philadelphos,[40] statues of Hellenic type may have been carried from the beginning.

According to Dionysius, the gods carried included not only those whom the Greeks numbered among the Twelve such as Zeus and Hera (Jupiter and Juno), Athena and Poseidon (Minerva and Neptune) and the rest, but the older gods from whom the Twelve sprang and many other deities and demigods (T 35 A). He begins with the same order and pairing of the gods as Livy (T 34 A); presumably the Twelve Gods he meant were the twelve Olympians. However, although he mentions the Twelve first, it is not certain that the Twelve were distinguished in the procession as a group distinct from the other deities. In one of his *Amores*, Ovid evokes the general spirit of the affair but lists the gods in a notably different order (T 35 B). Victory leads the way, but Ceres is paired with Bacchus (like Demeter and Dionysos on the east frieze of the Parthenon), and the heroes Castor and Pollux precede Venus. In part this may be poetic license, but it is also a warning that the Twelve Gods may not have been carried as a group in the Pompa circensis.

That the choice and order of deities were to some extent determined by those in charge of the pompa is further illustrated by an anecdote related by Dio Cassius concerning the procession before the Ludi plebei of 40 B.C. (T 35 C).[41] At this time the triumvirs in Rome, Antony and Octavian, were at odds with Sextus Pompey,[42] who controlled the sea and whom popular opinion identified with Neptune. The triumvirs therefore tried to keep the statue of Neptune out of the procession, but popular demonstrations forced them to include it. Whether or not Neptune should be carried in the pompa was a matter of political consideration; yet if the Di Consentes were carried in the procession as a group, Neptune should have been present automatically, next to Minerva where Dionysius places him.

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[40] Supra, 224-25.

[41] XLVIII.31, quoted in translation by M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey*, New York ca. 1930, 90.

[42] On Sextus Pompey in Sicily see now S.C. Stone III, *Sextus Pompey, Octavian and Sicily*, AJA 87 (1983), 11-22.

Dionysius mentions the Twelve Gods as a group well-known to his readers. The individual Olympians may all have been included in the Pompa circensis of his day, but we need not conclude that they were carried as a group. In the procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, which may have been a prototype for the Pompa circensis, we have already observed that the Twelve were not expressly carried as a group, nor are they mentioned in connection with the triumphal procession of Antiochos IV Epiphanes which sought to outdo an earlier procession of Aemilius Paullus after his victory in Macedon.[43] In Greece, as we have seen, the Twelve were associated with democracy, and early attempts to graft a ruler cult onto theirs had brought swift retribution on the perpetrator. It seems doubtful that the Hellenistic rulers would have given prominence to the Twelve as a group, and presumably the Romans followed their lead.

Among the honors given Caesar after the Battle of Munda in 45 B.C., an ivory statue representing him was carried in the procession of the Parilia together with that of Romulus-Quirinus, the deified founder of Rome.[44] Caesar's statue, dressed in triumphal garb, was to be kept in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. In the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris (the games celebrating Caesar's victory) Victory led the procession followed by the statue of Caesar.[45] Weinreich and Weinstock have taken this as evidence that Caesar was associating himself with the Twelve Gods like Philip at Aigai.[46] Since he had already achieved his goal, Caesar might better be likened to Alexander demanding recognition as the Thirteenth God. In the case of Alexander, P. Green has recently demonstrated that such a comparison would have been invidious to the Romans and that Caesar was not particularly interested in imitating Alexander.[47] The position of Caesar's statue beside Romulus in the Roman pompa of the Parilia suggests that he was claiming to be the new founder of Rome; his garb and proximity to Victory in the other marked him as *triumphator*. His contemporaries, so far as we know, made no connection between his statue and the images of the Twelve Gods (which probably were not distinguishable as a group), and, if Caesar was imitating Hellenistic rulers, he would probably have avoided such an association.

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[43] Polybius XXX.25.1. The complete description may be found in Polybius XXX.25-26 quoted by Athenaeus V.194, X.439.

[44] Cassius Dio XLVIII.45.2; Cicero, *ad Atticum* XIII.25.3. Cf. also Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 76; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, 185.

[45] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIII.44.1; cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 111.

[46] Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 806-807 C 66; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 185-86. On Aigai see supra 210-12.

[47] *Caesar and Alexander: Aemulatio, Imitatio, Comparatio*, AJAH 3 (1978), 1-26.

No representations of the pompa circensis have survived. The Fortunae in the Palestrina/Praeneste Museum illustrate how the images of gods were placed on fercula or biers[48] (figure 140). A Claudian relief from Amiternum depicts a humbler procession put on by a Sevir Augustalis (priest of the imperial cult) before gladiatorial games[49] (figure 141). Trumpeters lead the procession. Somewhere behind them Victory rides in a biga, followed by four togate figures, a second figure in a biga who holds a spear (Mars?), two more men in togas, and men carrying *fercula* on their shoulders, which hold standing figures of Jupiter with his thunderbolt and a goddess (Juno?). Another pompa depicted on the lid of a sarcophagus in San Lorenzo, Rome, shows statues of Cybele in a lion-drawn chariot and of Victory borne on fercula.[50]

The statues would have been of moderate size, light enough in weight to have been carried on the shoulders of four men but fitted out with maximum splendor. Servius refers to images carried in processions as xoana, i.e., as made of wood;[51] they could also have been made of plaster, either specially for the occasion or stored and refurbished as required. Caesar's ivory statue would have been unusually extravagant.

Portico of the Di Consentes

In the first century B.C., according to Varro (T 36 A), a set of gilded (bronze) statues of the twelve Di Consentes stood in the Roman Forum. Presumably the gods were in the area where the Flavian emperors later built a portico named for them, at the west end of the Forum below the Tabularium and across the street from the Temple of Saturn.[52] Varro also mentions an *aedes deum consentium* (T 36 B), which implies that the Di Consentes possessed a shrine. The Di Consentes may therefore have stood within a building from which they were evicted to make room for the temple of the Deified Vespasian. A bit of *capellaccio* substructure, probably dating to the third or second century B.C., was found beneath the later portico, but this may have belonged to the portico which Livy says was built between the Temple of Saturn and the Capitolium in 174 B.C.[53]

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[48] References supra, note 33.

[49] Chieti, Museo Archeologico. F. Fornari, NS 1917, 332-41; I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* [= MAAR 22], Rome 1955, 99-100, pl. XXXI, fig. 48a; B.M. Felletti Maj, *Tradizione italica nell' arte romana*, Rome 1977, 356-59, fig. 185. I am most grateful to the Soprintendente of the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell' Abruzzo for supplying photographs of the relief.

[50] A. Abaecherli, Bollettino dell' Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei 6 (1935-1936) 3, pl. II, 2; also illustrated in *EAA* sv. *pompa*, fig. 316; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome, the Late Empire; Roman Art A.D. 200-400*, New York 1971, 427, fig. 60.

[51] *Ad Aeneidem* VI.67-68; cited by A. Abaecherli, supra note 50, 3; V. Lauria, *Cult and Iconography of the Goddess Fortuna*, 10.

[52] Infra, 262-63.

We do not know how old the group was, where the statues came from, or when they were erected in the Forum. Presumably they were monumental. The use of gilded bronze indicates their intrinsic value, if not their artistic merit. Varro states that there were six gods and six goddesses. Very likely they were the twelve Olympians, who were named in connection with the lectisternium. As we shall see, the statues remained in the Flavian portico until A.D. 367, when Vettius Praetextatus had them and the portico restored.[54] After this they vanish from the record, and we do not know what became of them. No representations of the group have been identified, nor are there any extant bases.

Though the statues are completely lost, their location sheds light on how the Di Consentes were regarded by the Romans. They were juxtaposed with the public treasury, which was kept in the Temple of Saturn, and the public records kept in the Tabularium. This the Di Consentes were admirably situated to supervise the business of government and watch out for financial or other administrative wrong-doing. They evidently retained the function of the Greek Twelve to protect the state. Their neighbor Saturn was equated with the Greek Kronos, who was husband of Rhea and by extension could be regarded as the father of the Twelve Gods. Among the Greeks, Zeus was regarded as the father of the gods, but among the late Twelve-Gods reliefs of Lycia (Komba 1-25) two are dedicated to the Father of the Twelve Gods as well.

The Twelve Gods appeared in Rome at a time of crisis. They could be assimilated with the native Di Consentes, and their cult with its emphasis on civic responsibility and well-being was attractive to the Romans. The chief Roman deities, the Capitoline triad, Mars, Venus, Vesta, all took their places among the Twelve and thereby became internationally recognized Hellenic gods and goddesses. Moreover the Twelve Gods promptly displayed their ability to protect Rome and cause it to flourish.

The cult of the Twelve Gods which the Romans imported was the old Greek municipal cult, and it remained attached to the city of Rome. The Hellenistic rulers had not shown much interest in it, and neither would the Roman emperors.

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[53] Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* [= PAAR 3], Rome 1924, 55-56; S.B. Platner-T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford-London 1929, 421; M.E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy* [= Carnegie Institute Publication 570], Washington 1947, 127; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, New York 1961-62, II, 241-43. On the early portico: Livy XLI.27.7; L. Richardson Jr., AJA 84 (1980), 60-62, without reference to the capellaccio substructure under the Portico of the Di Consentes.

[54] Infra, 305-306.

Extant Republican Representations

Rome

Originally, as the mid-sixteenth-century drawings in the Codex Pighianus show (figs. 87-88), the Neo-Attic base in the Capitoline Museum (Rome 4, figs. 89-91) possessed three deities on each face, twelve in all.[55] Comparison of the drawings with the extant figures indicates that, quite apart from the style, they are not even accurate iconographically. Details may be omitted, like the top of Artemis' quiver which can still be discerned behind her right shoulder on Side B, or altered: On side C, Hephaistos' right hand is clenched around the mortise for a metal hammer(?), not open. He has beside him a spear with a long butt, not a torch. The surviving thigh of Poseidon on Side D with the section of his trident is too close to the original edge of the panel for him to have been shown in back view as in the drawing, and the surface to the left of the thigh is flat like the background. Poseidon must have been shown in profile facing right. Yet the figures in the drawings are clearly derived from those which survive. Hence the drawings can provide some information on the deities now lost.

The base was of good quality. According to H. Stuart Jones, the material is Pentelic marble; W. Fuchs includes the reliefs among Neo-Attic works dated 150-86 B.C.[56] M. Cagiano de Azevido derives the Ares from the fourth-century Andros-Farnese type of Hermes.[57] Most probably the base was carved in Athens for export to Italy where Pighi drew it some sixteen centuries later.

On all four sides a knobby, swelling ledge was carved below the deities, representing clouds. Thus the gods, as on Rome 5 (frontispiece), were imagined to be in Olympos.

Side A, now lost, portrayed Zeus enthroned facing a standing goddess with Hermes in the center. Usually Hera accompanies Zeus, but this bare-headed divinity leaning on a pillar with her legs crossed lacks the dignity suitable for the queen of the gods. She may be Aphrodite.[58]

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[55] The identification was made by O. Jahn in his publication of the Codex Pighianus: BerLeipzig 20 (1868) 191-93, no. 76; followed by M. Cagiano de Azevedo, Critica d'Arte 7 (1942), 108 note 9; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 244 no. 4.

[56] W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 145, 166 no. 14, 168; H. Stuart Jones, ed., *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome* I, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, 344, pl. 88, no. 4a.

[57] Critica d'Arte 7 (1942) 108; followed by W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 145.

[58] Compare the Leaning Aphrodite illustrated by M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, figs. 438-40. C.C. Vermeule III calls the goddess Hera: *The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum* [= TAPS N.S. 50, 5], Philadelphia 1960, 19 no. 148.

Two of the three figures on Side B are preserved. To their left was a young god according to the drawing, probably Apollo leaning on a tripod stand.[59] A draped and veiled goddess seated right occupies the center. The drawing shows her with a long scepter, and part of its shaft can still be made out. To the right stands Artemis, resting her left forearm on a pillar and raising her right hand to draw an arrow from her quiver. Her left hand is much abraded, but she may have held a metal bow. In the company of Apollo and Artemis the seated goddess might well be Leto, but among the Olympians she should rather be Hestia.

On Side C, the best preserved, Hephaistos and Ares hold a spear between them. Hephaistos was further identified by his pilos (drawing) and a separately attached attribute, probably a hammer; Ares by his still discernible helmet. Beside Ares is still another goddess leaning on a pillar, this time with her hair covered by a fold of her himation which she touches with her right hand. The type could represent either Aphrodite or Hera,[60] and either could be shown with Hephaistos and Ares, Aphrodite as consort and Hera as mother. If the goddess on Side A was Aphrodite, this must be Hera.

Finally, on Side D Poseidon can still be identified. His missing companions, according to the drawing, were Athena with shield, spear, helmet and aegis, and Demeter holding wheat in her right hand. Minerva and Ceres, the counterparts of these two goddesses in Rome, might both be paired with the god of the sea, Minerva in the lectisternium and Ceres in the set of the month gods.[61]

Thus there are six goddesses and six gods, all Olympians except possibly for the goddess in the middle of Side B. Their grouping in threes is unusual, but on Delos the altars of the Dodekatheon were presumably dedicated to triads, and the Barberini candelabra (Tibur 2) necessarily each had three Olympians.

The Cleveland Cylinder

Another battered and fragmentary Neo-Attic representation of the Twelve Gods now stands in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Unknown Provenience 3, figure 127). According to the museum tradition, it was acquired by Giacomo Nani in Corfu and brought to Venice in 1760, but it is not listed in any of the catalogues of the Nani collection, and W. Fuchs regarded it as a Roman Republican piece close to the Cività Castellana base.[62]

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[59] O. Jahn, BerLeipzig 20 (1868) 192 preferred Apollo to Dionysos but left the question open; Vermeule, supra note 58, calls him Apollo.

[60] The gesture is that of Hera, but there is a quite similar Aphrodite in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin: M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, fig. 441.

[61] Lectisternium, supra 236; month gods, infra, 272.

On the extant sixth of the original circumference are preserved, at least in part, three archaistic deities walking left in a procession. There would have been room for twelve such figures evenly spaced.

The first is a husky young male, nude but for a narrow, swallow-tail chlamys draped over his arms. The short rod in his right hand identifies him as either Hermes with his kerykeion or Hephaistos with his hammer. His pose is that of Apollo in the Four-Gods reliefs,[63] but he was certainly not carrying an arrow. His head may be compared to that of Hephaistos on the Dodekatheon cylinder in Ostia (Ostia 1, figure 70). In build he recalls the Hephaistos represented on the Madrid puteal and on a relief in Tegel, Germany.[64] Consequently he is most probably Hephaistos.

Behind him walks Athena, a very mannered figure, wearing a peplos over her chiton with a clover-leaf aegis on her chest. She carries an Attic helmet and a spear with a carefully delineated butt. In appearance she belongs to the type represented by the Athena on the Four-Gods Base from the Athenian Acropolis,[65] which also appears on the Albani puteal (Tibur 1).

Of the third figure, only the long staff or scepter and the bare right instep are preserved, but among the well-known Neo-Attic types, he should be either Zeus or Poseidon. On the Four-Gods Base, the sequence of deities is Hephaistos, Athena, Zeus, and Zeus has a similar long scepter. By analogy this figure could be Zeus.

With three Olympians recognizable, it seems probable that the original set was the Twelve Gods. Among the seven cylindrical Twelve-Gods reliefs included in this study, the figures of the Cleveland fragment are closest to those of the Albani puteal, but their order is different.[66]

The Cleveland cylinder lacks both crowning and base mouldings. Consequently it cannot be determined whether it originally served as a base or as an altar.[67] It was certainly not intended for use as a puteal or wellhead because the present hollowing of the interior is far too rough to have been left visible.

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[62] *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* 47. The Cività Castellana base has now been raised in date to the third century B.C.: G. Hafner, Aachener Künstblätter 45 (1974), 17-31.

[63] On the Four-Gods reliefs see W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 48-49, 126-27 (on Apollo type); E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* [= Athenian Agora 11], Princeton 1965, 81-84.

[64] Madrid puteal: cf. Hesperia 32 (1963), pl. 33c; relationship to east pediment of Parthenon: F. Brommer, *Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, 108-109 no. 16 (review of scholarship). Tegel relief: H. Schrader, ÖJh 32 (1940), 184, 191, fig. 92.

[65] Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 610. E. Schmidt, *Archaïstische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 18-29; W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, 45-51; G. Becatti, Critica d' Arte 6 (1942), 40; E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, 55, 60-61, 82-83; D. Willers, *Anfängen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland*, 30-31.

[66] The other six are Alexandria 2, Athens 5, Bordeaux 1, Gabii 1, Ostia 1 and Tibur/Tivoli 1 = Albani Puteal.

Other Neo-Attic Reliefs

C.C. Vermeule III ascribes two other Neo-Attic reliefs with processions of deities to the first century B.C.: the Puddletown relief now in the Yale Art Gallery (figure 143) and one now in Wellesley[68] (Unknown Provenience 5, figure 128).

The archaistic Puddletown relief is close in style to the Cleveland cylinder. Since it is broken at the right end, the original number of deities is unknown. There are now five Olympians walking right, led by Zeus (thunderbolt, long scepter). Behind him come Hera (hand on veil, long scepter), Athena (helmet, spear, aegis), Aphrodite (flower), and Apollo (here nude but with kithara). All advance the left foot except for Aphrodite, whose twisted pose breaks the rhythm and thereby draws the viewer's eye. The combination of goddesses with the stress on Aphrodite suggests that this is no ordinary procession of the Twelve Gods but rather an excerpt from the Judgement of Paris. In Greek vase painting, Hermes leads the goddesses in search of Paris, but this could be an earlier moment with Zeus taking the goddesses to Hermes while Apollo vainly tries to restore harmony in the rear. According to C. Clairmont, a bearded male with a scepter may lead the procession, whom he interprets as Paris, and in two instances Apollo leads the group with his kithara.[69]

The Wellesley relief is also broken at the right end and preserves four Olympians walking right. From left to right the figures are Artemis (bow, drawing arrow from quiver, short peplos), Hermes (kerykeion, chlamys), Aphrodite (flower), and probably Ares (short chlamys, proximity to Aphrodite). Artemis was reversed to fit in the procession, for she holds her bow in her right hand and draws her arrow out with her left. The type used for Hermes recurs on the Ara Albani; that for Aphrodite on the

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[67] W. Hermann regarded most of the Neo-Attic relief cylinders as bases rather than altars: *Römische Götteraltäre*, Kallmünz über Regensburg 1961, 53, 67-68, 70-72.

[68] *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Malibu-Berkeley-Los Angeles 1981, 195 no. 161; 197 no. 173. Puddletown relief: Yale Art Gallery, inv. no. 1965.132. Vermeule-D. von Bothmer, AJA 60 (1956), 322; Yale Art Gallery Bulletin 31 (1966), 6-11, 42; Vermeule, *Greek Art: Socrates to Sulla*, Boston 1980, 109-10, fig. 153. Wellesley relief: See Unknown Provenience 5.

[69] *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zurich 1951, especially 92-95. Examples with Apollo: Brussels, inv. no. A 3089. *CVA* Belgium III, pl. 120 = III He pl. 26, 2; Clairmont, *Parisurteil*, 34, K 69. Auckland, inv. no. 12964. Beazley, *ABV*, 327; JHS 71 (1951), pl. 39 d; Clairmont, *Parisurteil*, 35, K 73.

Albani puteal (Tibur 1). Apart from being Olympians, these gods have no particular association; hence the original subject may have been the Twelve Gods.

The Hellenistic East

During the second century B.C., the Romans expanded into and occupied the territories of the Hellenistic kingdoms, completing the process in the first century B.C. The Romans were much impressed by Greek civilization, but the Greeks themselves were not impervious to Roman practices. According to Polybius, Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria celebrated his defeat of Egypt in 168 century B.C. with a great procession to Daphne.[70] Though he could have used as a precedent either the procession of Philip II at Aigai (Aigai 1) or that of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Polybius states that Antiochus aimed to outdo the victory games celebrated by the Roman general Aemilius Paullus after his defeat of Macedon. Consequently his inspiration was the Roman pompa. In dealing with late Hellenistic manifestations of the cult of the Twelve Gods, therefore, we must take into consideration the Roman cult represented by the lectisternium as well as the earlier Greek civil cult. In connection with Antiochus' procession we should note that it presumably included the Twelve Gods because there were said to be images of all the gods and supernatural beings known to man but that the Twelve were present as individuals, not, so far as we know, as a group.

Magnesia on the Maeander

Before the third century B.C., perhaps in 334 when the city went over to Alexander, the tribes of Magnesia were named for the twelve Olympians. An altar was dedicated to the Twelve in the marketplace no later than ca. 200 B.C.[71]

In 196 B.C. a decree inscribed on an anta of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis in the agora required the stephanephoros or priest on the twelfth day of Artemision to bring the xoana of the Twelve Gods in procession to the market place where a tholos had been erected and three couches set up and where a bull was to be sacrificed to Zeus Sosipolis (T 7). Thus the Twelve were to be guests of honor at a new public sacrifice. The ceremony was voted for the protection of the city.

Scholars connect this new festival with the end of hostilities with Miletus and postulate its purpose was to ensure prosperity and good harvests, Zeus Sosipolis being a chthonic god.[72] In this case, however, stress should be laid on his epithet Sosipolis (Savior of the City). This is comparable to Eleutherios, given to the Zeus in whose stoa in Athens were placed representations of the Twelve (Athens 4 = T 15) or to Soteira, attached to the Artemis whose sanctuary in Megara housed statues of the Twelve (Megara 1 = T 20). In each case the Twelve are associated with a deity who shares their concern with the welfare of the city-state.

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[70] XXX.25-26. Cf. supra, 241, and R. Bömer, *RE* 42 (1952) sv. *Pompa*, no. 197.

[71] Supra, 221-22.

O. Weinreich and K. Ziegler advanced the thesis that the tholos as a circular structure was representative of the Twelve Gods.[73] E. Will has refuted it because the only other circular building known to have a connection with the Twelve was the latest form of the Tychaion in Alexandria (T 24 A).[74] The structure commonly associated with the Twelve is the altar.

What seems to be a real innovation is the introduction of the gods in tangible form (xoana) at the sacrifice instead of imagining them to attend unseen by mortal eyes. The Twelve Gods on the Parthenon frieze are obviously the living deities, present but invisible. Similarly on Lebadeia 1, where a table is laid for the Twelve, the gods, for all their stiffness, seem to be living beings, not a row of statues. Images of the twelve were carried in procession at Aigai (Aigai 1) but this was a special occasion and the destination was the theater, not a banquet in the marketplace. Representations of the Göttermahl or theoxenia like the dedication to Zeus Philios now in Copenhagen[75] show the gods as living beings reclining or sitting on couches beside a table laden with food. The gods so honored often have chthonic associations.[76] At Magnesia, Zeus Sosipolis would fit into this category but not the Twelve Gods, for the tribes were named after the Olympians. There is no clear Greek precedent for the new festival in Magnesia.

Xoana, wooden images of deities as here, may be very old and primitive, but from J. Papadopoulos' recent collection of the literary sources for the term xoanon[77] it is evident that xoana need not be ancient.

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[72] F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, 90-91.

[73] O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 837 K 101; K. Ziegler, *RE* 18, 3 (1949) sv. *Pantheion*, 741-42. On Epidauros 1 the Twelve were symbolized by a circle enclosing a ring of twelve dots, and several cylinders show the Twelve (supra, note 66).

[74] BCH 75 (1951) 233-39.

[75] Inv. no. 1558. Pentelic marble. H., 0.43 m. W., 0.58 m. 4th century B.C. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 176-78, no. 234; U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, 29-31, fig. 14.

[76] U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, 29-31; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 174-76.

[77] *Xoana e Sphyrelata; Testimonianza delle fonti scritte* [= Studia Archaeologica 24], Rome 1980. Cf. also W.H. Gross, *RE* 2nd series, 18 (1967) sv. *Xoanon*.

Pausanias mentions xoana by the Greek sculptor Damophon who was active in the second century B.C.[78] In the case of the Magnesian images, sturdiness and light weight were desirable because the statues were to be carried in procession; hence wood was the best material. We do not know when they were made, but they could have been contemporary.

For the festival itself, the best prototype would be the Roman lectisternium of 217 B.C. (Rome 1 = T 34). This was a public banquet for the twelve Olympians — the gods for whom the Magnesian tribes were named, and the gods themselves seem to have been shown in some tangible form on couches. The object of the Roman ceremony, like the stated aim of the decree in Magnesia, was the protection of the city. It seems possible that the people of Magnesia were here imitating Roman practices.

Though the immediate cause may have been the conclusion of peace with Miletos in 197/196 B.C., the action taken by the Magnesians must be viewed in a larger context. In 201 B.C. the Magnesians had helped Philip V of Macedon when he was campaigning in Asia Minor.[79] However in 197 B.C. the Romans defeated Philip at Kynoskephalai and thus became a dominant power in the area. The Magnesians thereafter prudently cultivated Roman friendship. In 190 B.C. Lucius Scipio sent part of his troops into winter quarters at Magnesia, and, after the defeat of Antiochos III, he gave the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia the right of sanctuary.[80] The institution of a ceremony similar to the Roman lectisternium for the protection of the city may have been one way in which the Magnesians obtained Roman as well as divine favor. A comparable religious innovation would be Smyrna's establishment in 195 B.C. of a cult of the goddess Roma in the hope of enlisting Roman aid against Antiochos III.[81]

Whereas the Romans set up six couches, one for each pair of deities, the Magnesians provided only three. Presumably the gods were the Olympians, for whom the tribes were named, and each couch would have held two pairs. The Ara Borghese (Rome 8) has a similar arrangement with two pairs of Olympians on each side.

In the mid-second century B.C., the Magnesians erected a monumental altar to Artemis Leukophryene, which imitated the Altar of Zeus at

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[78] VII.23.6; VIII.31.6.

[79] Polybius XVI.24.6, 9, quoted by O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, xv, testimonium LV.

[80] Livy XXXVII.45; Tacitus, *Annales* III.62; quoted by Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, xvi, testimonia LVI-LVII.

[81] R. Mellor, *Thea Rome; the Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* [= Hypomnemata 42], Göttingen 1975, 14-16.

Pergamon in its form and the style of its relief carving.[82] The projecting wings on either side of the great staircase leading to the altar proper were decorated with a frieze of standing deities.

As reconstructed by A. von Gerkan, there would have been twenty figures in all, four on the inner face, one on the end, and five on the outer face of each wing.[83] Because of the excessive number of deities and the presence among them of Asklepios and Dionysos,[84] the frieze cannot represent the Twelve Gods of Magnesia, who were the twelve Olympians, but must be merely an assembly of suitable divinities.

Elaia/Pergamon

An inscription found near Elaia, the port of Pergamon, but thought to be from Pergamon itself, associates Eumenes II Soter posthumously with the Twelve Gods (T 9). In defending his territory against the barbarian Galatians, Eumenes II had performed the work of the Twelve Gods and so earned the title of Soter.[85] The demos or people now orders the stephanephoros (priest) of the Twelve Gods and Eumenes to welcome the current ruler, Attalos III (138-133 B.C.), by opening the temples of the gods, pouring libations and praying to them on behalf of the king and his realm.

This is the only known instance in which a Hellenistic ruler is bracketed with the Twelve Gods. The title of stephanephoros was held by the priest who brought the images of the Twelve Gods to the agora of Magnesia and was later given to priests of the imperial cult in Asia Minor.[86] The cult is a local foundation, i.e., by the city, and is connected with the well-being of the community in the person of its ruler. This is not an instance of a Hellenistic ruler cult because the ruler associated with the gods is deceased and the current ruler is put under their protection.

There is no reference in the inscription either to an altar or to a Dodekatheon. It does not say how many temples were to be opened or where they were located.

In contrast to this posthumous cult of Eumenes II with the Twelve Gods at Elaia or Pergamon, on Kos a cult of Eumenes II was instituted during his lifetime on Kos, probably in response to his philanthropic donations.[87] His statue was carried in procession to the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods (T 29 A 3). From this Eumenes might be considered the protégé of the Twelve but not their equal.

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[82] W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 3rd edition revised, London-New York-Toronto-Sydney 1950, 288; M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 164.

[83] AA (1923-1924), 344-48; *Der Altar des Artemis-Tempels zu Magnesia am Mäander* [= Koldewy-Gesellschaft, Studien zur Bauforschung 1], Berlin 1929, especially 20-22, pl. V, 16-20, and fig. 14. On the frieze with deities see also C. Watzinger in C. Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 175-82, pls. VI-VII. The fragments are now in the Pergamon Museum in East Berlin.

[84] F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 103, 243 no. 7, identifies this figure as Hephaistos.

[85] Cf. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*^{2}, 230-36.

[86] Supra, 248; infra, 276-77.

The Augustan Age

Much of the written evidence which we cited on the lectisternium, the pompa circensis and the Di Consentes belongs to the time of Augustus. The antiquity of the cult, the function of the Twelve Gods in protecting the state, and the respectability of the group should have earned them a place in Augstus' religious reform. There is no evidence that he did favor them.

By the time of Augustus precedents existed for Greek communities honoring a victorious (deceased) ruler with the Twelve Gods and for an ambitious ruler to claim equality with them. We have just mentioned the Priest of the Twelve Gods and Eumenes II Soter at Elaia/Pergamon. Diodorus Siculus, who interpreted Philip II's actions at Aigai as making a bid for the status of Thirteenth God (T 23), was Augustus' contemporary.

The young Octavian might be identified with one of the Twelve Gods. He was rumored to have impersonated Apollo in a mock celebration of the lectisternium (T 34 D).[88] Horace called him the personification of Mercury.[89] Yet this is different from being the Thirteenth God.

In the proemium of Vergil's *Georgics* (T 54 D), G. Wissowa observed that Vergil invoked twelve individual or collective deities before calling upon Octavian as the thirteenth and suggested that here Vergil associated Octavian with the Twelve Gods.[90] As Wissowa noted, not all the deities invoked are Olympians; they were selected as patrons of agriculture, like Varro's rustic Twelve.[91] Varro contrasted his set with the official Di Consentes. Vergil nowhere alludes to the number of his gods nor to the Di Consentes. Hence Weinreich correctly placed this passage among the doubtful and spurious examples of the cult of the Twelve Gods.[92] As L.P. Wilkinson observes, Octavian is not yet a god; he may become one like Romulus/Quirinus.[93]

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[87] S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, 132-33.

[88] Supra, 238 and note 32.

[89] *Odes* I.2.41-44 cited by L.P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil; a Critical Study*, Cambridge 1969, 164.

[90] Hermes 52 (1917), 92-104; followed by Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil*, 145-46.

[91] Hermes 52 (1917), 95-96; Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil*, 147.

[92] *Zwölfgötter* 809, 812-13 C 72.

[93] *The Georgics of Virgil* 163.

Lines 32-35 on Octavian's deification require particular attention because they imply that he may become one of the stars in the zodiac in the region between Virgo and the Claws of Scorpio. Octavian was born September 23, hence under the sign of the Claws (Libra).[94] These lines express catasterism, the raising of an exceptional mortal to the heavens in the guise of a star.[95] They may imply that Octavian would be under the special protection of the Twelve Gods, who were the guardians (tutelae) of the zodiac constellations,[96] but they do not make him the equal of the Twelve.

After he became Augustus, Octavian prudently avoided such comparison. The altars erected for the cult of the Genius of the emperor are regarded as expressions of personal attitudes rather than official policy,[97] but even here, where the Genius of the emperor is associated with the Twelve Gods as in the crossroads shrine on the Via dell' Abbondanza in Pompeii (Pompeii 1), the Genius stands below the figures of the Twelve Gods. The emperor rules in accordance with the will of the Twelve, but he is clearly not their equal.

The situation may have been different in the Greek part of the empire. In Athens, early in the first century after Christ, the back wall of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was broken through and two rooms constructed behind.[98] The southern room contained a base for three bronze statues slightly over life size. The dedicatory inscription states that the statues were set up by the Demos or People of Athens, apparently in honor of a Roman.[99] From the date and the prominent location of the base, the person so honored must have been Augustus or another member of the Julio-Claudian house.[100] At this time the stoa already housed paintings of the Twelve Gods, who thus came into proximity with the imperial cult. Here then a Greek city may itself have associated Augustus or one of his successors with the Twelve Gods.

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[94] Augustus was also associated with Capricorn as on the Gemma Augustea in Vienna: E. Kris, *Die Kameen in Kunsthistorisches Museen Wien*, Vienna 1927, 9, 52-56 no. 7; H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, Munich 1960, 186-88; idem, *Art of Rome and her Empire*, New York 1965 based on German edition of 1962, 71-77, especially 74. Capricorn was the sign under which Augustus was conceived, and its importance was stressed by his being given the title of Augustus under the same sign in January, 27 B.C. On Libra as a play on Augustus' birthdate see W. Gundel-H.G. Gundel, *Astrologoumena*, 130.

[95] D.R. Dicks, Hermes 91 (1963), 60-73, especially 65-67.

[96] On the twelve Olympians as tutelae of the zodiac see infra, 266-73.

[97] P. Zanker, BullComm 82 (1970-1971), 154.

[98] H. Thompson, Hesperia 34 (1966), 171-87.

[99] Agora, inv. no. I 4268. Thompson, Hesperia 35 (1966), 174, 181-82, pl. 57c, fig. 3.

[100] Ibid., 183-84.

[101] On the historical context see F. Eichler, WS 79 (1966), 592-94. Eichler restores the base with six figures on the front and three on each end: ibid., 597.

Ephesos, Augustan Base

A private dedication to Augustus and his grandsons, Gaius, Lucius, and Agrippa Postumus, had a frieze of deities on its base (Ephesos 1, figures 38-39). The monument must have been erected between 12 B.C., when Agrippa Postumus was born, and A.D. 2, when Lucius died.

Of the base there remain the crowning moulding and two marble orthostates comprising the right end and back. Only the farthest right of the five or six figures on the front survives, a goddess walking left, wrapped in a himation with archaistic zigzag edges. The type recurs on the Albani puteal (Tibur 1, figure 112), where it represents Hera. On the adjacent end are three more archaistic deities, Athena and Ares in a muscle cuirass, both walking left, and Poseidon headed in the opposite direction with a dolphin on his arm. All four figures belong to the Neo-Attic repertory.[101] The back has an unrelated subject from the same source, three nymphs approaching the cave of Pan. On the front and ends there would have been room for twelve deities, of whom the four surviving are Olympians. It seems possible therefore that the dedication originally showed Augustus and his grandsons standing above the twelve Olympians. Such a composition would imply divine favor and support for the ruling house, but it goes far beyond official policy in making the Twelve subordinate to the *princeps*.[102]

Tusculum

Three of the four deities on the Ephesos base recur on a plaque said to come from a Roman villa in Tusculum (Tusculum 1, figure 121).[103] Since the edges of the slab have holes for the attachment of other similar blocks, the three gods extant, Ares in a muscle cuirass, Hera(?), and Poseidon, all walking right, must be part of a longer procession. Originally all twelve Olympians may have been present.[104]

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[102] Comparable Neo-Attic reliefs: Tusculum 1. Corinth, Dodwell puteal (lost): A. Michaelis, JHS 6 (1885), 46-49, pls. LVI-LVII. Ten figures representing the three Graces, Hermes, Leto, Artemis, Apollo, Athena, Herakles, and Hera. Provenience unknown, Puddletown relief now in Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, inv. no. 1965.132: C.C. Vermeule III-D. von Bothmer, AJA 60 (1956), 322; Yale Art Gallery Bulletin 31 (1966) 6-11, 42; Vermeule, *Socrates to Sulla*, Boston 1980, 109-10, fig. 153; idem, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Malibu-Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1981, 195, no. 161. Five figures: Apollo, Aphrodite, Athena, Hera, Zeus; probably excerpt from Judgement of Paris. Other Neo-Attic reliefs preserved in more than one copy are the Citharode reliefs (cf. most recently A. Borbein, *Campana Reliefs* [= RömMitt Erganzungsheft 14], Heidelberg 1968, 186-87) and the Four-Gods reliefs (references supra, note 63).

[103] Similar representations of Pan and the Nymphs in Athens: National Museum, inv. no. 1329, ca. 410 B.C.: S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, 60; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, fig. 192; Acropolis Museum, inv. nos. 1345, 6464, end of 2nd century B.C.: M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum*, 167, figs. 354-55.

Augustan Art in Italy

Three other assemblies of gods may be mentioned. Among the relief fragments belonging to the podium and altar of the Ara Pacis Augustae are pieces from a frieze depicting at least five frontal females standing quietly, apparently side by side.[105] H. Kähler places them on the left front of the podium, where they must have been balanced by an equal number of figures on the right.[106] J. Pollini prefers the front of the altar table, where there would have been room for thirteen figures, Pax in the midst of the Twelve Gods.[107]

The one extant head has her hair drawn back in a loose knot, a coiffure suitable for either Victoria or Venus. On the background next to a figure wearing chiton and mantle, G. Moretti thought he could detect traces of an animal skin, suitable for Diana or a Maenad, but Kähler denies this.[108] The remaining figures were clad in, respectively, a chiton and mantle, a peplos, and a chiton and peplos.

The attire suggests goddesses or personifications. Without attributes it is impossible to identify them more closely. Conceivably, from the number preserved, they could be the distaff side of the Di Consentes as enumerated by Ennius (T 37) or as represented by the monument at Pherai (Pherai 1). The six gods would then have stood together on the other side. A connection has been suggested between the form of the Ara Pacis Augustae and that of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens,[109] but, as we have seen, the Twelve Gods were not represented in their Athenian precinct. Here the evidence seems too weak to postulate the presence of the Twelve.

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[104] C. Habicht in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain* [= Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 19], Geneva 1972, 39-88; R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus* [= PAAR 26], Rome 1977, 122-32.

[105] G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome 1948, 86-88; H. Kähler, JdI 69 (1954), 92-95; G.K. Galinsky, AJA 70 (1966), 227.

[106] JdI 69 (1954), 94.

[107] Professor J. Pollini of the Johns Hopkins University kindly permitted me to mention his theory, for which he will present his evidence shortly. M. Torelli also favors a frieze showing Pax "with a retinue of related gods and personifications": *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* [= Jerome Lectures, Fourteenth Series], Ann Arbor 1982, 35-36.

[108] Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 87; Kähler, JdI 69 (1954), 54.

[109] H.A. Thompson, Hesperia 21 (1952), 79-82; A.H. Borbein, JdI 90 (1975), 242-66; D.E. Kleiner, MelRome 90 (1978) 753ff. E. Simon and M. Torelli connect the form more credibly with the shrine of Janus Quirinus: Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Tübingen 1967, 9; Torelli, supra note 107, 30-35.

Secondly the Sorrento base has friezes with deities on all four sides.[110] These included at least four and possibly six of the Di Consentes together with Cybele, the Mother of the Gods. However major members of the group like the Capitoline triad are missing, and there does not seem to be sufficient space left to accommodate them. This then does not represent the Di Consentes as a group. It is best interpreted, as V. Tram Tam Tinh has shown,[111] as a commemoration of the religious foundations of Augustus.

Finally six terracotta plaques were excavated between 1778 and 1780 in the so-called Villa of Pliny at Porcigliano (figures 144-48).[112] Each had a mould-made profile bust of a deity enclosed by a moulded rim. They may have served as part of the wall decoration or, more probably, as ceiling coffers comparable to the much later painted ceiling at Trier.[113] Three have busts of goddesses facing left — Athena, possibly Artemis, and a veiled goddess of the Aspasia type, comparable to the goddesses on Ephesos 1 and Tusculum 1. The other three busts face right and depict Poseidon, Apollo, and a beardless Herakles wearing the lionskin. These deities recur among the Twelve Gods on the Albani puteal, but here the extant plaques can be assembled as a complete set of three pairs — Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, and Poseidon and Amphitrite(?). They need not have originally represented the Twelve Gods.

One of the difficulties in collecting representations of the Twelve Gods is determining which of the fragments of divine assemblies belong to the Twelve. It may be argued that Tusculum 1 preserves fewer Olympians than the Porcigliano plaques, but Tusculum 1 is clearly incomplete and may be given the benefit of the doubt. Both the Ara Pacis Augustae and Ephesos 1 provide sufficient space for the Twelve in a suitable context.

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[110] Sorrento, Correale Museum, inv. no. 76. G.E. Rizzo, BullComm 60 (1932), 7-109; I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, 49-52, fig. 26; M. Guarducci, RömMitt 78 (1971), 89-118 on side with Vesta; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie en dehors du Pompeii, de Stabies, et d'Herculaneum* [= EPRO 27], Leiden 1972, 122-24, no. C 29, figs. 58-61; M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* IV, 28-29, no. 76, pl. XXVII; J. Pollini, *Studies in Augustan 'Historical' Reliefs* [= University of California at Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation, 1978], 318-21.

[111] *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie*, especially 124.

[112] Formerly Munich, Glyptothek, inv. nos. 185-89. Destroyed in World War II? H., 042. m. W., 0.39 m each. A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, Munich 1900, 74, nos. 62-66; C. Pietrangeli, *Scavi e Scoperti di Antichità*, Rome 1958, 128, no. 25 with note 6; S. Stucchi, BullComm 75 (1953-55), 42-44; B.S. Ridgway, *Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 111-14, 127, figs. 144-49. My warm thanks to the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College for providing photographs of the plaques.

[113] Trier, Bischofliches Museum. D. Strong, *Roman Art*, Penguin Books 1976, 156, figs. 212-13; W. Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting*, New York-Washington 1971, 199-200, pls. 158-59. Preliminary account of excavation: T.K. Kempf, *Das Haus der heiligen Helena* [= Neues Trierisches Jahrbuch Beiheft 1978], Trier 1978.

On Ephesos 1 all extant deities can be identified as Olympians; on the Ara Pacis Augustae not one can be so identified, and the absence of male deities suggests rather a group of personifications.

Mavilly Pillar

O. Weinreich included among the representations of the Twelve Gods this Celtic monument long preserved in the grounds of the Chateau de Savigny but now in the Musée Archéologique de Dijon.[114] Two blocks are extant, originally placed one on top of the other, with deities in relief on all four sides, thirteen in all. Some of the gods, like Jupiter enthroned with his eagle, Neptune with his dolphin, and Vulcan with his tongs, seem to be based on Roman iconography. Others like the Celtic war god with his hexagonal shield and native armor, and the ram-headed snake, are purely indigenous. É. Thevenot has now conclusively proved that the pillar belongs to a Celtic healing cult and must be interpreted as an expression of Celtic religion, not the Roman cult of the Twelve Gods.[115] It may be an antecedent for the Jupiter pillars and columns characteristic of the Celtic region in later times.[116]

The Julio-Claudian Age (A.D. 14-69)

The written sources for this period concern the astral function of the Twelve Gods rather than the official cult and will be considered later. In art, there are two highly important representations, each a complete set.

Ostia, Dodekatheon Base (figures 69-73)

Despite its modest dimensions (0.44 m. high, 0.50 m. in diameter), the Ostia cylinder deserves particular attention because it was found in excavation, is almost entirely preserved, and bears an inscription (figure 69) identifying the figures in Greek as the Twelve Gods.[117] The name is given in the genitive case as on the Epidauros base (Epidauros 1).

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[114] Dijon, Musée Archéologique, inv. nos. 75.1.3-4. H., 1.87 m. W., 0.79 m. Th., 0.78 m. É. Espérandieu, *Receuil général des basreliefs de la Gaule romaine* III, *Lyonnaise*, Paris 1910, 161-67, no. 2067; O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 813 C 73; E. Thevenot, Latomus 14 (1955), 75-99; P. MacKendrick, *Roman France*, New York 1972, 155-57; F. Brommer, *Der Gott Vulkan*, 14, 4 d, doubting the presence of Vulcan; S. Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines mythologiques et religieuses*, Dijon-Paris 1976, no. 284 with additional bibliography. I thank most heartily J.B. Devauges, Directeur des Antiquités Historiques de Bourgogne, and Mme M. Jeanlin, Conservateur du Musée Archéologique de Dijon, for helping me to trace this curious monument and providing excellent photographs of its reliefs.

[115] E. Thevenot, Latomus 14 (1955), 89-94, followed by P. MacKendrick and S. Deyts, both supra note 114.

[116] Ibid., 95.

[117] My thanks to Dr. V. Santa Maria Scrinari, Soprintendente, for permitting me to study and photograph the cylinder in June 1981.

G. Becatti considered the base a Neo-Attic work of the first century B.C., but W. Fuchs has redated it to the Claudian or Flavian period on the basis of the mouldings and the inorganic stance of the figures on the Lesbian cymation below them.[118] It was found in the sanctuary of Attis in Ostia but is considerably earlier than the objects which were with it and so must have been reused. Its iconography with the Capitoline triad in the center front below the inscription and Vulcan/Hephaistos (the pre-eminent god of Ostia) in the center of the back supports its having been carved in Ostia or at least intended for there.

The gods are the twelve Olympians, who form an unbroken circle. For the purpose of enumeration, we shall begin with Vulcan/Hephaistos and continue to the right around the circumference, but there is no separation on the base itself between Mars/Ares, the last on this list, and Vulcan/Hephaistos. After Vulcan/Hephaistos may be seen Mercury/Hermes with chlamys and petasos; Vesta/Hestia seated on a cylindrical altar;[119] Apollo as citharode; Diana/Artemis with her quiver; Minerva/Athena with helmet and aegis; Jupiter/Zeus enthroned with an eagle below his seat; Juno/Hera, veiled and standing beside him; Ceres/Demeter(?) probably identified once by a painted spray of wheat in her raised hand; Neptune/Poseidon, half-draped like Jupiter/Zeus but standing; Venus/Aphrodite leaning on a pillar; and, next to Vulcan/Hephaistos, a youthful Mars/Ares with his chlamys wrapped around his left arm in lieu of a shield. There are six gods and goddesses, but they are not arranged as couples, nor are they in the order of the months. Jupiter/Zeus has two goddesses on each side of him; Vulcan/Hephaistos stands between two gods. The arrangement was probably the choice of the patron.

G. Becatti suggested that, except for the Pheidian Jupiter/Zeus, the figures might be based on the set carved by Praxiteles for the Sanctuary of Artemis Soteira in Megara (Megara 1).[120] R. Carpenter saw in them a mixture of fifth- and fourth-century types selected by the sculptor for this commission; W. Fuchs has assembled prototypes for most of the figures.[121] These range from the late fifth century (Leaning Aphrodite) to the late fourth. Some of the Ostia figures are close to their equivalents on the Alexandria cylinder (Alexandria 2), especially Vulcan/Hephaistos, the goddess seated upon a cylindrical altar, and the nude standing gods, but the arrangement of the deities and the types selected are not exactly the same. There was apparently no specific prototype for such cylinders.

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[118] In Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, 34-35, no. 3025.

[119] Originally this type represented Demeter as on Athens 5 and Alexandria 2. Here I think Demeter is probably the goddess standing between Hera and Poseidon; hence this goddess becomes Hestia by elimination. M.J. Vermaseren identified her as Kybele: *CCCA* III, 117-18, no. 331. However, the rest of the gods are Olympians, who should be subordinate to Kybele as the Mother of the Gods.

[120] ASAtene 17-18, N.S. 1-2 (1939-1940), 85-137; reiterated in BdA 36 (1951), 193-200.

[121] R. Carpenter, Hesperia Supplement 8 (1949), 71-74; W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, 34-35, no. 3025.

The top has a shallow channel running around it, one centimeter in breadth and approximately five millimeters in depth, ca. seven centimeters in from the edge. W. Hermann suggested therefore that the Ostia base might have held a statuette, like a base with a similar groove in the Vatican.[122] Bronze statuettes sometimes have a low circular base which could fit into such a groove; to the best of my knowledge they are always single, standing figures.[123] Thus we may postulate that the Ostia base originally supported a standing figure. Though the base was found in the sanctuary of Attis, it is hardly likely that he would have been associated with the Twelve Gods, and Cybele, who might be connected with them as the Mother of the Gods, is customarily shown seated. We simply do not know who stood above the Twelve.

In its secondary use, the Ostia cylinder made its way into the area dedicated to Cybele and Attis. M. Floriani-Squarciapino has studied the cult of Cybele, the Magna Mater, at Ostia and has shown it to be a state cult, tied to the very origins of Rome.[124] We have already found the Twelve Gods associated with the Mother of the Gods on a stucco naiskos in Egypt (Unknown Provenience 2) and as swaddled infants in a native Samnite statuette (Curti 1). Here the official nature of the cult of the Magna Mater makes her an appropriate colleague for the Twelve Gods whose responsibility was the safety and prosperity of Rome. Because of its small size, the Ostia cylinder must be a private dedication.

Pompeii, Compitum of the Via dell' Abbondanza (IX.xi.1)

As part of his religious program, Augustus in 12 B.C. divided Rome into neighborhoods or *vici*, each with a committee in charge of the imperial cult called the *vicomagistri.*[125] The new cult of the Lares and Genius of the emperor supplanted an earlier cult of the Lares compitales (Lares of the crossroads).[126] The altars set up by the vicomagistri were not official state monuments but were designed as expressions of personal loyalty.[127]

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[122] *Römische Götteraltäre* 71.

[123] The diameter of the base would have been ca. 0.34 m. Hence the statuette would presumably have been somewhat larger than the bronze Jupiter in the Musées Royaux d'Arte et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. no. A 3288. This had a total height of 0.595 m. and a base diameter of 0.205 m.: D.G. Mitten-S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, 264-65, no. 255; S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pre-romaine et romaine* [= BEFAR 228], Paris 1976, 84-85, figure 100.

[124] M. Floriani-Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* [= EPRO 3], Leiden 1962, 1-19, especially 18.

[125] G. Niebling, Historia 5 (1956), 303-31; Cerfaux-Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, 324-36; F. Taeger, *Charisma* II, 133-35; I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, 53-58; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 307.

The cult spread through Italy, and we have already, in connection with the pompa circensis, discussed a monument erected by a vicomagister in Amiternum.[128] G.K. Boyce found that, of thirty known crossroads shrines (compita) in Pompeii, eighteen could be classified, of which nine were dedicated to the imperial cult.[129] In general, the compita on the main streets like the Via dell' Abbondanza belonged to the imperial cult while those on side streets were dedicated to various deities, either alone or in groups. Two compita had representations of the Twelve Gods, the one here with the Lares and Genius of the emperor, the other on the Vicolo dei XII Dei without. It seems likely that shrines of this sort were common in Roman cities, but few are preserved outside of Pompeii, and none of these was dedicated to the Twelve Gods.[130]

The shrine on the Via dell' Abbondanza was painted on the wall behind a fountain (Pompeii 1, figures 76-80). To the right was the ara compitalis (crossroads altar) on which were found charcoal and cinders from the last offerings made. It was in use therefore right up to the destruction of the city by the eruption of Vesuvius. Above the altar was painted a snake, the Agathos Daimon, and a panel showing the Vicomagistri sacrificing and the Lares. To the left was a partially effaced panel with the figures of the Lares and the Genius Augustalis (of the emperor), over which had been written a dipinto solliciting votes for C. Gavius Rufus as Duovir.[131] Above this panel were painted the Twelve Gods standing in a row within a fictive portico consisting of a long shed roof supported at either end by a Composite column which may, originally, have framed the lower scene as well. At the time of excavation, the column and the two gods farthest to the left were somewhat weathered, but the rest was in good condition.

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[126] H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, Ithaca-London 1981, 58-60.

[127] P. Zanker, BullComm 82 (1970-1971), 147-55, especially 154.

[128] Supra, 242.

[129] AJA 44 (1940) 113.

[130] Greek examples from Delos, Thera and Priene were collected by M. Bulard, *Peintures murales et mosaïques de Délos* [= MonPiot 14], Paris 1906, 11-17.

[131] V. Spinazzola, NS 1911, 430; idem, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza (anni 1910-1923)*, Rome 1953, fig. 215; *CIL* IV, supplement III, no. 7856.

C.GAVIVM.RVFVM.II.V(irum).I(uri).D(icundo).O(ro).V(os).F(aciatis)
"I pray you to make C. Gavius Rufus Duovir for the lawcourt" (i.e., one of the two chief magistrates of Pompeii).

For further information on the electoral process in Pompeii and the career of C. Gavius Rufus see J.L. Franklin, Jr., *Pompeii; The Electoral Programmata, Campaigns and Politics, A.D. 71-79* [= PAAR 28], Rome 1980, especially 119-22.

Since the Lares appear in two panels, it seems probable that one Lares panel replaced the other; presumably the one in poor condition was the earlier. The iconography supports this, for the togate Genius represented in this panel does not occur after the reign of Nero,[132] whereas the Agathos Daimon painted below the right panel with the Lares appears only in compita or lararia from the reigns of Nero and the Flavians.[133] It appears, then, that the left panel with the Genius of the emperor may have been effaced deliberately, and the panel with the Lares and vicomagistri substituted for it. A ready explanation for such an action may be found in the damnatio memoriae suffered by Nero.[134] In any case, the painting on the left with the Twelve Gods can be no later than the reign of Nero while that on the right may be Flavian.

Gods alternate with goddesses, but they are not necessarily paired. From left to right they are Jupiter with his thunderbolt (now illegible); Juno veiled, with patera and scepter (also illegible); cuirassed Mars in Oscan helmet with a round shield (also illegible now); Minerva with Corinthian helmet, spear, patera, and round shield; Hercules with quiver, lionskin, club, and skyphos (drinking cup); Venus Pompeiana, fully draped with Cupid behind her right shoulder; Mercury with caduceus and moneybag; Proserpina, enveloped in drapery with a modius on her head; Vulcan in exomis and pileus with his hammer; Ceres with a long torch and a crown of wheat; Apollo in citharode costume with lyre and quiver; Diana dressed as a huntress with her quiver.

The sequence of the gods is logical for the most part, though one would not ordinarily expect to find Vulcan between Proserpina and Ceres nor Ceres beside Apollo. The group may well represent the official Twelve Gods of Pompeii, for Hercules, Venus and Mercury, who were especially honored at Pompeii, occupy the center while the Capitoline triad and Mars, the great gods of Rome, are shunted off to the left.[135] Proserpina too, who stands beside Mercury, had a very important cult in southern

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[132] W. Fuchs in *EEA* III (1960) sv. *Genio*, 812-13.

[133] B.M. Felletti Maj, *Tradizione italica*, 317.

[134] V. Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi*, 182-83.

[135] R.M. Peterson, *Cults of Campania* [= PAAR 3], Rome 1919, 247: Venus Pompeiana the chief goddess of the colony established by Sulla in 80 B.C.; ibid., 238: cult of Mercury as god of commerce and business (symbolized by moneybag) greatly strengthened in the Roman period; ibid., 232-33: Pompeii supposedly given its name by Hercules according to Servius, *Ad Aeneadem* VII.662 and Solinus II.5.

Italy with chthonic associations.[136] Here she replaces Vesta, a major goddess, in Rome as well as one of the Olympians, and Hercules appears instead of Neptune, who was Minerva's consort in the Roman lectisternium. Both the arrangement and the choice of deities reflect local preferences. Curiously enough, the other shrine with the Twelve Gods, which was off on a side street and not connected with the official cult of the Genius of the emperor, does have the twelve Olympians with the Capitoline triad in the center (Pompeii 2).

The types chosen to represent the deities are Italian or Roman rather than Greek. In particular we may observe Mars wearing Oscan armor, Hercules with a multiplicity of attributes, Mercury with the moneybag, Venus modestly dressed with Cupid by her shoulder.[137] The deities are brightly painted in naturalistic colors, but they are conceived as a row of statues or statuettes set on a shelf, each facing the viewer. The general composition goes back to Greek votive reliefs of the fourth century B.C. except for the absence of worshippers.[138] Another good prototype would be the rows of deities on Attic headings for decrees as, for example, that above the treaty of 375/374 B.C. between Athens and Kerkyra.[139] Their lineal descendants are the Christian saints of the *sacra conversazione*. Of all the representations of the Twelve Gods considered in this study, the two compital paintings from Pompeii are the only ones in which the Twelve Gods themselves appear as objects of worship.

The Flavian Age (A.D. 69-96)

In founding a new dynasty, Vespasian rejected the divine pretensions and ostentation of Nero and advocated Republican virtues. It might have been in keeping with such attitudes to take an interest in the Di Consentes, whose cult was prominent in the later Republic and whose statues adorned the Forum Romanum. In fact, it was Titus' decision to build the Temple of the Deified Vespasian at the west end of the Forum which led to the reorganization of that area and the building of the Portico of the Di Consentes,[140] and it was the Temple of Vespasian rather than the portico which dominated the site.

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[136] On the cult of Proserpina/Persephone at Locri see H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, 4-8; cf. also Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 247-48.

[137] C. Weickert in *Festschrift Paul Arndt zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Munich 1925, 56, Type A, 3. Weickert cites two other examples, both reliefs, which have the same type of Venus: Villa Borghese, inv. no. 635 (Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, 718-20, no. 1958) and Rome, Villa Medici: Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, 69-70, fig. 36b; Cozza, BdA 42 (1958), 107-111. She also appears among the medallions cited under Pompeii 3.

[138] Votive reliefs with a shed roof: G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* [= Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 3], Tübingen 1979, 50-51.

[139] Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1467. I. Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, 588-91, no. 240, pl. CIII; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, 131; illustrated by L. Kypreou, *National Archaeological Museum*, Athens 1971, 82, fig. 81.

The portico was constructed at the base of the Capitoline Hill on a roughly triangular plot of land.[141] Titus seems to have built the lower storey, a row of shops with vaults supporting the platform for the portico. On the upper level Domitian added a row of three rooms against the Tabularium with five more at an obtuse angle to the others against the rock of the Capitoline Hill itself (figure 86). The rooms were built of brickfaced concrete and covered by barrel vaults. They look more like a row of shops than shrines, and there were not enough to have provided each of the Twelve Gods with a room. Yet it is clear from the inscription recording the restoration of the portico by Vettius Praetextatus in the fourth century after Christ (T 36 C) that the Di Consentes did stand here and give their name to the portico.[142] The Flavians did embellish the facade with a facing of marble and a colonnade with column shafts of *cipollino* and marble Corinthian capitals. The gilded statues of the Di Consentes may have been placed between the columns or set on the roof of the portico. For the former arrangement, a terracotta plaque now in Vienna illustrates a portico with statues of the Capitoline triad set between the pillars (figure 142).[143] It does not represent the Portico of the Di Consentes because the order is Tuscan and there are only three deities. Two of the Late Roman representations of the Twelve Gods, Augusta Raurica/Augst 1 and Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, have a similar arrangement with the Twelve Gods standing in arcades (figures 19, 30).

The Portico of the Di Consentes was quite separate from the Temple of Vespasian. Hence the two cults were presumably distinct.

As we noted at the beginning of the chapter, both Titus and Domitian celebrated lectisternia.[144] These were either a survival or revival of the Republican practice of soothing the angry gods with a banquet. The Twelve Gods must still have been regarded as the protectors of Rome and they still received official honor. The coins issued by Titus and Domitian to commemorate the events show the attributes of various gods placed on draped couches (pulvinaria).[145] Not all the gods are represented, but there is a winged thunderbolt for Jupiter, a Corinthian helmet for Minerva or Mars, and an arc with appendages, which is ascribed to Apollo and Diana.[146] Presumably it was the twelve Olympians who were so honored. The coins also show wreaths on curule chairs, which may be the struppi placed before the deities.[147]

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[140] For the earlier evidence on the Di Consentes see supra, 242-43.

[141] The best description of the portico is by M.E. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius Caesar through the Flavians* [= Carnegie Institution Publication 616], Washington 1959, 97, 100. For additional bibliography see note 53.

[142] Infra, Chapter V.

[143] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, TerrInv. no. 1523. Pres. H., 0.14 m. W., 0.165 m. F. Eichler, AA (1944-1945) 31-33, pl. 21, 2.

[144] Supra, 239.

Unofficially the Twelve Gods (not the Di Consentes) are invoked along with Diana and Jupiter Optimus Maximus in a Latin curse painted on the plaster of the Baths of Titus.[148]

None of the Flavian emperors associates himself with the Twelve Gods as a group in official art. The Temple of the Deified Vespasian upstaged the Portico of the Di Consentes. On the Arch of Titus, the emperor was portrayed in the company of personifications, Roma and Victoria. Domitian has Mars and Minerva as his guides in the Cancellaria relief.[149] The six niches of his throne room in the Domus Augustana held colossal basalt statues of gods, but the extant figures are the non-Olympians Hercules and Bacchus, with whom rulers liked to identify themselves.[150]

Pompei, Compitum of the Vicolo dei XII Dei (VIII.iii.9-10)

Pompeii 2 (figure 81) is the only representation of the Twelve Gods which can certainly be dated to the time of the Flavians, although the Ostia Dodekatheon cylinder (Ostia 1) might also be this late.

The shrine was painted on the outside wall of the Casa delle Grazie at the corner of the Via dell' Abbondanza but facing on the side street.[151] Today only faint traces remain of the figures, which were discovered in the early nineteenth century, but W. Helbig carefully described what he could see in the 1860's.[152] My account is necessarily based on his. The presence of the Agathos Daimon proves that it was late, probably Flavian.[153]

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[145] Supra, notes 35-36.

[146] Ibid.

[147] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* II, lxxiii, 233-34, nos. 64-70, pl. 45, 16-18.

[148] T 43 A. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter*, 801 C 58; 835 H 97.

[149] Vatican Museum, inv. no. 13395. The basic source is F. Magi, *I Rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancellaria* [= Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e d'Arte 6], Rome 1945. For additional bibliography see Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, no. 12.

[150] For the throne room the best descriptions, though old, are: R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Boston-New York 1897, 155-65; G.T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture and its Principles of Construction under the Empire*, Oxford 1925, 100-106. On the statues see J. Sieveking, JdI 56 (1941), 72-90; illustrated by T. Kraus, *Römische Weltreich* [= Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 2], Berlin 1967, pl. XVI; B. Andreae, *Art of Rome*, New York 1977, figs. 397-98. Sieveking postulates that a third statue may have represented Jupiter: p. 72, note 7.

[151] *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, 5-6, no. 7.

[152] B.M. Felletti-Maj, *Tradizione italica*, 317.

The Twelve Gods were arranged in a row, closed off on either end by a laurel tree. Below them was painted an altar piled with fruit, approached from either side by a large snake, the Agathos Daimon. Between the snakes' coils Helbig observed laurel shrubs and above the left snake two figures in long garments, one holding a sistrum, as well as traces of similar figures above the right snake and some vessels, including a bottle, behind the left.

The gods are the Olympians, arranged in the following order from left to right: Vesta with a radiate crown, scepter, patera and donkey; Diana in hunting garb with spear, bow, quiver, and dog(?); Apollo with his mantle slipping off, leaning on an unsupported cithara; Ceres with a crown of wheat and yellow torch; Minerva with shield, spear, and helmet; youthful Jupiter, nude and apparently beardless, with scepter and oak wreath; Juno, bare-headed but raising her hand to her shoulder as if touching her veil and holding a scepter; Vulcan in red exomis and pileus holding hammer and tongs; Venus Pompeiana with modius on head, scepter, rudder, and branch; youthful Mars with cuirass, helmet and shield; Neptune, the only bearded god, placing foot on prow(?) and holding trident; Mercury with winged hat and ankles, holding moneybag and caduceus.

Spinazzola observed that the figures are based on well-known Greek statue types,[153] but several are the Italian forms of the Greek deity. Vesta's association with the donkey may be south Italian and is explained by Ovid in a bawdy anecdote.[154] Normally Jupiter is a middle-aged, bearded god seated on a throne whereas this god is standing and Helbig could find no evidence for a beard. He is nude but for a chlamys draped over his left shoulder and forearm, the way a young god is customarily depicted. Etruscan mirrors show a young god, nude and beardless, holding a thunderbolt, who is identified as Tinia, the Etruscan equivalent of Jupiter.[155] The second-century statue of Veiovis, the young Jupiter, found in his temple in Rome, also represents a young nude god with his chlamys draped over his left arm.[156] Except for his long hair, he is quite similar to the god in the Pompeian painting. Here then the painter seems to have substituted a youthful Italian Jupiter for the usual Greek type. Venus, as in the other compitum in Pompeii (Pompeii 1), is the Italian goddess, decorously draped, the patron goddess of Pompei rather than the Greek goddess of love. Her rudder could have a double significance — a reference to herself as Euploia and to the rudder of Tyche-Fortuna, the city-goddess par excellence.[157]

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[153] V. Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi*, 118-19.

[154] *Fasti* VI.311-48. Cf. I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, 62. Cf. two Pompeian lararia showing Vesta with the ass: G.K. Boyce, *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* [= MAAR 14 (1937)], 51, no. 182; 61, no. 247.

[155] R. Noll, ÖJh 27 (1932), 157-60, figs. 99-101, dated to the late fourth century B.C. T.J. Luce, AJA 72 (1968), 25-26 argued that the young nude god shown on Roman coins did not represent Veiovis or Jupiter but Apollo. In Pompeii 2, however, he must be Veiovis or Jupiter because another figure clearly depicts Apollo Citharedus. Cf. also A.J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, 233, 237-38.

The laurel trees on either end suggest statues set up in the open rather than in a portico or on a votive relief. The gods themselves are arranged with a central triad flanked by single gods and pairs. The Capitoline triad of Rome occupies the center while Venus and Mercury who had major cults in Pompeii and the central position on Pompeii 1, are shunted off to the right.

The gods of Pompeii 2 differ from those of Pompeii 1 with respect to the identities of two of the gods included as well as in arrangement. Even where the same deity is present in both, the type chosen may be quite different. The Apollo here is based on a Hellenistic type which M. Bieber ascribes to Timarchides I; in the Via dell' Abbondanza he could be a descendant of the fourth-century Apollo by Euphranor.[158] Similarly the Jupiter here is young; there he is the usual middle-aged god. Yet these two shrines come from the same area in Pompeii, were painted not more than twenty-five years apart, and were in use simultaneously. Surely these paintings in themselves are sufficient evidence that, although certain deities were almost always included among the Twelve, the actual choice, arrangement, and aspects of the gods to be emphasized were decided upon by the patron commissioning the work and/or the artist creating it, not by a preconceived system.

The Twelve Olympians as Tutelae of the Months and the Zodiac

In the first chapter we discussed the Egyptian month gods, who appeared in Egyptian art as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty.[159] The concept survived the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, and clepsydrae of the Hellenistic period represent the month gods in the traditional Egyptian way, though the pharaohs now bear the names of the Macedonian rulers.[160]

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[156] E. Gjerstad, Opuscula Romana 9 (1973), 35-38. Cf. also M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* I, Cambridge 1972, 312, no. 298, pl. XL. For a brief summary of the cult of Veiovis (Vediovis) in Rome see H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Romans*, 56-58.

[157] I am much indebted to Dr. H.R. Robinson for this suggestion. On Venus Pompeiana see also R.M. Peterson, *Cults of Campania*, 246-54.

[158] M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 160, figs. 678-81 (Apollo Citharedus by Timarchides I); Athens, Agora, inv. no. S 2154 (Apollo Citharedus by Euphranor). Cf. bibliography in Chapter I, note 102. Despite this possible connection with Euphranor, Pompeii 1 cannot as a whole be based on the paintings of Euphranor in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios because the set of gods and their arrangement differs from the Athenian.

[159] Supra, 147-50.

Among the Greeks, Plato advocated monthly festivals in honor of the Twelve Gods with a different god honored each month, but the first and only Greek city known to have named its months for the Olympians was Demetrias in Thessaly, which was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 293 B.C.[161]

The Latin names for the months are not generally derived from those of the Olympians. The two exceptions, March and June named for Mars and Juno, are not the months assigned to Mars and Juno as tutelae. Ovid in his *Fasti* connects only one Olympian with the month assigned to her as tutela — Venus with April.[162]

The Roman system which has an Olympian associated with each month as tutela or guardian appears full-blown in the first century after Christ in the so-called rustic calendars engraved on two marble cippi (small, free-standing pillars). The surviving example, the cippus Colotianus now in the National Museum in Naples (T 40 A), has three columns on each face, each headed by a zodiac sign in low relief and listing the Roman name of the month associated with the sign, the number of days, the position of the sun, the tutelary deity, and the principal festivals as well as agricultural activities. The other was engraved in four columns on each of three faces and bears essentially the same text (T 40 B). Manilius arranged the deities in the same order in his *Astronomica* written during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (T 40 C) but shifted the sign associated with each deity one place as the table on page 268 shows. He also began his list with Aries, the sign of the spring equinox, rather than with January, the first month of the Roman year.

The time span allotted to a zodiac sign and to a given month do not exactly coincide. Here the deities are assigned to one month and two successive signs of the zodiac. It follows that originally the gods were the tutelae of the months, not the zodiac signs. This agrees with the historical sequence: In Demetrias the months were named for the Olympians ca. 293 B.C. However the rise of personal astrology with the emphasis on the zodiac seems to have occurred in Alexandria in the second century B.C.[163] The source for the Roman system was Greek and may have been

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[160] Supra, 223-24. Four of the examples in Appendix 1 were found in Rome.

[161] Supra, 216.

[162] *Fasti* IV.85-90.

[163] O. Neugebauer in Neugebauer-H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* [= MemAPS 48], Philadelphia 1959, 161-62; idem, *Astronomical Papyri and Ostraca* [= ProcAPS 108],

Table of Concordance
Between the Rustic Calendars and Manilius II.433-48

Rustic Calendars (T 40 A-B)			Manilius (T 40 C)
Month	Sign	Deity	Sign
January	Capricorn	*Juno*	
February	Aquarius	*Neptune*	
March	Pisces	*Minerva*	Aries
April	Aries	*Venus*	Taurus
May	Taurus	*Apollo*	Gemini
June	Gemini	*Mercury*	Cancer
July	Cancer	*Jupiter*	Leo (shared with Mater Deum)
August	Leo	*Ceres*	Virgo
September	Virgo	*Vulcan*	Libra
October	Libra	*Mars*	Scorpio
November	Scorpio	*Diana*	Sagittarius
December	Sagittarius	*Vesta*	Capricorn
(January)		*Juno*	Aquarius
(February)		*Neptune*	Pisces

inspired by Plato's recommendation in the *Laws* (T 16 B). The name the Romans connected with Greek calendar reform was that of Eudoxos of Knidos, a Greek astronomer who was a contemporary of Plato.[164] The historical Eudoxos had a major part in the development of Greek scientific astronomy, but his extant fragments say nothing about the Olympians as guardians of the months.[165] The latter concept has nothing whatever to do with astronomy, and we do not know who invented it.[166]

Philadelphia 1964, 66; idem, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 5, 565. Cf. also M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechische Religion*^{2} II, 268-81.

[164] Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia* X.184-87 [= F. Lasserre, *Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos*, F 134].

> Fama quidem generi Pharias me duxit ad urbes,
> sed tamen et vestri: media inter proelia semper
> stellarum caelique plagis superisque vacavi
> nec meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus.

> (Julius Caesar addressing the Egyptian priest Achoreus):
> News of my son-in-law (Pompey) indeed led me to the Pharian city (Alexandria)
> But yet of you as well: In the midst of battles always
> I had leisure for the regions of the stars and sky and for the celestial gods
> Nor will my year be surpassed by the calendar of Euxodos.

[165] The texts were collected by F. Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos*, Wiesbaden 1966. Eudoxos could, of course, have served Plato as an informant on Egypt: W. Gundel-H.-G. Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 82-83.

[166] T. Mommsen began with Manilius' associations of Olympians with zodiac signs. These led to the connection of the deity with the month in which the zodiac sign rose and hence to the shift to the preceding sign which we find in the rustic calendars: *Römische*

On the Hellenistic calendar frieze later built into the façade of the Little Metropolis in Athens, [167] the Attic months are represented as male personifications standing beside the zodiac sign corresponding to the month. Only two gods appear, Artemis between Munichion and Taurus, Herakles between Metageitnion and Virgo. Both stand for festivals celebrated in these months and so are comparable to figures like the Kanephoros beside Scorpio rather than the month gods. Though the association of the Olympians with the months is attested at Demetrias, it finds no expression in Greek art.

The Egyptian month gods, who were known to the Greek through the writings of Herodotus (T 2), could have furnished a precedent but are not the direct source for the system as it appears on the rustic calendars and in Manilius. As Boll observed, only Vulcan/Hephaistos presides over the same month as his Egyptian equivalent Ptah.[168] The iconography of the Egyptian month gods is quite unrelated to the Roman. If the Romans borrowed the concept of the month gods from the Greeks, they themselves invented their representations.

Manilius placed the sign of Leo under the Mother of the Gods (Mater deum = Meter Theon) as well as Jupiter (II.441). G.P. Goold regards this as a rhetorical ornament based on the association of Cybele with the lion, but a limestone plaque from Khirbet Tannur, Jordan, does show Cybele surrounded by signs of the zodiac.[169]

Chronologie bis auf Caesar, 2nd edition, Berlin 1859, 305-307. The prior association of the gods with the months, which I advocate, is supported by the arrangement on the sides of Gabii 1. Mommsen regarded the Roman set quite correctly as of Greek origin (based on the Calendar of Eudoxos) and thought these were possibly based on a still earlier Egyptian or Chaldaean set of month gods: ibid., 307-308. Cf. E. Huschke, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage*, Breslau 1869, 142. F. Boll, *Sphaera* 472-78, followed by O. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 825-26 E 85, insisted upon the Chaldaean origin. Meanwhile A. Bouché-Leclerq had already correctly observed that the astrological concepts postdated Eudoxos: *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, 184 note 1. W. Gundel likewise refuted Boll in *Philologus* 81 (1925-26) 190 note 9.

[167] On this frieze see I. Svoronos, *Hemerologion tes megales Hellados*, Athens 1923; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 248-54, pls. 34-40; J.C. Webster, *Labors of the Months*, 5-13, no. 1; most recently E. Simon, *Monatsbilder*, JdI 80 (1965) 105-23 and *Festivals of Attica*, Madison 1983, passim, who dates it to the first century B.C. Here Chapter I, Table on p. 178.

[168] *Sphaera* 476. Cf. supra, 149-50.

[169] Goold, note on Manilius II.441 in his edition of the *Astronomica*, Cambridge, Mass.,-London 1977. Khirbet Tannur, limestone relief of Cybele/Atargatis within circle of zodiac supported by winged victory. Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. no. 1939-233, plus Amman, Jordan, private collection. H.P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, Oslo 1953, 96, fig. 68; N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins*, New York 1965, 398-434, pls. 46-48; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *zodiakos*, 628-29, no. 50; *Cincinnati Art Museum Handbook*, Cincinnati 1975, 28. The relief had been built into the wall of the temple, and Glueck dates it to the second century after Christ. At the top of the zodiac the figure of Aries is replaced by a bust of Athena/Minerva, tutelary goddess of the sign. Next

Manilius' interest in astrology was paralleled by that of the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). Tacitus refers in an obscure passage to Tiberius' twelve villas on Capri (T 63 A) and Suetonius to a villa Ionis or Iovis (T 63 B). It is doubtful that Tiberius had as many as twelve villas on Capri or named them for the Twelve Gods, but, if he had, he would surely have had the tutelae of the zodiac rather than the Di Consentes in mind.[170]

In the *Satyricon*, Petronius provided a rich freedman, Trimalchio, with a dish described as depicting the sky, the habitation of the Twelve Gods (T 40 D).[171] This contained food representative of the twelve signs of the zodiac arranged in order around a central boss which symbolized Terra Mater. There is no reason to postulate that the Twelve were included here as the tutelae of the zodiac. On the contrary Petronius seems to be attacking popular religion in which the Twelve Gods, the Di Consentes of the old Romans, had been replaced by astrological superstition.

Pompeii, South of Strada Consolare

In the eighteenth century a series of medallions with busts of gods was found painted on the walls of a room at the western edge of Pompeii. Eighteen of these have survived and are today in the National Museum in Naples (Pompeii 3, figures 82-85).[172] Presumably they all belonged to a single program, for all were painted against a yellow background. They have a common diameter of 0.22 m., identical yellow frames, and, within, a blue ground for the busts.

Among the deities, two groups can be recognized which suggest that the original subject was the passage of the year: There are the so-called

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to her is a nude male bust with the sign of Libra, and other busts replace Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius. These latter seem to me to be genii similar to those carrying the month gods on Hellín 1, not the month gods themselves.

[170] Weinreich doubted that the villas were named for the Twelve Gods: *Zwölfgötter* 809 C 68 with review of earlier scholarship. Cf. also E. Koestermann, ed., *Cornelius Tacitus Annalen* II, *Buch 4-6*, Heidelberg 1965, 199. A. Maiuri, *Capri, its History and Monuments*, Rome 1956, 31-32, doubted there were as many as twelve villas. Most recently A. Andrén, *Capri; From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age*, Göteburg 1980, 61-62, supports the hypothesis that there were twelve imperial villas named for the Olympians.

[171] Cf. most recently M.S. Smith, ed., *Petronii Arbitri Cena Trimalchionis*, Oxford 1975, especially 89. Weinreich, *Zwölfgötter* 827 E 87, thought that possibly the heads of the gods were shown as on Gabii 1, but Smith notes (p. 75) that the concept of the zodiac dish goes back to Alexis (4th-3rd century B.C.) quoted by Athenaeus II.60, where there is no reference to the Twelve Gods. Cf. also J. de Vreese, *Petron 39 und die Astrologie*, Amsterdam 1927, with the criticism by S. Eriksson, *Wochentagsgötter, Mond, und Tierkreis* [= Studia Graeca et Latina 3], Stockholm 1956, 38-84; F.K.C. Rose-J.P. Sullivan, CQ 18 (1968), 180-84.

[172] My particular thanks to Dr. Fausto Zevi, Soprintendente, and to Dr. J. Polzzi Papadopoulos for enabling me to see and photograph this series of medallions in June 1981 despite the difficulties caused by the earthquake of November 1980.

planetary gods for whom the days of the week were named, which are preserved in a continuous band in the order of the days of the week beginning with Saturn. Four medallions now separate from each other depict the four male seasons. Still another medallion shows a male bust with a veiled head. His attributes of cornucopia and fruit-filled patera, along with his toga and the characteristic Julio-Claudian bangs identify this figure as the Genius Augusti.[173]

Four of the remaining six medallions, though less well preserved, unquestionably depict Olympians and duplicate, in part, the series for the weekday gods (Pompeii 3, figures 82, 84). These are Diana with her bow and crescent; Jupiter bearded and grasping a scepter; Venus nude but for a rayed diadem in her hair; and Vulcan with pileus and hammer. Combined with the gods of the days of the week and with the seasons, the Olympians should be present as the tutelae of the months. If the system was that represented in the rustic calendars, the extant deities stand for the months of April (Venus), July (Jupiter), September (Vulcan) and November (Diana). The busts of Olympians are all separate, as are the months they represent in the course of the year.

Among these busts, the rayed diadem worn by Venus suggests an astral deity whereas the Venus included with the seven weekday gods (figure 85) is the draped type with Cupid shown among the Twelve Gods in the Pompeii compitum (Pompeii 1). Here I suspect the painter has confused his types for Venus, placing the planetary goddess among the tutelae of the months and her Olympian counterpart among the weekday gods.

It is interesting that the month gods are associated with the Genius Augusti, who appeared below the Twelve Gods on the Pompeii compitum (Pompeii 1). The cornucopia and patera held by the Genius Augusti are symbols of agricultural productivity and thus tie in with the passage of the year.

Of the two remaining extant busts, one is taken to personify August, the other Bacchus, wreathed with vines and provided with a beribboned thyrsus (figure 83). G.M.A. Hanfmann has discussed the association of Bacchus with the seasons.[174] It is also possible that Bacchus was included as the patron of October, as he is in a set of month gods on the mosaic of Monnus at Trier (Augusta Trevorum/Trier 1).

Dating as they must before the destruction of Pompeii in A.D. 79, these medallions are our earliest extant representations of the month gods. Presumably the set was the Olympians as in the rustic calendars, but it might have included Bacchus.

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[173] Compare the Genius Augusti in the Compitum of the Via dell' Abbondanza, figure 80, and those illustrated by W. Fuchs, *EAA* sv. *Genio*.

[174] G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, 82, 109, 112-13, 137, 257-58. Hanfmann does not mention the Bacchus in the Pompeii set of medallions.

Ara Borghese

Rome 8 (figures 96-98) was presumably in Rome and quite well preserved when S. Pighius drew it in the mid-sixteenth century.[175] Subsequently an incompetent restorer performed a sex transformation on Apollo and Hephaistos. Though dubbed an altar, it was actually a candelabrum base. Each of its three faces is divided into two registers with two pairs of Olympians above and three draped females below representing the Graces (Charites), the Seasons (Horai) and the Fates (Moirai).

On Face A the elder Olympians are grouped, Zeus (thunderbolt) and Hera (long scepter, hand drawing aside veil) with Poseidon (trident) and Demeter (wheat in left hand) above the Charites or Graces (figure 96). Face B (figure 97) shows Apollo (citharode costume, cithara in drawing), Artemis (bow), Hephaistos (tongs), and Athena (aegis in drawing, spear shaft) with the Horai or Seasons below. Finally Ares (muscle cuirass, round shield, spear), Aphrodite (dove), Hermes (winged heels, kerykeion, chlamys), and Hestia (by elimination) occupy the third face (figure 98) above the Moirai or Fates.

The pairing of the deities differs from that established by Livy for the Lectisternium. C. Petersen early recognized that the system used agreed with that of the month gods where, as Arnobius Afer implied (T 33 B), the tutela of the rising zodiac constellation is matched with that of the setting one.[176] The same pairing occurs on the top of Gabii 1, the sides of which bear the attributes of the twelve Olympians arranged in the order of the months and juxtaposed with the signs of the zodiac. Consequently the Olympians on the Ara Borghese represent the month gods. Of the triads below, the Horai are obvious companions for the tutelae of the months. The Charites or Graces also promote growth and flowering while the Moirai preside over the birth, life and death of man, which can be compared to the passage of the year.

Several other candelabrum bases have a single major deity on each face.[177] For the most part, it is impossible to postulate any connection with the twelve Olympians as a group. Rome 9, however, shows three Olympians riding on signs of the zodiac and must be connected with the month gods. Tibur/Tivoli 2 is a pair of candelabrum bases, one with Jupiter, Juno, and Mercury, the other with Mars, Venus and Minerva, which might have belonged to a set of four representing the twelve Olympians.[178]

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[175] Folios 292 a-b, 293; O. Jahn, BerLeipzig 20 (1868), 198-200, pl. V, 1-3.

[176] *Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen und Römer* II, 22, cited by O. Jahn, BerLeipzig 20 (1868) 199.

[177] Candelabrum bases with sets of gods: Rome 9; Tibur/Tivoli 2. Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. no. 883: D. Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, 48-49, no. 2, pl. 33: Zeus, Herakles, Hebe or Spes. Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. no. 2132: Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, no. 1697: Three deities with spears, the best preserved being Diana. Rome, Lateran Museum, inv.

Conclusions

According to Roman authors, both the Etruscans and the Samnites recognized the Twelve Gods. Originally the Etruscan set may have resembled the Hittite but in later times it would have been much like the Greek. The Samnite cult may have been Greek in origin and the one representation, the Mother Goddess of Curti, reflects the Greek concept of the Mother of the (Twelve) Gods.

Though sets of twelve agrarian deities were not unknown to the Romans, the official Di Consentes, who bear the names of the twelve Olympians, appeared in Rome in 217 B.C. in response to a military disaster which threatened the safety and future of the city. The Romans introduced the Greek Twelve, most probably from south Italy, where Apulian vases show the Twelve as protectors of Hellas in battles with barbarians. The Roman cult resembled the Greek in being an official municipal establishment, connected with the marketplace (the Forum) and related to the welfare of the city. The Greek gods were equated with major Roman divinities, and the cult with its emphasis on civic responsibility was readily assimilated.

The Romans honored the Di Consentes with lectisternia, a rite which may also have been Greek in origin but was not connected with the cult of the Twelve Gods. Some twenty years later the Magnesians instituted a similar rite, possibly in imitation of the Roman one and in the hope of gaining Roman favor. In the earlier lectisternia the gods may have been represented by their heads alone, as they are shown later on Gabii 1. Later they may have been represented by statues and/or attributes.

Though Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the Twelve Gods in describing the pompa circensis, other evidence suggests that the Twelve were not carried as a group. There is no reason to suppose that Julius Caesar was emulating Philip II of Macedon and/or claiming the rank of

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no. 9967: Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, no. 1068: Poseidon, Hades, Persephone or Amphitrite. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 867: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, no. 283: Zeus, Artemis(?), Hera(?).

I regret that despite repeated attempts I have been unable to reach H.-U. Cain or locate his dissertation, *Römische Marmorkandelaber*, cited in AA (1981), 143.

[178] For Rome 9 and Tibur/Tivoli 2 see Chapter IV, 296-98, 282.

Thirteenth God when his ivory portrait was included in the pompa of 45 B.C. Among the later Hellenistic rulers, only Eumenes II of Pergamon is known to have been honored (posthumously) as the equal of the Twelve Gods.

By the time of Augustus, gilded bronze statues of the Di Consentes stood in the Forum. Their later proximity to the public treasury and record office reveals their function as patrons of good government.

Two Neo-Attic representations from the Republican period showed the Twelve as a circle of gods. Neither is complete today, but the missing figures of Rome 4 are known from Renaissance drawings.

None of the earlier emperors seems to have associated himself directly with the Twelve Gods. The Portico of the Di Consentes was built next to the Temple of the Deified Vespasian, but the two did not communicate. In Pompeii 1, the Genius of the emperor was painted below the row of the Twelve Gods, indicating that the ruler acted as their agent, not their equal. In the Greek half of the empire, however, the twelve Olympians seem to have been carved on a base which supported portraits of Augustus and his grandsons, and in Athens the imperial cult was introduced in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which already contained a painting or paintings of the Twelve Gods.

Among the representations of the first century after Christ, the Dodekatheon cylinder from Ostia is particularly interesting as the only monument which shows the twelve Olympians and calls them the Twelve Gods. Its place of discovery may link the Twelve with the cult of the Magna Mater.

In the literary sources the Twelve Gods are the twelve Olympians. However, the two sets depicted in compita at Pompeii show that the choice, order, and pairing of the gods included among the Twelve could vary according to the wishes of the patron and/or the artist. Whether painted or carved, the gods in the various representations were drawn from different sources. There was no set prototype. The gods may appear as a row of statuesque figures or walking in a procession. Usually they served a decorative function. Only those in the compita of Pompeii may be considered objects of worship.

The months were named for the twelve Olympians in Demetrias as early as 293 B.C., but the exposition of the complete system relating the Olympians to the months and the zodiac belongs to the first century after Christ. Among the wall paintings of Pompeii we have found what may be the earliest extant representation of the Olympians as month gods. The twelve Olympians on the Ara Borghese may also be regarded as month gods because of their pairing and their association with the Horai or Seasons.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ZENITH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Traditional Cult of the Twelve Gods

By the second century after Christ, the Twelve Gods in the guise of the twelve Olympians were a long-established order, recognized by all who shared the Greek and Roman cultural heritage, almost a cliché. Two texts and two representations may serve as illustrations. The Latin author is Apuleius, a native of north Africa, the Greek Lucian from Samosata on the Euphrates, who lived for some time in Athens.

In his popular declamation, *De Deo Socratis*, Apuleius undertook to distinguish the Olympians from the visible (astral) deities (T 41 A). For him the Olympians are the old, familiar gods, recognized by the intellect (as opposed to the senses) through their devotion to those matters entrusted to them as individuals. Apuleius borrows from Ennius, the earliest Roman poet, a distich which gives their names. Lucian too is looking back to the remote classical past in his *Deorum Concilium* (T 41 C). The Olympians are the old, genuine gods, whose realm has been overwhelmed by a flood of new divine immigrants. They must authorize which of these newcomers may be accepted. To do so, they establish a committee, and this is done in the form of an Attic decree — the action which the Athenian assembly took back in the days when Athens was one of the chief Greek city-states.

A Hadrianic base in the Capitoline Museum (Rome 5, frontispiece) shows the Olympians clustered about their sovereign, Zeus, who sits enthroned in the heavens (represented by the ledge of clouds below). The orb of the universe nestles within the legs of Zeus' throne. Ten of the remaining Olympians are well preserved, and the nose and chin of Ares survive next to the break in the upper left corner.[1] Here the gods dwarf the universe. They are all powerful, but they are turned in upon themselves, remote. There is no interaction between the Olympians and the viewer, no hint of a personal tie between god and man such as the contemporary oriental cults offered. Though the gods appear to be living beings, the types used for them are based on the Severe style of the early classical period. This gives them added dignity and the aura of antiquity, but again it detracts from their vitality, their immediacy to the viewer.

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[1] My warm thanks to Dr. E. La Rocca, Ispettore, for permitting me to examine and photograph this base in June 1981, when I confirmed the presence of Ares in the top row.

In another instance, the covered altar which stood in front of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (Rome 6, figures 92-94), the sculptor's effort to breathe new life into the Olympians was disastrous. Of the six extant deities, an archaistic Hermes/Mercury pulls along a willing Aphrodite/Venus velificata. On the end two more sedate archaistic deities march along. Poseidon/Neptune with his dolphin followed by a goddess who raises her peplos by her shoulder, the gesture associated with Hera. Finally Hephaistos/Vulcan hotly pursues Athena/Minerva, grabbing her skirt, while the goddess in her haste to escape nearly loses her swallowtail scarf. The dignified procession of the Twelve Gods represented by the Cleveland cylinder (Unknown Provenience 3) and the Albani puteal (Tibur/Tivoli 1) has degenerated into a scramble reminiscent of a bacchic revel.

Greece

In Athens, the cult of the Twelve Gods which centered on the altar in the marketplace presumably continued. An inscription in the Theater of Dionysos (T 16 I), which is dated to the second century after Christ, reserves a seat for the priest of the Twelve Gods. When he visited Athens in the middle of the century, Pausanias saw Euphranor's painting(s) of the Twelve Gods on view in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (T 15 A), but he says nothing about their altar.

Elsewhere in his travels, Pausanias observed the statues of the Twelve Gods attributed to Praxiteles in the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira at Megara (T 20). The sanctuary of the Twelve at Thelpousa he found in ruins (T 12), and he did not recognize the four double altars which he mentioned in Olympia (T 13 F) as being the remains of the altars of the Twelve Gods supposedly founded by Herakles. There is no evidence of new altars being founded to the Twelve Gods or new dedications. The cult seems moribund.

Asia Minor

In Magnesia on the Maeander and Elaia/Pergamon, we earlier found references to priests called stephanephoroi, who were connected with the cult of the Twelve Gods (T 7, 9).[2] From the second and third centuries after Christ, there are a number of portraits of stephanephoroi, identified by the crowns they wear, which support anywhere from one to fifteen miniature busts.[3] Most of these represent priests of the imperial cult, not that of the Twelve Gods.[4] G.M.A. Hanfmann recently proposed that the portrait of Flavius Damianus, a noted sophist as well as priest of the imperial cult in the time of Septimius Severus, bore a crown showing the emperor in the midst of the Twelve Gods, but this is denied by J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum.[5] Damianus' crown has at least two miniature busts wearing the paludamentum or imperial cloak and none that can be surely identified as a deity. Among the portraits of stephanephoroi of the second or early third centuries, there is only one which might possibly represent a priest of the Twelve Gods. This is a portrait head from Ephesos (Ephesos 2, figs. 40-41), dated to the reign of Hadrian, which has exactly twelve busts.[6] There were not twelve imperial divi (deified emperors) at this time, but among the busts I can detect none that is certainly a god.

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[2] Supra, 108, 110.

An inscription copied in Metropolis near Ephesos early in the nineteenth century listed one Nereus son of Nereus as priest of the Twelve Gods along with a priestess and deacons (T 46). A majority of those named belong to a single family. Metropolis was named for a mother goddess, Meter Galessia, who was worshipped in a nearby cave,[7] but it is not known whether the Twelve were directly associated with her as elsewhere with the Meter Theon/Kybele.

A grave stele dated A.D. 108/109 from Saitta(e) in Lydia (T 47 A) invokes Men Axiottenos as one of the Twelve to protect the burial. Men was a Phrygian god, widely worshipped in Asia Minor, connected with the moon as well as tombs. A second stele, slightly earlier than the other, looks to the "Twelve Scepters" for protection (T 47 B). It would appear that at Saitta(e) a set of Twelve Gods was recognized which included at least one Anatolian god and which guarded burials. The latter association recalls the cult of the Charmyleion on Kos (T 29 D).

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[3] J. Inan-E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, 124-25, note 2; eaedem, *Römisch und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei, Neue Funde*, Mainz 1979, 38-47.

[4] Ibid.

[5] G.M.A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine; the Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times*, Ann Arbor 1975, 71, figs. 149-50, interpreting the crown as representing the emperor in the midst of the Twelve Gods; contra, Inan-Rosenbaum, *Römisch und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik*, 41, interpreting all the heads as divi. On Flavius Damianus himself see G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, 27-28.

[6] According to Inan-Rosenbaum, *Römisch und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik*, 41, the heads are all male. Another head with twelve busts is dated to the third century and comes from Kadoi (Kütahya): Inan-Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, no. 143; *Römisch und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik*, 41. Cf. also the late head of a priest from Sardis (Sardis 1).

[7] R. Meriç, *Metropolis in Ionien* [= Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 142], Königstein/TS 1982, 2, 38-40. Meriç mentions the Twelve Gods on p. 19 but does not date the inscription more closely than Roman Imperial.

After a disastrous earthquake in A.D. 123, Hadrian provided generously for the rebuilding of Kyzikos (T 45 B). The grateful citizens rededicated a gigantic temple they had begun in honor of Zeus Olympios to their imperial benefactor, calling him the Thirteenth God (T 45 A = Kyzikos 1). In late antiquity this temple, which was much admired, was included among the Seven Wonders of the World.[8] In the sixth century, John Malalas wrote that the pediment contained a marble bust inscribed "of the god Hadrian."[9] Cyriacus of Ancona, who found the building still in good condition in 1431, mentions a splendid image of Jupiter and other gods in the pediment, and a drawing shows a pediment with a central medallion.[10] Possibly, as Reinach proposed,[11] a bust of Hadrian occupied the central medallion with images of the Twelve Gods on either side. If so, the pediment of the Hadrianeion at Kyzikos would have been the earliest known representation of an emperor in the midst of the Twelve Gods. Unfortunately the pediment no longer survives.[12]

On the grandiose altar erected at Ephesos to commemorate the Parthian Wars, the frieze beside the steps shows the (deceased) emperor Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169) seated in an assembly of gods.[13] In his reconstruction, W. Oberleitner regards the subject as the apotheosis of Lucius Verus.[14] There would have been six slabs, of which the five extant seem to have contained three figures each. Hence there would have been eighteen figures in all. The deities certainly included some Olympians, Athena, Poseidon, and Aphrodite, but others seem to have been non-Olympians like Rhea/Cybele and Dionysos. The evidence is too fragmentary to determine whether the assembly constituted the Twelve Gods.

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[8] It is included in two versions of the Seven Wonders of the World ascribed to Philo of Byzantium: *Libellos de Septem Orbis Spectaculis* ed. D.S. Boessius-L. Allatius-J.C. Orellius, Leipzig 1816, 144 lines 22-23; 146. Cf. also *Anthologia Palatina* IX.656.15-16 [= *The Greek Anthology* translated by W.R. Paton, III, London-New York 1917, 364]. On Hadrian as the Thirteenth God see O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 8; *Zwölfgötter* 793 B 47.

[9] *Römische Kaisergeschichte* ed. A. Schenk, Stuttgart 1931, XI.279 lines 9-11 with commentary by Schenk pp. 299-300; idem, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 97, 421 lines 8-20.

[10] *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444-1445* ed. E.W. Bodnar-C. Mitchell [= MemAPS 112], Philadelphia 1976, 219-57, 302-36. See also B. Ashmole, JWarb 19 (1956) 179-91, especially 184-85, pl. 35 c.

[11] T. Reinach, BCH 14 (1890) 517-45, especially 527-29. See also B. Ashmole, JWarb 19 (1956) 184-85; M.J. Price-B.L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities; Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine*, London-Detroit 1977, 109-16.

[12] For the actual remains see the sources cited in notes 8-10 plus F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus; Being some Account of the History and Antiquities of that City ...*, Cambridge 1910, 10-15.

[13] W. Oberleitner in Oberleitner-Geschwantler-Bernhard-Walcher-Bammer, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake*, 75-77, especially 76.

[14] Ibid..

Italy

There are few signs of activity connected with the official cult of the Twelve Gods in Rome during the period under consideration. The gilded statues of the Di Consentes no doubt continued to stand in their portico at the base of the Capitoline Hill. The last known celebration of the lectisternium occurred in A.D. 166 (T 34 E). It was one of several emergency measures taken to restore public confidence before Marcus Aurelius set off on his campaign against the Marcomanni. The gods honored are not named, but the threat of barbarian invasion recalls the circumstances which evoked the first lectisternium, and the gods may well have been the Di Consentes.

Twice the Arval Brethren sacrificing to the gods on behalf of the emperor invoked precisely twelve deities, in A.D. 101 before Trajan set out on his Dacian campaigns and in A.D. 213 before Caracalla invaded Germany (T 55 A-B). In neither case is the list synonymous with the Di Consentes, and, because these are only two out of some ninety such recorded occasions,[15] the number does not seem significant. The gods invoked are those whose good will was needed to insure victory.

When we examine official art, apart from the altar of Antoninus and Faustina (Rome 6), which we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, we find little evidence of the Twelve Gods or the Di Consentes. C.C. Vermeule III postulated that they might have been depicted on an interior frieze of the Basilica Ulpia in the Forum of Trajan.[16] The evidence consists of the single head of a goddess in high relief, too weak a foundation for such a hypothesis.

On the arch which the Roman Senate erected at Beneventum to honor Trajan,[17] the attic panels show on the left an assembly of gods and on the right the emperor. On the Beneventum side Jupiter Optimus Maximus accompanied by six other major gods proffers his thunderbolt as a sign of authority to Trajan. Here the function is that of the Di Consentes, but the gods include two non-Olympians, Hercules and Bacchus. On the opposite face, two of the four extant gods are non-Olympians, Bacchus again and Silvanus. Neither the number nor the roster justifies our calling them the Di Consentes.

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[15] *CIL* VI.1, nos. 2023-2114.

[16] *A Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities in Sir John Soane's Museum*, London 1953, 309-11, nos. 288-89, inventory numbers 1174-75 M.; AJA 63 (1959) 331, pl. 82, fig. 34; *Sculpture in Stone*, Boston 1976, 184; *Roman Art, Early Republic to Late Empire*, 60. A photocopy of the *Catalogue* with additions and revisions dated 1973 is available for consultation in the library of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. According to Vermeule (personal communication, November 1979), the basic idea was Enrico Paribeni's. C.F. Leon does not include it in his study of the Forum of Trajan: *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums und ihre Stellung in der früh- und mittelkaiserlichen Architekturdekoration Roms*, Vienna-Cologne 1971. I am most grateful to Dr. Vermeule for his help in locating the material and regret that I remain unconvinced.

[17] P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century*, Copenhagen 1945, 63-75, pls. 5-7; F.J. Hassel, *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent; ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates*, Mainz 1966; K. Fittschen, AA (1972) 742-88, especially 759-66, 773-82; M. Rotili, *L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Rome 1972.

Hadrian's Pantheon contained statues of gods, among them Venus and Mars.[18] Here the number of niches (seven) and Dio Cassius' comparison of the vault to the dome of heaven[19] suggest that Venus and Mars may have been present as planetary gods rather than as members of the Di Consentes.

There are two fragmentary architectural reliefs, one from the Colosseum area in Rome, the other from Ostia, which may have represented the Twelve Gods. The first of these (Rome 7, figure 95) is associated with fragments from a gigantomachy and may have come from the frieze of a temple which had on its façade an assembly of gods like the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens. The extant figures are a winged Diana striding left,[20] a draped and veiled goddess who should be either Juno or Vesta, and the leg of Vulcan striding left with a hammer in his lowered right hand. Between the second goddess and Vulcan is the trunk of a tree, and part of a laurel tree at the edge of the block beyond Diana suggests Apollo may have appeared on the next block to the left. There was evidently a row of Olympians of statuesque types, probably arranged in pairs separated by trees, and it seems possible that originally all twelve were present.[21]

In 1970, a block from a small frieze was found in Ostia reused as a drain cover near the Byzantine baths (Ostia 2, figure 74).[22] The left edge was cut back to fit against a column shaft; the right has a hole for fastening it to another block. It seems reasonable to conclude that the frieze consisted of pairs of blocks set between columns. A second block found in the Forum Baths and showing the Birth of Dionysos may have belonged to the same frieze, which might, therefore, have adorned a monument in the area of the Forum.[23]

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[18] Dio Cassius LIII.27.2, translated by W.L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon; Design, Meaning, and Progeny*, Cambridge, Mass., 1976, 76.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, Rome 1938, 63, suggested that the figure was Iris, but she is clearly carrying a bow. In Greek art, Artemis as Potnia Theron may have wings. I regret that due to my own poor scheduling I missed seeing this relief when in Rome.

[21] Other reliefs with deities on either side of a tree: Rome, Museo Chiaramonti in Vatican, inv. no. 1315: Base with Diana and Apollo flanking laurel shrub. E. Simon in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, 244, no. 314 with bibliography. Tivoli, Museum of Villa of Hadrian, inv. no. 713. Fragment of relief from cryptoporticus with procession of Mercury and Venus: H. von Steuben in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, 172, no. 321 with bibliography.

[22] I am most grateful to Dr. John Pollini of the Johns Hopkins University for bringing this relief to my attention and supplying bibliography and photographs and to Dr. V. Santa Maria Scrinari for enabling me to examine the relief and photograph it in June 1981.

Six gods are carved on the surviving block, widely spaced and marked off from the background by an outline groove. The wildly fluttering garments and deep drilling of the hair of Bacchus suggest a date in the Antonine period.[24]

The row of gods is closed off at the left end by the olive tree of Athena; at the right, Bacchus turns toward the edge as if paired with a figure on the adjacent block, which is now missing. It seems very probable that the row continued and there may have been twelve gods in all, with Dionysos in the center. The six gods who remain are Athena, Hephaistos with exomis and tongs, Poseidon with trident and dolphin, Ares in a cuirass and holding spear and shield, Aphrodite with her scarf billowing behind her head like Venus velificata, and Dionysos leaning on a three-sided post with a kantharos dangling from his left hand. The inclusion of Dionysos suggests the Attic Twelve were present here, and there are other peculiarly Attic features such as the olive tree and the snake between Athena and Hephaistos, which could be Athena's sacred snake. Since the other extant block from the frieze shows the birth of Dionysos and Dionysos here occupies a central position, it may be that the structure for which the frieze was intended was connected with the cult of the god of wine rather than that of the Twelve Gods.

Decorative Art

In addition to reliefs such as we have been describing where the presence of the Twelve Gods might have some significance, there are some pieces on which the gods seem to be purely decorative.

The archaistic Albani puteal now in the Capitoline Museum (Tibur/Tivoli 1, figures 109-114) depicts the Twelve Gods walking in procession. The theme also occurs on the Baltimore relief (Unknown Provenience 1, figure 124), the Cleveland cylinder (Unknown Provenience 3, figure 127), the Wellesley relief (Unknown Provenience 5, figure 128), the Augustan Base from Ephesos (Ephesos 1, figures 38-39), and a relief with three deities now in Copenhagen (Tusculum 1, figure 121). Except for Herakles, who here replaces Demeter, the gods are the Olympians: Aphrodite, Ares, Artemis, Apollo, Herakles, Athena (the mirror image of the Athena on the Cleveland cylinder), Hera (similar to the veiled goddess on Ephesos 1 and Tusculum 1) and Zeus meeting Hephaistos, Poseidon, Hermes and Hestia (by elimination). The rope marks on the hollow interior indicate that the Albani puteal was at some time actually used as a wellcurb.[25]

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[23] Published by G. Becatti, BdA 36 (1951), 1-14.

[24] Among the Twelve-Gods reliefs, the closest for the spacing of the figures and the use of statuesque types (but not for style) is Athens 5. Another relief with widely spaced, statuesque deities was found in Cyrene: E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene; statue e rilievi di carattere religioso* [= Monografia di archeologia libica 5], Rome 1959, 42-43, no. 65, pl. 57; here Appendix 2. In my dissertation I included this among possible representations of the Twelve Gods but have since decided that the fourth figure from the left, who may be Kyrene, is in the center and hence that there were but seven deities. My very cordial thanks to R.A. Gwaider, Director of Museums, Shahat, Libya, for supplying photographs and to Dr. D. White, University of Pennsylvania, for information on this relief.

R. Lanciani conjectured that the puteal, which has been known since the sixteenth century, was found in the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli.[26] In 1630, two candelabrum bases were discovered there, the Barberini candelabra, which have an Olympian on each face (Tibur/Tivoli 2, figures 115-20). M. Bieber observed that, although the candelabrum shafts do not match, the bases form a pair designed by a single artist and suggested that they were intended to be part of a set of four with the twelve Olympians.[27] The extant bases have Zeus with Hera and Hermes and Ares with Aphrodite and Athena. Zeus and Ares appear as living beings, one seen from the front, the other from the back. The other gods stand on pedestals like statues. Two other candelabrum bases, Rome 8 and 9, have all twelve and three Olympians respectively, but their designs are quite unrelated to those of the Barberini candelabra.

O. Weinreich himself doubted that the Ara Albani depicted the Twelve Gods.[28] This Neo-Attic base, which W. Fuchs assigns to the late Hadrianic or Antonine era,[29] had a procession of ten or more deities with three on the preserved end and at least four on the adjacent side (figures 149-51). These known numbers do not readily combine to form a complete set of exactly twelve gods, and it is better to regard the subject as a procession of gods (number not specified). The gods are certainly not the twelve Olympians because they include Dionysos/Bacchus and Leto/Latona.

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[25] R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* II, 116; H. Stuart-Jones, ed., *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 108; W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, 97-98, no. 1244.

[26] Lanciani, supra note 25, suggested that Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-55, Pope Marcellus II) brought it from the Villa of Hadrian to adorn the gardens of Cardinal Medici by the Villa Giulia outside the Porta Flaminia. There is a drawing of it in the mid-sixteenth century Codex Pighianus (f. 294 = Jahn 102). In the early eighteenth century Duke Cosimo III Medici presented it to Cardinal Albani and from him it came into the Capitoline Museum in 1728 (Lanciani) or 1733 (Stuart-Jones).

[27] *Ancient Copies* 213. Cf. also W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, 109 on the theory that there may originally have been four.

[28] *Zwölfgötter* 800 B 57. Rome, Villa Albani, Coffee House, inv. no. 685. W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} IV, 332, no. 3356 with bibliography.

[29] Reference supra, note 28.

Association with the Emperor

Earlier in this chapter we discussed the dedication of a temple by the people of Kyzikos to Hadrian as the Thirteenth God.[30] This was a local expression of gratitude in response to Hadrian's aid to the city after an earthquake and is, so far as we know, unique.

However a Christian writer, St. John Chrysostom, accused the Roman Senate of having voted Alexander the rank of Thirteenth God (T 42 A).[31] In this context the mind first hits upon Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235) as the honoree. According to the *Historia Augusta* (T 42 B), the Senate did deify Alexander Severus, and this is confirmed by the title of *divus* given him posthumously in inscriptions as well as by his inclusion in the "Consecration" issue of coins attributed to Decius.[32] Recently J. Straub observed that, for the purposes of a Christian polemicist, Alexander of Macedon furnished a better contrast to Christ than did his ineffectual namesake.[33] We have already discussed Alexander the Great as the Thirteenth God.[34] It seems quite probable that St. John Chrysostom conflated the tradition about the world conqueror whose death proved his mortality (T 25) with the Roman Senatorial practice of deifying emperors posthumously. The confusion is the more understandable because Alexander Severus in the *Calendar of 354* is called simply Divus Alexander.[35] The Roman Senate named no other emperor the Thirteenth God, nor is there any other evidence that Alexander Severus was called the Thirteenth God anywhere at any time. Shortly before St. John Chrysostom's own lifetime, however, Constantine the Great made a tomb for himself in the Church of the Holy Apostles where his sarcophagus was surrounded by memorials of the twelve apostles (T 56). This sounds very like a Christianization of the cult of the ruler as Thirteenth God and may account in part for a Christian writer's bringing up the subject.[36] We shall consider Constantine's burial further in Chapter V.

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[30] Supra, 278.

[31] Cf. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 12; idem, *Zwölfgötter*, 846 N 112 with earlier bibliography.

[32] T.B. Barnes in Antiquitas, 4. Reihe, Beiträge zur *Historia Augusta* Forschung [= Bonner *Historia Augusta* Colloquium 1968/1969], Bonn 1970, 38 citing H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, no. 1315; R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* III, no. 1033; H. Mattingly, *Roman Imperial Coinage* IV, 3, 132 nos. 97*, 98*.

[33] *Divus Alexander - Divus Christus*, in *Regeneratio Imperii*, Darmstadt 1972, 178-93.

[34] Supra, 188-89, 214-16.

[35] *CIL* I^2, p. 255.

[36] Of the four Christian writers I cite, only Clement of Alexandria (T 25 B), lived before the time of Constantine. Eusebius (T 56 A) was a contemporary; St. John Chrysostom (T 42 A) and Socrates Scholasticus (T 45) later.

Association with Cybele

The goddess Kybele/Cybele may be one of the Twelve as on Lebadeia 1 and on Marbach 1, to which we shall return shortly, or she may be superior to them in the guise of the Mother of the Gods as on the naiskos in the Cairo Museum (Unknown Provenience 2) or the Samnite statuette (Curti 1).

A gold diadem from the Nablus region (Neapolis/Nablus 1, figures 65-66) has Cybele in the center, flanked by an assembly of gods.[37] The diadem is triangular in form, with a gold loop soldered to each end, through which a ribbon could have been threaded to hold it in place on the head. Other gold diadems with embossed deities are known, including one with the Twelve flanking Helios/Sol Invictus (Laodikeia 1), which we shall discuss in Chapter V.[38] These all differ from the crowns worn by the stephanephoroi or priests of the imperial cult, which we considered earlier, in that the gods appear as whole figures, not busts, and are identified by attributes. The Nablus diadem may be a piece of cult paraphernalia, worn by a priest of Cybele/Astarte: According to Diodorus Siculus, a priest of Kybele who came from Pessinus in Asia Minor to address the Roman Senate in the time of Pompey wore a gold diadem.[39]

Because of the shape of the diadem, Cybele and her attendants, Hermes Kadmilos and Hekate, are larger than the rest of the gods, and this, together with her central position, indicates that she is to be taken as the chief deity. Cybele appears in the guise of the native goddess Astarte, naked, with rampant lions resting their forepaws on her thighs. The other figures, including Hermes Kadmilos and Hekate, are drawn from the Greco-Roman repertory. At each end of the diadem is a radiate head of Helios, which recalls the head of Helios on the apex of the naiskos of Kybele in Cairo (figure 126). Between the central triad and Helios there were originally six gods on each side, one of whom is now missing. There remain on the left: Marsyas seated cross-legged and playing double pipes; an enthroned deity; a standing deity with a staff, possibly Hephaistos wearing the exomis; a deity seated upon a rock; (missing figure, presumably standing); and Zeus enthroned, holding his scepter, with his eagle on his extended right hand. On the right there are Hera enthroned and touching her veil; Apollo with his kithara; Athena with spear and round shield; Poseidon seated on a rock with a dolphin on his extended left arm; Artemis standing and drawing an arrow from her quiver, plus a sixth deity who cannot readily be made out because of damage to the relief. Half of group are certainly Olympians, and the number suggests a set of the Twelve Gods.

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[37] My warm thanks to Professor R.J.Z. Werblowsky of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for help in locating this diadem and to Dr. Uri Avida and the staff of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem for providing photographs. It was acquired by the collector Rudolf Jonas in Jerusalem in 1940.

[38] Laodikeia 1: infra, 320-22. Other diadems with embossed deities: Naukratis: British Museum. W.F. Petrie, *Naukratis Part I, 1884-5* [= Egyptian Exploration Fund, Memoirs 3], London 1886, 43-44, pl. XXVII center; D.E. Strong-D. Brown, *Roman Crafts*, London 1976, fig. 56. Egyptian deities with radiate Helios at end. P.F. Arias, AntK 2 (1959), 16-20, pl. 12. Diadems with Hellenic deities but not the group of the Twelve. H. Hoffmann-P.F. Davidson, *Greek Gold from the Age of Alexander*, Boston ca. 1966, 67-68. Dionysos and Ariadne.

[39] Diodorus Siculus XXXVI.13.

The inclusion of Marsyas is unique, but he was connected with the mother goddess in Kelainai, Phrygia, where he was said to have defended the town from the Celtic invaders.[40] He is presumably to be equated with the small male holding double pipes who stands beside the mother goddess in a Phrygian triad from a cult niche by the southeast gate of Büyükkale.[41] His crossed legs suggest a connection with the Greek god Pan, who was represented along with Kybele on Lebadeia 1. The Phrygian Marsyas, then, is a suitable companion for Cybele, and his protection of Kelainai from barbarian attack recalls the function of the Twelve Gods as guardians of the city state.

The Nablus diadem belongs to the native cult of Astarte/Cybele. Yet the local goddess has been brought into association with the Greek Twelve, and the cult thereby Hellenized.

The Northern and Western Provinces

The Twelve Gods did not become an intrinsic part of the native religion in these areas as they had in Rome. They are present as the gods of Roman officials and the Roman army. Native gods may assume their appearance, but the resemblance is superficial.

The Roman Presence

In the nineteenth century twelve marble medallions with busts of gods were uncovered in a great villa at Chiragan near Toulouse, France.[42]

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[40] Pausanias X.30.9. Cf. also Xenophon, *Anabasis* I.2.8 (river named for Marsyas); M. Torelli, *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Relief* [= Jerome Lectures Fourteenth Series], Ann Arbor 1982, 104.

[41] K. Bittel, *Phrygisches Kultbild aus Bogazköy*, AntP 2, 1 (1963); idem, *Hattusha, The Capital of the Hittites*, New York 1970, 150-52, pl. 29.

[42] The basic publication of the villa is L. Joulin, *Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes* [= Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Mémoires presentés par divers Savants, Ser. 1, Sujets divers d'érudition 11], Paris 1901, 219-511. Cf. more recently, P. MacKendrick, *Roman France*, London-New York 1972, 131-34, fig. 53; A.G. MacKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*, Ithaca 1975, 166-68, fig. 56.

The mansion is one of the largest ever excavated in France. It was built in the time of Augustus, enlarged under Trajan, further embellished in the later part of the second century, and continued in use until it was destroyed by the Vandals in A.D. 408.[43] A series of imperial portraits from Augustus to Septimius Severus found in the villa suggests that it may have been an official residence.

The medallions belong to the late second century (Chiragan 1, figures 35-36). Though their diameters vary from 0.74 to 0.90 m., L. Joulin, who published the villa, observed that all were carved from the same Pyrenaean marble and were the products of a single workshop.[44] He concluded that they formed a group, together with fragments of reliefs depicting the Labors of Hercules, which were found with them. Joulin postulated that one medallion was displayed above each Labor, hence that there were originally precisely twelve deities.[45] Like the Roman Di Consentes, the set consists of six gods and six goddesses, but along with Olympians such as Juno, Vulcan, Minerva, and Venus(?) can be recognized Cybele, Attis or Mithras, Hercules, Aesculapius, and Hygieia. The Twelve seem to have admitted to their ranks newer Hellenic and even oriental deities (cf. Lucian, T 41 C).[46]

R. Winkes included a number of medallions with busts of gods in his study of Roman tondi.[47] There is no other complete set of twelve. However the context suggests that the Olympians on the painted medallions from Pompeii (Pompeii 3) belonged to one representing the tutelaries of the months. A set of eight carved medallions with busts of gods in the Museum of Aquileia, from the number of extant deities, might have come from a set of twelve adorning some public building in that area.[48] Unfortunately, since the total number of divinities is not known, they could be merely a group of suitable gods like the ones on the Arch of Beneventum.

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[43] Joulin, supra note 42, 402-405, followed by MacKendrick and MacKay.

[44] Joulin, supra note 42, 307-308.

[45] Ibid.

[46] In his publication, supra note 42, 304, L. Joulin compared the medallions to the "Altar of the Twelve Great Gods of Stabiae." I have been unable to locate any such monument in Stabiae and think he must have meant the "Altar of Gabii" (Gabii 1), which he would have seen in the Louvre.

[47] *Clipeata Imago; Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform*, Bonn 1969, 52-53, 207 (Rimini 1); 77-80; 133-34 (Aquileia 1), 145-48 (Boston 2 and 3); 178-79 (Lecce 1), 240-41 (Rome 45-56); 252-53 (Toulouse 1 = Chiragan 1). Winkes observes (77-78) that series of medallions with divine busts were especially popular in the second century.

[48] V. Scrinari, *Museo Archeologico di Aquileia, Catalogo delle sculture romane*, Rome 1972, 195-96, nos. 606-13 with earlier bibliography; Winkes, supra note 47, 133-34, 255; H. Gabelmann, *Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage*, [= BonnJb Beiheft 34], Bonn 1973, 85-86 note 305; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, 105, 136, 245 no. 14, pl. 54, 2. There is a ninth medallion with a bust of Hercules in the Sacristy of Sta Margharita del Cruagno according to Scrinari.

In A.D. 231 a certain Mercatorius Castrensis dedicated a large sandstone relief of Mithras in what is now called Osterburken (Osterburken 1, figures 67-68).[49] Though the work of a local stone carver, it is not an expression of the native Celtic religion but of a cult of eastern origin, widespread in the empire, especially in the Roman army. M.J. Vermaseren has collected more than 3000 monuments of Mithras, including many reliefs.[50] The Osterburken relief belongs to the most elaborate type, which has an area at the top corresponding to the heavenly regions where the gods are shown.[51] The number of gods varies, but they are usually male, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury being commonest. On the Mithraic relief from Rückingen, the planetary gods appear as a group.[52]

The Osterburken relief has twelve deities (figures 67-68). Jupiter sits enthroned in the center, crowned by a Victory carrying a palm branch. To his left stand three gods: Apollo (nude with his legs crossed, resting his cithara on an altar), Mars (cuirassed and helmetted with shield and spear), and Hercules (club, lionskin, apple).[53] To Jupiter's right are three goddesses — Juno wearing a veil, Minerva (helmet, shield, spear), and a nude Venus holding a mirror. Above the goddesses are half-length figures of Diana (drawing an arrow from her quiver), a bearded, draped god, and a goddess; above Hercules a half-length Neptune with his trident. The god and goddess are usually identified as Pluto and Proserpina, who do not belong among the Twelve. If the object raised by the god could be interpreted as a hammer, the pair might be Vulcan and Ceres. To the left of the divine assembly, Sol mounts to heaven in his chariot; to the right Luna descends in hers. Below the Twelve, on the rim of Mithras' cave, are carved the signs of the zodiac. Thus the gods are imagined as being in the heavens. They are major deities, as the Roman Twelve should be, though not all Olympians.

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[49] V.M. Strocka, Fundberichte aus Schwaben, N.S. 18 (1967), 129-30. Strocka calls the sculptor from the relief the Osterburken Master. He also worked in Öhringen. The relief was presumably buried after the invasion by the Alamanni in A.D. 233.

[50] *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithraicae*, 2 vols., The Hague 1956-60.

[51] L.A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* [= EPRO 11], Leiden 1968, 361-62.

[52] Rückingen: M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, no. 1137; E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* [= EPRO 40], Leiden 1974, 101-104, no. 85a, pl. 18. Other examples of divine assemblies: Bylazora (Macedonia). Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, no. 2340, fig. 651; S. Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 417-19, no. 283; Neptune, Juno, Jupiter, Mars with busts of Luna, Minerva, Sol. Kumanovo (Macedonia). Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, no. 2202, fig. 608: Minerva, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars. Saarburg (France). Ibid., no. 966, fig. 236: Vulcan, Mercury, Jupiter enthroned, Hercules, Neptune, Bacchus, with busts of unknown god and Mars(?).

[53] Strocka, supra note 49, compares this figure to a statue of Hercules in Öhringen.

In his study of Mithraic iconography L.A. Campbell interprets the gods as the Dei Mundi.[54] Jupiter in the center is the Supreme Being, equivalent to Ohrmazd. The gods between him and the rising sun represent the powers of genesis; those between him and the descending moon the powers of apogenesis or dissolution. This may be a valid interpretation in Mithraic theology, but the functions of the Roman deities on the Osterburken relief do not substantiate it. They are better interpreted in Greco-Roman terms as the gods controlling the universe, comparable to the twelve Olympians on Rome 5. Here the gods are higher than Mithras and hence superior to him as they were to the emperor on Pompeii 1. Mithras, who is larger and centrally placed acts as intermediary between the worshipper and the Twelve.

From Dacia there are three Latin dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Di Consentes (T 50-52). In two cases (T 50, 52) the dedication was made by a Roman official, a Duovir of the colony and an imperial procurator. In the third instance the action was taken for the safety of the Roman rule and the *virtus* of the legion stationed there — XIII Geminae commanded by M. Statius Priscus, consul designate for A.D. 158.[55]

A Greek inscription from Dionysopolis in Moesia honors a man who held the post of Priest of the Twelve Gods (T 49). Little is known about the town, but it was sufficiently Greek by 200 B.C. to issue coins with Greek legends.[56] Here the cult could be an old Greek municipal establishment.

Native Echoes

Certain monuments found in Gaul and Germany have a superficial resemblance to the Greek and Roman Twelve. We have already dismissed the Mavilly pillar as a manifestation of the local Celtic religion.[57] The Jupiter columns we shall consider in connection with the gods of the days of the week.[58]

Another Celtic monument which Weinreich included in his study of the Twelve Gods is the relief of Mercury from Marbach (Marbach 1, figure 63).[59] On either side of Mercury are arranged eleven smaller divine figures in two tiers. Some are Olympians — Jupiter, Juno, Ceres, Mars; the rest can be identified as gods recognized by the Romans — Hercules, the Dioscuri, Fortuna, Silvanus with his dog, and Cybele.[60] None is obviously Celtic. Yet the prominence of Mercury, who was one of the chief gods in Germany and Gaul[61] but never foremost among the Twelve Gods in Greece and Rome, indicates that this is in fact a Celtic pantheon. The native gods have been transformed into their Greco-Roman equivalents, but all the set has in common with the Roman Di Consentes is the number twelve.

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[54] Reference supra, note 51.

[55] On M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus see P. von Rohden-H. Dessau, eds., *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec I. II. III.*, III, Berlin 1898, 260, no. 637; Miltner, *RE* series 2, 6 (1969) 2218-21 sv. *Statius 18.*

[56] On Dionysopolis see Brandis, *RE* 9 (1903) sv. *Dionysopolis* 1. On the coinage see B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edition, London 1910 reprinted 1963, 274.

[57] Supra, 257.

[58] Infra, 290-91.

[59] *Zwölfgötter* 814-15 C 75.

A cylindrical relief in Bordeaux (Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, figures 31-34) looks like a local imitation of a Twelve-Gods drum such as Ostia 1 or Alexandria 2.[62] It has fifteen figures crowded together, twelve gods with three lesser deities or demigods. The figures are much weathered, but they are based on Hellenistic or Roman types. Among them Apollo Citharoedus may be regarded as the central figure, for he is accompanied by Marsyas and a seated nymph or muse. There are several other Olympians, Diana, Venus, Neptune, and Jupiter, but the deities also include Bacchus leaning on a Silenus, Hercules, possibly Victoria. They seem to have been chosen mainly for their picturesque qualities, to create a decorative ornament for a garden.[63]

Another monument which depends on the Roman repertory for its iconography is the Porte Noire at Besançon.[64] In the 1950's E. Will suggested that the figures in the panels on the left jamb together with their missing counterparts on the right might have represented the Twelve Gods rather than the Labors of the Months as in earlier interpretations.[65]

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[60] E. Schwertheim recognized her as Cybele on the basis of the animal (a lion?) on her lap and remains of a headdress which could be a mural crown: *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* [= EPRO 40], Leiden 1974, 200-201, no. 157. Cf. also M.J. Vermaseren, *Kult der Kybele und des Attis im römischen Germanien* [= Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands 23], Stuttgart 1979, 14, fig. 4. Previously this figure had been identified as Cernunnos. I am much indebted to M.J. Vermaseren for bringing me up to date on this point.

[61] Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, VI.17. Cf. also K. Ziegler, *Das Kleine Pauly* III (1967), sv. *Mercurius* with bibliography. E. Thevenot ranks Mercury after Jupiter and Mars in Gaul: *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule*, Paris 1968, 72-96. Cf. also P. MacKendrick, *Roman France*, New York 1972, 158-67.

[62] My warm thanks to L. Maurin, Conservateur of the Musée d'Aquitaine in Bordeaux, for providing photographs and information on the Bordeaux cylinder.

[63] A smaller cylinder of this type in Perigueux has seven deities: É. Espérandieu, *Receuil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* II, *Aquitaine*, Paris 1908, 231-33, no. 1261.

[64] É. Espérandieu, supra note 63, VII, 5-28, no. 5270 with earlier bibliography; H. Stern, RA 45 (1955), 141-66; E. Will, RA 49 (1957), 189-204; L. Lerat in C. Fohlen, ed., *Histoire de Besançon* I, *Des origines à la fin du xvi^e^ siècle*, Paris ca. 1964, 60-69, 125-26; T. Kraus, RömMitt 72 (1965), 171-81; P. MacKendrick, *Roman France*, New York 1972, 121-24.

[65] Reference supra, note 64.

The subject on the voussoirs of the arch supported by these jambs is the Battle of Gods and Giants, which we have found combined with the Twelve Gods on Rome 7. However the panels are extremely difficult to interpret because of their damaged state, and neither L. Lerat nor T. Kraus finds Will's argument convincing.[66] For the present their subject remains an enigma.

The Week-Day Gods among the Twelve

The week-day or planetary gods form a closed set of seven which can readily be distinguished from that of the twelve month or zodiac gods by the presence of Saturn. Both sets were represented in the painted medallions from Pompeii (Pompeii 3). As planetary gods these seven may be combined with the signs of the zodiac instead of the month gods, as on the astrological series of coins issued by Alexandria under Antoninus Pius (A.D. 137-61) or a polychrome carpet mosaic from Bir Chana in North Africa.[67] At times the planetary gods may be included themselves in a set of twelve gods.

In those parts of Gaul and Germany where the Celtic religion was dominant, it was customary from the second through the mid-third century to erect stone columns or pillars surmounted by statues of Jupiter in settlements and in native sanctuaries.[68] The earliest inscribed was set up at Magenza (modern Mainz) before A.D. 67 for the well-being of Nero.[69]

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[66] Ibid. According to Monsieur Lerat, Mlle H. Walter is preparing a full publication of the Porte Noire.

[67] G. Dattari, *Monete Imperiali Grechi; Numi Augg. Alexandrini, Catalogo della Collezione G. Dattari*, Bologna 1901 reprinted 1965, 191-94, nos. 2958-2984, pl. XXVI; F.H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* [= MemAPS 37], Philadelphia 1954, 11-12.

Dattari no. 2982 shows the planetary gods and the signs of the zodiac arranged in concentric circles around busts of Isis and Serapis. Nos. 2958-2981 each have a single planetary god combined with a zodiac sign. In each case the sign is a "planetary house" associated with that particular planet. For this concept see A. Bouché-Leclerq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, Chapter IV; F. Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Leipzig 1918, 72-73; G.P. Goold, introduction to Manilius *Astronomica*, xcix-c.

Bir Chana mosaic: K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, Oxford 1978, 161, 249, Bir Chana I.i, pl. 162. Here Saturn occupies the central panel with the remaining six planetary gods in adjacent panels and the signs of the zodiac between these and the outer edge.

[68] Recent studies of Jupiter columns and pillars include: É. Thevenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule*, 28-29; G. Ristow, Kölner Römer-Illustrierte 1 (1974) 140-41; P. Noelke-P. Filtzinger, ibid., 2 (1975), 188-91; W. Müller, *Die Jupitergigantensäulen und ihre Verwandten* [= Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 66], Meisenheim am Glan 1975; G. Bauchhenss-P. Noelke, *Die Iupitersäulen in den germanischen Provinzen* [= BonnJb Beiheft 41], Köln-Bonn 1981.

[69] Müller, supra note 68, 82-84; Bauchhenss, supra note 68, 39-41; T. Kraus, *Römische Weltreich* [= Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 2], Berlin 1967, 228, ill. 195 with bibliography.

On the sides of its base and in five tiers on its column shaft are panels depicting a total of twenty-eight gods, Roman mixed with Celtic, a pantheon rather than a set of the Twelve Gods. Later examples, however, usually had a tiered base consisting of a parallelepiped with four gods surmounted by an octagonal drum with seven or eight. Including the statue of Jupiter on top, the total number of gods is twelve or thirteen. Often the gods shown on the octagonal drum are the planetary deities.[70] Those on the parallelopiped are commonly Juno, Minerva, Mercury, and Hercules.[71] The form of the monument seems to have been derived from Rome, where there was a famous column of Jupiter on the Capitoline, which was struck by lightning in the first century B.C.[72] Ultimately both the column and the sculptured base may have come from Greece.[73] The content is another matter. The column signifies the world tree or pillar set in the center of the community as the hub of the universe and supporting the sky. Jupiter on top has the role of the Celtic sky god.[74] The Jupiter columns are better regarded as an indigenous religious development with strong Roman influence on its iconography than as an offshoot of the Greco-Roman cult of the Twelve Gods.[75]

A number of pantheistic statuettes have been found in the Celtic region, including a bronze statuette of Mercury with at least fifteen attached busts.[76] Among them only one, the Tyche/Fortuna or Tutela of Mâcon can be connected with the Twelve Gods (Matisco/Mâcon 1, figure 64). She stands on a twelve-sided base. From her shoulders sprout wings which support a crescent holding the busts of the week-day or planetary gods in the order of the days of the week beginning with Saturn. To the fronts of her wings are attached busts of the Dioscuri surmounted by stars, and she holds twin cornucopias with busts of Ceres and Bacchus. In part the Tyche/Fortuna may express a Celtic predilection for the number twelve, for S. Boucher discusses small bronze dodecahedra which are typical of the region.[77] However Fortuna, the planetary gods and the Dioscuri are all involved with the fate of the individual. The cornucopias with Ceres and Bacchus add the theme of the yearly agricultural cycle, and the stress on twelve also recalls the twelve months and the Twelve Gods. The Mâcon statuette extends to the individual the concept of divine control over the universe and life on earth, which Plato envisioned as the role of the Twelve Gods in the *Phaedrus* (T 19). Whereas the official twelve Olympians on the Hadrianic base in the Capitoline Museum (Rome 5) were remote from the world over which they watched, here the Tyche/Fortuna brings the beneficent protection of the Twelve to the individual or family who kept her in the household shrine.

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[70] Bauchhenss, supra note 68, 56-61.

[71] Ibid., 47-55.

[72] Müller, supra note 68, 84-85; Bauchhenss, supra note 68, 41; Noelke in Bauchhenss-Noelke, supra note 68, 354-55, 395.

[73] Noelke in Bauchhenss-Noelke, supra note 68, 407-11.

[74] Ristow, supra note 68; Müller, supra note 68, 24-78; Bauchhenss, supra note 68, 65-82. Noelke in Bauchhenss-Noelke, supra note 68, 392-393 demurs because the tree cult is not peculiar to the Celts and stresses the Roman parallels..

[75] Weinreich also denied any connection with the Twelve Gods: *Zwölfgötter* 792 B 40; 816 C 76.

[76] H. Graillot, RA (1900), 220-37, pl. XII; S.J. de Laet-P. Moisin, Nouvelle Clio 5 (1953), 10-17; E. Thevenot, RAEstCentre-Est (Dijon) 5 (1954), 279-87; S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule*, 125-26, 132, 137, 210. A bronze statuette of a winged goddess quite similar to Matisco/Macon 1 was found in Vienne, but only one of the busts is preserved: S. Boucher, *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises* 17, *Vienne, bronzes antiques*, Paris 1971, 51-54, no. 13.

Another pantheistic statuette comes from the eastern Mediterranean. This represents Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Antaradus/Tartus 1, figure 104-105). Y. Hajjar has collected and analysed the written and iconographic evidence for this syncretistic cult.[78] Jupiter Heliopolitanus is the Latin name for the Syrian storm god Baal-Hadad, who was also equated with the sun god Helios, as the name of his chief cult center, Heliopolis (modern Baalbek) indicates. His great temple was built in the Greco-Roman architectural *koine*,[79] but the god himself was commonly depicted wearing a layered Egyptian wig and wrapped in a shroud as in Antaradus/Tartus 1. Again, as on Antaradus/Tartus 1, the shroud often is divided into panels which may contain representations of the week-day or planetary gods; according to Hajjar, an inscription from Baalbek may refer to a cult of the planetary gods there.[80]

The shroud of Antaradus/Tartus 1 has fourteen panels, ten of which contain busts of gods. Medallions on the chest with busts of Sol and Luna bring the total up to twelve (or thirteen including Jupiter Heliopolitanus himself). From top to bottom, the planetary gods on the front are Sol and Luna, Saturn and Jupiter, Mars and Venus, with Mercury by himself at the foot. Thus the order differs from that of the days of the week, which we observed on Mâcon 1. The five deities on the back are Neptune and Ceres, Minerva and Diana, and Hercules. These are not the month or zodiac gods, as Hajjar suggested,[81] but four are Olympians. In this region Hercules might well be the native Melkart. The representation of twelve gods on the shroud may reflect the Roman concept of the Di Consentes, though they are not the Olympians. As on the gold diadem of Cybele (Neapolis/Nablus 1), the Twelve are subordinate to a native deity.

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[77] S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule*, 212-14.

[78] *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek; son culte et sa diffusion à travers les textes littéraires et les documents iconographiques et épigraphiques* [= EPRO 59], Leiden 1977; *Jupiter Heliopolitanus, in M.J. Vermaseren, ed., Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* [= EPRO 93], Leiden 1981, 213-33.

[79] T. Wiegand, *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1898-1905*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1921-25; brought up to date by J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 2nd edition, Penguin Books 1981, 314-17, 484.

[80] *Triad d'Heliopolis-Baalbek* I, 47-49, no. 29; II, 520-21; *Jupiter Heliopolitanus* 229-30.

A smaller marble statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, which is now in the Museo Archeologico in Venice had busts of eleven deities carved on the front of the shroud (Unknown Provenience 4). Unfortunately the surface is so worn, apparently from immersion in water, that it is impossible to identify the gods. Y. Hajjar thought there might be a trace of a twelfth bust at the bottom,[82] but the eleven suffice with Jupiter himself to make up a set of twelve.

By virtue of his identification with Jupiter, the Syrian god of Heliopolis could be regarded as one of the Roman Di Consentes. As with the erection of a great temple in the classical style at Baalbek, these statuettes reflect the Romanization of a Syrian cult. Here the Twelve are a mixture of Greco-Roman and oriental astral gods, but on the diadem of Sol Invictus (Laodikeia 1) we shall find an oriental god flanked by the Olympians.

The Tutelae of the Months and the Zodiac

Though the planetary gods were more popular and might, as we have seen in the preceding section, be shown with the signs of the zodiac, there are three certain representations of the month or zodiac gods which belong to this period. Two earlier sets, Pompeii 3 and Rome 8 (the Ara Borghese), were discussed in Chapter III, and the latest set, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, remains to be considered in Chapter V.[83] All of these examples belong to the western part of the empire. They are quite distinct from the personifications or labors of the months, which have been studied most recently by H. Stern.[84] The three now to be presented are the "Altar" of Gabii (Gabii 1), a candelabrum base (Rome 9) and the mosaic from Hellín in Spain (Hellín 1).

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[81] *Triade d'Heliopolis-Baalbek* I, 286.

[82] Ibid., 415.

[83] Supra, 270-73; infra, 324-26.

[84] J.G. Webster, *Labors of the Months*; D. Levi, ArtB 23 (1941), 251-91; idem, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, I, 36-38, fig. 12, pl. 5 b; H. Stern, *Calendrier de 354*, Chapter IV; idem, *Les calendriers romains illustres* [= Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt ed. H. Temporini-W. Haase XII, 2, Berlin 1981, 431-75], with criticism by M.R. Salzman, AJA 88 (1984), 43-50. Cf. also E. Coche de la Ferte, *EAA* IV (1961) 1039-47 sv. *Mese e Calendario*; G. Akerström, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos ...*, Stockholm 1974; K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa; Studies in Iconography and Patronage*, Oxford 1978, 111-12, 121, 250, 251, pl. 110.

Gabii

The so-called Altar of Gabii (Gabii 1, figures 44-48) was found by Gavin Hamilton, who excavated the area of the Forum of Gabii and the Temple of Juno in 1792 on behalf of Prince Borghese.[85] The material from Gabii was placed in the Villa Pinciana where it remained until Napoleon purchased the collection.[86] The "Altar" is now in storage at the Louvre.

In 1797, E.Q. Visconti published the "Altar" along with the rest of the material acquired by Prince Borghese from Gabii.[87] His plate 16 (figure in text) shows the cylinder with the heads already restored, set on a fluted pedestal and looking very like a modern bird bath. Whether it actually belonged with this pedestal is uncertain because Visconti observed that the pedestal was of Luna marble whereas the cylinder itself was of Pentelic.[88] Visconti also noted that the shallow receptacle in the top of the cylinder showed clear traces of hinges (*perni*) or rivets (*spranghi*). So far as I could see, these have disappeared, but there are eight narrow horizontal slits cut from the base of the receptacle into the rim below the heads.[89] Possibly a bronze disk with teeth was fitted into the top by these means. This in turn could have held the gnomon for a sundial, the traditional interpretation of the cylinder's function. Nonetheless the cylinder itself preserves neither a mortise for a gnomon nor the incised lines customary on stone sundials. Horizontal sundials are rare in antiquity, though a late one from Aphrodisias has recently been published;[90] none resembles Gabii 1. A hemispherical wall sundial from Utica in North Africa is decorated with the signs of the zodiac, but this has a deep, wedge-shaped mortise in the top for the gnomon.[91] The theory that Gabii 1 was a sundial cannot be substantiated.

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[85] For Hamilton's excavations see E.Q. Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana*, Rome 1797, 1-22. A letter from Hamilton describing the excavation has been published but makes no mention of the "Altar": JHS 21 (1901) 318-19. Visconti's book is summarized by A. Blanco, EscEspanRomaCuad 10 (1958), 64-82. On the site in general and current activities see P. Zaccagni, *Gabii - La Città antica ed il territorio* in Comitato per l'Archeologia Laziala, *Archeologia Laziale*, Rome 1978, 42-46.

[86] W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée National du Louvre*, 3rd edition, Paris 1876, I, 9-14, no. 2, especially 14.

[87] Reference supra note 85, 38-58.

[88] Ibid., 38 and note 1.

[89] My warm thanks to M.F. Baratte, Conservateur, and to Mme B. Taillez for enabling me to make a thorough examination of the "Altar of Gabii" in June 1981.

[90] P. Pattenden, JHS 101 (1981), 101-12. On sundials in general see S. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials*, New Haven-London 1976. Gibbs does not include Gabii 1 among her examples.

[91] Tunis, Bardo Museum, inv. no. 3501. M.R. Cagnat-A. Merlin, Bulletin des Antiquaires de France (1905), 262-63; *EAA* II (1958), pl. 68; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, cols. 631-32, no. 58. D., 0.86 m.

If the function of Gabii 1 is uncertain, it is evident from the areas where Hamilton was digging that it was set up in a public location, in the civic center or in a state sanctuary. Its iconography, however, relates the Twelve Gods to the passage of the year, not the protection of the state.

The reliefs on the sides of the cylinder are well preserved except for the section with Minerva's owl, Aries, and Venus' dove, which is a modern restoration but is essentially correct. Here are the signs of the zodiac, moving to the left in a continuous sequence in accordance with the rotation of the year. Between each pair of signs is the attribute of one of the Olympians. These are arranged in accordance with the system for the tutelae of the months and are so placed that a given attribute follows the zodiac sign associated with its deity in the rustic calendars (T 40 A-B) and

*The Arrangement of the Altar of Gabii**

Sides		Top
Symbol (deity)	Zodiac sign	Deity (attribute)
	Capricorn	
Peacock (Juno)		Wholly destroyed. Minerva?
	Aquarius	
Dolphins (Neptune)		Youthful Vulcan (fillet, hair to neck)
	Pisces	
(Owl, Minerva)		Wholly destroyed. Juno?
	(Aries)	
(Dove, Venus)		Jupiter (shoulder-length hair)
	Taurus	
Tripod (Apollo)		Venus (Cupid by shoulder)
	Gemini	
Winged tortoise (Mercury)		Mars (helmet?)
	Cancer	
Eagle (Jupiter)		Diana (quiver)
	Leo	
Basket (Ceres)		Apollo (nude, long side curl)
	Virgo	
Pileus or omphalos wound with snake		Vesta? (goddess in peplos with long curls)
	Libra	
Wolf (Mars)		Mercury (caduceus)
	Scorpio	
Dog (Diana)		Ceres? (goddess with long, loose hair covered by veil)
	Sagittarius	
Lamp (Vesta)		Neptune (trident)
	Capricorn	

* Based upon my own examination of the reliefs. The sequence is continuous on top and sides so that Neptune is next to Minerva(?) and Capricorn appears only once.

precedes the sign ascribed to the deity by Manilius (T 40 C), as shown in the table on page 295. This substantiates our hypothesis that the Olympians serve primarily as tutelae of the months rather than the zodiac signs.

The one puzzling attribute is the conical object wound with a snake. This should be the pileus of Vulcan, but it looks more like the omphalos of Apollo. There is a snake between Athena and Hephaistos on Ostia 2, and it might be an allusion to Erichthonius, the offspring of Hephaistos by Ge.[92]

The sequence of the deities on the top does not correspond to that of the symbols on the sides. Weinreich attributed the discrepancies to incorrect restoration.[93] They are indeed wrongly restored, but they were not originally arranged in the order of the months. Careful examination of the original shows that the heads were arranged as couples, one male and one female, with the attribute of one of them placed between the two. As the table above shows, the gods are almost certainly paired as they are on the Ara Borghese (Rome 8), but the sequence of couples differs. All certainly identified deities, six gods and two goddesses, are Olympians, and there is no reason to postulate that any non-Olympians were present. The use of heads along with attributes recalls the Roman practice of placing the heads of the gods on couches for the celebration of the lectisternium.[94]

Rome(?)

In addition to the Ara Borghese (Rome 8), the Louvre possesses a second candelabrum base from the Borghese collection which has on each face a single deity mounted on a figure symbolizing a zodiac sign (Rome 9, figures 99-101). Where and when it was found are not recorded, but Winckelmann saw it in the basement of the Villa Borghese on the Pincian Hill in the 1760's.[95]

The panels show: a beardless Neptune identified by his attributes of horse and dolphin, riding on a triton with attached crab legs and claws (Cancer), Jupiter with his eagle, riding on a man-lion (Leo), and a draped goddess, either Ceres or Venus, riding on a girl (Virgo). That these are zodiac or month gods and not planetary gods is evident from the presence of Neptune, whose name was not connected with a planet until the nineteenth century. Moreover, Jupiter is the tutelary god of Leo, according to Manilius (T 40 C).

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[92] Cf. Pausanias I.2.6; H. von Geisau, *Das Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967) sv. *Erichthonius*.

[93] *Zwölfgötter* 826-27 E 86. My table shows the heads in what I believe to have been their original order. Of these, Minerva(?) was wholly destroyed and was restored as Juno; Vulcan has been incorrectly identified as Apollo (compare the hair style of Ostia 1); Jupiter and Mars are correctly restored; Apollo, a nude, archaistic god with a long side curl, was incorrectly identified as a goddess; Ceres(?), a goddess with long, loose hair covered by a veil, was incorrectly restored as a bearded Vulcan (cf. figure 49); Juno(?) was wholly destroyed and has been restored as Minerva.

[94] On the lectisternium see supra, 238.

Normally Neptune is bearded, but on the coinage of Poseidonia in southern Italy, Poseidon appears both with and without a beard.[96] Hence there is a precedent for his being beardless, though this might also have been a mistake made by the restorer to make him look like Mercury, whom Manilius connected with Cancer (T 40 C).[97] In Rome the Neptunalia were celebrated on July 23, i.e., under the sign of Cancer.[98] Hence the choice of Neptune for this sign might be based on the time of his festival. His bust is labelled IVL for July on Trier 1.

The goddess looks more like Venus velificata with her chiton slipping off her shoulder than Ceres, the goddess associated with Virgo by Manilius, but Venus has no connection with Virgo. She has no preserved attribute. Another possibility would be Diana, who as moon goddess could be velificata and whose chiton slips down from her shoulder in the Parthenon frieze (figure 12). The Natalis of Diana was celebrated on the Ides of August, and this festival together with the Neptunalia was depicted on a charming wall painting in Ostia.[99]

In part, at least, the system for associating deity with zodiac sign is based on festival dates rather than the correlations we observed in the rustic calendars and Manilius (T 40 A-C). The deities are still Olympians. The zodiac signs represent the summer season, and it may be that the candelabrum base was one of a set of four symbolizing the seasons.

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[95] J. Winckelmann, *Sämtliche Werke* VII, *Denkmalen der Kunst des Altertums* [= *Monumenti inediti*], Donauöschingen 1825, 293-98, no. 11. Cf. W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du ... Louvre*, 24-28, no. 5, especially 27 and note 2 refuting Clarac's theory that it came from Gabii. Clarac was no doubt misled by Visconti's including the base in *Monumenti Gabini*, 169-74.

[96] C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1976, 186, 197.

[97] My thanks to M.F. Baratte, Conservateur, and to Mme B. Taillez for enabling me to "discover" this piece in the basement of the Louvre. Because of the poor lighting, it was not possible to discern whether the chin was recut; I am most grateful to Mme Taillez for providing photographs, on which my account is principally based. The Hermes/Mercury on the Ara Albani certainly was shaved by the restorer, for an earlier drawing in the Codex Pighianus shows him bearded: O. Jahn, BerLeipzig 20 (1868) 193, no. 77 = f. 295, pl. V, 4.

[98] H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, Ithaca 1981, 168. Cf. the wall painting from Ostia with four summer festivals: Vatican, Library, Sala della Nozze Aldobrandine, H. Stern, *Calendrier de 354*, 205 no. 1, pl. XXXVIII, 1-2; B. Andreae in Helbig, *Führer*^{4} I, 366-67, no. 467. Stern connects the boat with a festival of Isis, not Neptune, in *Les calendriers romains illustrés*, supra note 84, 440-41.

[99] Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, 173-74. References for the Ostia wall painting supra, note 98.

Deities riding on animals sacred to them occur much earlier, but the only instance known to me of a deity riding on a zodiac sign which predates this candelabrum base is Venus velificata on a crab (Cancer) in the upper part of an early Imperial relief in the Vatican.[100] On the Vatican relief the motif could refer to the presence of the planet Venus in the constellation Cancer. It does not seem to have anything to do with the month or zodiac gods.

Hellín, Albacete, Spain

A splendid polychrome carpet mosaic, thirteen meters square, was excavated here forty years ago and is now exhibited in Madrid (Hellín 1, figures 50-58). It has sixteen principal octagonal panels, of which the four in the center have subjects suitable to the names of the seasons. The twelve outer panels were originally labelled with the names of the months running in order from left to right around the edge. Each seems to have had a deity mounted on a monster or on a winged genius symbolizing a zodiac sign.

The following months are preserved: February (label only). April: Venus velificata, half-draped, riding a man-bull (Taurus). May: Mercury wearing a petasos and carrying a caduceus, riding a winged genius who holds twins on his extended hand (Gemini). (June): A male head encircled by yellowish-brown "leaves", possibly the claws of Cancer. August: Diana wearing hunting garb, with a crescent on her head and holding a spear, seated on a centaur holding an arrow (substitution for Virgo). September: Vulcan with pileus and tongs, perched on a winged genius carrying scales (Libra). October: a helmetted, beardless deity riding on a winged genius who empties a basket of grapes. In the hair of the genius are the claws of Scorpio, while the grapes allude to the vintage, the chief agricultural labor of October. The lack of a beard and the long skirt suggest the deity is a martial goddess such as Minerva, Roma or Bellona rather than Mars, the tutelary of the month in the rustic calendars (T 40 A-B). November: A veiled goddess with a scepter seated on a centaur aiming bow and arrow (Sagittarius). The goddess could be Vesta, the Olympian associated with December or more probably Isis, the goddess whose festival was celebrated in November. December: A goddess with a lance riding a creature with goat legs (Capricorn). Of the Olympians, Minerva is the most likely.

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[100] Inv. no. 257. W. Amelung, *Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II, Berlin 1908, 426-28, pl. 48; E. Simon, RömMitt 64 (1957), 55 no. 2. H., 0.715 m. W., 0.76 m. On the significance of Venus in Cancer see F. Boll in Dietrich, RhM 55 (1900) 219.

As H. Stern has observed, the choice of deity seems to depend on the religious calendar rather than the rustic ones: The deity is the one honored by the chief festival of the month.[101] Thus for April, the Veneralia was celebrated on the Kalends of the month. May was named for Maia, mother of Mercury, and a festival honoring mother and son was held on the Ides of May. The Natalis of Diana was celebrated on the Ides of August. The Vulcanalia was also held in August but later in the month, and we find Vulcan as the tutela of the next month, September. For October Stern suggests the festival of the Armilustrum and for November the great festival of Isis lasting from October 28 to November 3.[102] In some cases the deity honored may also agree with Manilius or the rustic calendars, specifically the connection of Venus with Taurus, of Vulcan with Libra, of Mercury with Gemini, and of Mars, if it is he, with Scorpio. Diana's month, however, has definitely been changed. As the accompanying table shows, the set of month gods represented in the Hellín mosaic is intermediate between that of Manilius and that of the mosaic by Monnus in Trier (Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1).

Concordance of Month Gods with Months and Zodiac

Manilius	Rome 9	Hellín 1	Augusta Treverorum/ Trier 1	Month
Aquarius/Juno				January
Pisces/Neptune				February
Aries/Minerva				March
Taurus/Venus		Taurus/Venus		April
Gemini/Apollo		Gemini/Mercury	Mercury	May
Cancer/Mercury	Cancer/Neptune	Cancer?	Juno	June
Leo/Jupiter	Leo/Jupiter		Neptune	July
Virgo/Ceres	Virgo/Goddess	(Centaur)/Diana	Goddess	August
Libra/Vulcan		Libra/Vulcan	Vulcan	September
Scorpio/Mars		Scorpio/War Deity	Bacchus	October
Sagittarius/Diana		Sagittarius/Isis	Isis	November
Capricorn/Vesta		Capricorn/Minerva?		December

Although found on a floor in Spain, the winged figures carrying the gods could better be imagined as the decoration of a ceiling where they would appear to be flying through the sky, the home both of the zodiac constellations and of the Olympians as supernal deities. The closest analogy for the concept occurs on an early third-century mosaic in Orbe,

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[101] H. Stern, *Calendrier de 354*, 104, 268-69; idem, MonPiot 54 (1966) 53-55.

[102] Stern, MonPiot 54 (1966), 57.

Switzerland.[103] This shows the gods of the days of the week, among them Jupiter seated on an eagle and Mercury riding a goat as well as Venus, Mars, and Saturn on benches held by winged genii. V. von Gonzenbach recognized in the mosaic a ceiling design.[104] Another damaged mosaic from Palermo included among the panels the Seasons, Minerva riding on a ram, Apollo on a griffin, and Juno on a peacock.[105] The mounts for Apollo and Juno are their sacred animals; hence Minerva's ram should not be her zodiac sign Aries, as D. Levi suggested.[106] In contrast to the confused iconography of the Palermo floor, the coherence of the Hellín program and the skillful draftsmanship suggest that the original cartoon was no provincial invention but a commission for a wealthy and cultivated patron. The Latin labels for the months indicate that the design was executed in Italy or possibly one of the western provinces.

The hypothetical ceilings from which the Orbe and Hellín mosaics derive would belong to H. Joyce's type I B (medallions).[107] She does not publish any exact parallels, but the stucco vaults in the Tomb of the Valerii have a similar effect.[108]

The device of providing the heads of the genii with the claws of Scorpio, and possibly of Cancer, recurs on a small gold-glass plaque found in a post-Vespasianic, probably second-century context in Tanis, Egypt.[109] The Tanis plaque is decorated with concentric circles, the outermost of which is divided into twelve compartments each containing a bust painted in red ochre. The busts are both male and female, and they are related to the zodiac signs by the treatment of the hair: attached horns like Taurus for April, crab legs for July (Cancer), bushy hair for August (Leo), etc. For May there are two busts (Gemini). Petrie, who published the plaque, and Gundel interpret them as the months.[110] In my opinion they are closely related to the Genii who carry the month gods on the Hellín mosaic. They cannot be the gods themselves because they do not have the attributes of the Olympians.

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[103] Orbe, Mosaic V. V. von Gonzenbach, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz* [= Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz 13], Basel 1961, 181-94, pls. 60-67.

[104] Ibid., 192.

[105] Piazza della Vittoria. J. Overbeck, SBLeipzig 1873 (Dec. 12); idem, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* I, pls. XI, 8; XXII, 27; ibid., III, 257-59, no. 1; E. Gabrici, MonAnt 27 (1921), 181-204; P. Marconi, *Il Museo Nazionale di Palermo - Sezione Archeologica*, 2nd edition, Rome 1936, 7, 35; D. Levi, Berytus 7 (1942), 37-55; K.M. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 160 note 127.

[106] Berytus 7 (1942) 44.

[107] H. Joyce, *The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings and Floors in Italy in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.* [= Archaeologica 17], Rome 1981, 70.

[108] Joyce, supra note 107, 76, fig. 75 with bibliography. Cf. also B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome*, New York 1977, fig. 467.

[109] London, British Museum, Egyptian Collection, inv. no. 29137. 13 inches square. W.M.F. Petrie, *Tanis, Part I, 1883-84*, London 1889, 48-49; J.C. Webster, *Labors of the Months*, 28-29, 119 no. 3; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, col. 658, no. 159; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 102-103, no. 79, pl. 47 C; H. Stern, *Calendriers romains illustrés*, 435.

Forgery

In my dissertation I included among the Italian representations of the Twelve Gods a small bronze disk, said to be from Ephesos, which was formerly in the possession of the Reverend Bernardino Nardi in Osimo (figure 129).[111] I have been unable to locate the disk. As S. Ferri observed in the original publication, it bore the heads of the Twelve Gods arranged in the same order as on Gabii 1, but differed from the latter in having a bearded male head of the "philosopher" type in the center.[112] Subsequently I examined Gabii 1 and discovered that three heads had been wrongly restored. Since the Nardi disk faithfully reproduces the Gabii heads as they are now, it must postdate the restoration of Gabii 1 in the 1790's. In short it is a modern forgery which cannot be used as evidence on the cult of the Twelve Gods.

The Twelve Gods of Lycia

In Chapter I, we considered a precinct of the Twelve Gods in the marketplace of Xanthos.[113] Long afterwards, probably during the third century after Christ in the Lycian hinterland,[114] there was produced a series of votive reliefs depicting the Twelve Gods as a group of twelve identical male figures armed with spears (Komba 1-25, figure 59). Of the more than twenty known examples, at least eleven were found in the vicinity of ancient Komba, a site southwest of Elmali in the foothills of Mount Akdag, and it is assumed that there was at Komba a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.[115]

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[110] References supra, note 109.

[111] S. Ferri, BulMusImp 10 (1939), 39-40; H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, col. 625, no. 39 (a). Entered at the end of my catalogue of representations under Forgery.

[112] Reference supra, note 111.

[113] Supra, 144-46.

[114] The date of these votive reliefs is uncertain. O. Weinreich placed them at the end of the third century continuing into the fourth: *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 13. J. and L. Robert think some could be as early as the second century after Christ: REG 79 (1966) 431.

[115] E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II, 3, p. 267, followed by H. Metzger, *Catalogue ... du Musée d'Adalia*, 36; L. Robert, BCH 107 (1983), 587. On the scanty remains of Komba see G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*, London-New York 1978, 158-60.

The Twelve Gods occupy the upper register of the reliefs, flanking a central figure who is usually a male dressed similarly to themselves but who may be female as on Komba 9 and 12. This central figure may stand within a sort of baldacchino. Below the Twelve is a row of twelve seated quadrupeds (generally interpreted as hunting dogs) with a smaller anthropomorphic figure in the centure. A Greek inscription dedicating the relief to the Twelve Gods occupies the band between the two registers with the name of the donor under the quadrupeds.

The proximity of the name of the donor, always male, to the small figure in the lower register suggests that the latter represents the donor.[116] It is conceivable, however, that this figure could also be divine, as C. Brixhe suggested,[117] because on Komba 9 he appears to be standing on a three-legged stool.

Above the figures in the upper register there may be a row of fourteen incised circles, which F. Salviat interprets as theta, the first letter of the Greek word for god (theos).[118] Salviat's further suggestion that the symbol might have an astral significance, possibly linking the Twelve with the zodiac, is denied by J. and L. Robert.[119] In fact both the appearance of the gods with their hunting dogs below and the provenience of the reliefs support their being deities connected with hunting. It is the Olympians who are associated with the zodiac.

O. Weinreich interpreted the central figure in the upper register as the emperor surrounded by the Twelve Gods, i.e., in the guise of the Thirteenth God.[120] Subsequently H. Metzger published a relief in the Antalya Museum (Komba 9) with a dedication to Artemis and the Father of the Twelve as well, and C. Brixhe one (Komba 12), in which the Twelve are honored along with Artemis Kynegitis (the Huntress).[121] Consequently it appears that the central figure, if male, is to be interpreted as the Father of the Twelve or, if female, as Artemis of Komba.[122]

Weinreich also connected the reliefs with Christian representations of Christ among the twelve apostles.[123] In Chapter V, we shall return to the possible relationship between the Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome and the apostles. Here we are concerned only with the iconography of the upper register of the Lycian reliefs and that of Christ teaching the apostles. The earliest Christian representations show a seated Christ above the seated apostles, who form an arc.[124] According to A. Grabar, the prototype for these is pagan representations of philosophers, examples being the Hellenistic portrait statues of sages and poets arranged in an exedra in the precinct of Serapis at Memphis and a mosaic from Apamea showing Socrates in the center.[125] The format of the "City-Gate" sarcophagi where Christ stands in the center of a row of apostles is closer but is later in date. It seems doubtful that there could be a direct connection between a set of provincial reliefs from the wilds of Lycia and the sarcophagi. More probably both reflect the common trend in late antiquity to frontal compositions with the most important figure(s) in the center.

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[116] So E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II, 3, no. 733; G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* 159.

[117] REG 78 (1965) 64.

[118] RA (1966), 1, 43-44.

[119] REG 81 (1968), 521 no. 509. The interpretation of the deities as "Agrioi Theoi" was Weinreich's: *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 14-18.

[120] *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 6-13; *Zwölfgötter*, 705-706 B 51.

[121] H. Metzger, *Catalogue* ... *du Musée d'Adalia* 35-36, no. 16, pl. V; C. Brixhe, REG 78 (1965), 61-65.

[122] In addition to the references in note 121 see G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*, 159.

[123] *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 26-32.

Finally Weinreich postulated that the Lycian Twelve could be descendants of the Hittite Twelve depicted at Yazilikaya (Yazilikaya 1-2). Despite the chronological gap, the two sets have much in common, being anonymous armed male gods, and it seems possible that the Hittite Twelve did survive in this remote corner of Anatolia. Certainly Roman representations of Jupiter Dolichenus have much in common with the Hittite "Weather-God" standing on his bull.[126] Another set of twelve identical male deities is represented by the busts on the crown worn by a Tetrarchic priest from Sardis (Sardis 1, figures 102-103).

Two recent discoveries raise the question whether these gods, despite the obvious iconographic difference, could have been equated with the Olympians. An inscription recorded by the late G.E. Bean in a mosque built on the site of ancient Sidyma (T 48) lists the twelve Olympians as "the gods here."[127] The deities are paired according to the system of the month gods, the first pair being Hestia and Hermes. Secondly, one of the Lycian Twelve-Gods reliefs (Komba 19), which has just been published by L. Robert,[128] labels the first of the Twelve EPM = Hermes. This figure is carved at a lower level than the remaining five figures to the left of the central one but is shown in exactly the same way as the rest. It has none of Hermes' usual characteristics or attributes. Clearly the Olympians were recognized in Lycia, and at least one of the Lycian Twelve could be identified as an Olympian. Had syncretism progressed to the point that all twelve could be given the names of the Olympians?

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[124] W.L.M. Burke, ArtB 12 (1930, 164-67; A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* [= A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 1961, Bollingen Series XXXV.10], Princeton, N.J., 1968, 72-73.

[125] A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* 72-73, figures 173-74.

[126] On Jupiter Dolichenus see P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris-Rennes 1951, especially 314-19, no. 322, pl. 35, 3, which combines Jupiter with Hittite mountain gods. K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 347-48 derives the god from Commagene.

[127] G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*, London-New York 1978, 81. Professor Bean's notebooks have been deposited with the Kommission für Kleinasiatische Epigraphik in the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna. Mrs. Bean very kindly provided details on Professor Bean's discovery, and the Kommission supplied a photocopy of his transcription with permission to publish it. I am deeply grateful to all concerned.

[128] BCH 107 (1983) 587-93, especially 593.

Conclusions

The Twelve Gods in the persons of the Olympians are acknowledged to be the chief gods of the Roman pantheon, but their cult is in fact languishing. Though the emperor may appear in the company of various suitable divinities, he does not appear with the Twelve, and the title of Thirteenth God, which connects the ruler with them, is bestowed only upon Hadrian—by the Greek city of Kyzikos in return for his benefactions.

In the northern and western provinces the Twelve Gods or Di Consentes are the gods of the Roman state. They are not absorbed into the native religion, though indigenous gods may take on the appearance of their Roman counterparts.

In the eastern Mediterranean where the Twelve were earlier associated with Kybele/Cybele as the Mother of the Gods, the Nablus diadem extends the concept. It identifies the local goddess Astarte with Cybele and surrounds her with the Twelve. The Syrian god Jupiter Heliopolitanus is combined with a set of twelve gods which includes the planetary or weekday gods.

The planetary gods also appear among the Twelve in the pantheistic Tyche/Fortuna from Mâcon, France. Here the gods are concerned with the prosperity of the individual rather than the state.

The twelve Olympians are depicted as tutelae of the months and the zodiac on the "Altar of Gabii" and the "summer" candelabrum base in the Louvre. On the carpet mosaic of Hellín, which also shows the month gods, the deities are assigned to the months on the basis of the religious calendar rather than the system used in the rustic calendars, and at least one non-Olympian, Isis, was present. An iconographic motif for linking the deity with the month which occurs on both Rome 9 and Hellín 1 is mounting the divine tutela upon a creature which symbolizes the zodiac sign.

The Twelve Gods provide artists and writers with a familiar, decorative subject. They do not play an active role in religion or affairs of state.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

The Traditional Cult

Before the third-century collapse, the Twelve Gods had ceased being regarded as closely involved with affairs on earth. The honor which Kyzikos paid Hadrian by naming him the Thirteenth God was the exception.

The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens seems to have survived until the Herulian attack on the city in A.D. 267 but was then dismantled. A thick layer of earth accumulated over the site before it was reoccupied by an unrelated structure in the early fifth century.[1] Even though the city itself remained strongly pagan, it did not restore the public cult of the Twelve Gods in the marketplace. Elsewhere, as Pausanias shows, the cult was moribund.

Three major cities, Rome, Alexandria and Ephesos, either continued honoring the Twelve Gods after the emperors had been converted to Christianity or revived the cult at the end of the fourth century. In Rome, the Portico of the Di Consentes (Rome 3), which housed the gilded bronze statues of the twelve Olympians, had been erected under the Flavian dynasty. Even without actual neglect, by the mid-fourth century, it could have needed refurbishing. In any case, the pagan *praefectus urbi* or chief magistrate for 367/368, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, restored both the portico and the images of the gods (T 36 C, figure 86). This is one of the latest known restorations of a pagan shrine in Rome,[2] and the dedicatory inscription (T 36 C) significantly makes no mention of the emperor.

Praetextatus was the leader of the pagan aristocracy in Rome and was consul designate when he died in A.D. 384.[3] According to his epitaph,[4] he had held most of the major priesthoods in the city. Besides these traditional posts he had been initiated into the mysteries of Mithras, the Magna Mater, and the Eleusinian deities. He was especially devoted to Sol Invictus, Aurelian's universal sun god who was the "sum of all the attributes and guardian functions belonging to the other gods."[5] For Praetextatus, the Di Consentes would have been particularly interesting as a *numen multiplex*, a multiple manifestation of this universal sun god.[6]

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[1] Supra, 163.

[2] The columns of the Temple of Saturn were reset and the Temple of Vesta restored still later in the fourth century. Cf. R. Krautheimer, *Rome; Profile of a City 312-1308*, Princeton 1980, 35.

[3] A.H.M. Jones-J.P. Martindale-J. Morris, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I, *A.D. 260-395*, Cambridge 1971, 722-24; H. Bloch, HTR 38 (1945), 203-209; R. Klein, *Symmachus; eine tragische Gestalt des ausgehenden Heidentums* [= Impulse der Forschung 2], Darmstadt 1971, 46-50; J. Wytzes, *Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom* [= EPRO 56], Leiden 1977, 133-48.

[4] *CIL* VI, 1, no. 1779; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I, Berlin 1892, no. 1259; Helbig, *Führer*^{4} II, no. 1223.

As *praefectus urbi* in 367/368 Praetextatus was concerned with maintaining the well-being of the city, which involved, among other things, ending the strife between Damasus and Ursinus, the rival contestants for the papal throne.[7] To the Roman aristocracy, which was still largely pagan,[8] providing the Di Consentes with proper housing must have seemed quite as essential to the welfare of the city as keeping peace among the Christians. The earliest celebration of the lectisternium in honor of the Di Consentes had taken place in 217 B.C. as one of the measures to protect the city from Hannibal, and Rome had prospered from then on. The last time the lectisternium is known to have been celebrated was just before Marcus Aurelius led his troops out against the Marcomanni (T 34 E). In the late fourth century the threat of barbarian invasion was never far removed. Restoring the Portico of the Di Consentes was not a display of antiquarianism, nor was it produced by nostalgia. It was a practical measure designed to keep the favor of the tutelary deities of Rome.

How long the Twelve remained in their refurbished portico is not known. Before the end of the century Christianity had won the decisive contest over official paganism. In 382 Gratian had removed the altar of Victory from the Senate House in Rome.[9] This was followed in 391/392 by Theodosius' bans on pagan sacrifice.[10] When Arbogast set up

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[5] F. Altheim, *Der unbesiegte Gott; Heidentum und Christentum*, Hamburg 1957, 84-88. The quotation is from G. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus* [= EPRO 23], Leiden 1972, 142.

[6] H. Bloch in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1963, 209-10.

[7] E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft* I, Tübingen 1930, 198-99; C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana; Recherches sur l'église de Rome ... (311-440)* [= BEFAR 224], Paris 1976, 408-23.

[8] R. Klein, *Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar* ... [= Texte zur Forschung 7], Darmstadt 1972, 180-83: At the time of the controversy over the Altar of Victory in the Senate House, Christians did not yet form a majority in the Senate. Cf. also P.R.L. Brown on the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy: JRS 51 (1961), 1-11.

[9] R.H. Barrow, ed., *Prefect and Emperor, The Relations of Symmachus A.D. 384*, Oxford 1973, 32-47; Klein, supra note 8, 17-21, 177; J. Wytzes, supra note 3, 7-8.

[10] Bloch, HTR 38 (1945), 223-25; N.Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity*, Philadelphia 1960, 77-82; J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364-425*, Oxford 1975, 236-37; J. Wytzes, supra note 3, 13-15.

Eugenius as rival emperor in the West in 393, the pagans rallied behind him.[11] At the battle of the Frigidus the followers of Eugenius brought statues of Jupiter along and carried the image of Hercules on their standards while the army of Theodosius called upon the aid of the Christian god.[12] No mention is made of the Di Consentes in this last organized resistance to Christianity, but presumably their official cult did not survive Theodosius' victory.[13]

According to St. Augustine, at the time when Alaric the Goth took Rome, there were still pagans who blamed this misfortune on the Christians for their neglect of the traditional gods, and he produced his vision of the heavenly city, *De Civitate Dei*, to refute them.[14] St. Augustine does not name the pagan gods, but surely they would have included the Di Consentes, to whom had been attributed Rome's survival for six hundred years.

The cult of Tyche in Alexandria may have been established by Alexander the Great, but the Tychaion described by Libanius, a pagan contemporary of Julian (A.D. 361-363), sounds like a late Roman rotunda (T 24 A). Since it was situated by the temenos of the Muses, it would have been in the Palace area which, according to P.M. Fraser, was largely destroyed through factional strife in the time of Aurelian (A.D. 273).[15] Hence Libanius' Tychaion could have been a restoration of the late third or early fourth century. In any case, Libanius indicates that in his day the Tychaion contained statues of the Twelve Gods and was still connected with municipal government. If Libanius' Tychaion is the building which

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[11] King, supra note 10, 85-86; Matthews, supra note 10, 238-46, Wytzes, supra note 3, 15-21.

[12] King, supra note 10, 87-89; Matthews, supra note 10, 246-47; Wytzes, supra note 3, 21.

[13] A. Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft among the Romans*, Baltimore 1982, 149-61 sees a gradual transition from paganism to Christianity punctuated by four major pagan revivals in the fourth century, the last being that of Eugenius. To succeed, paganism needed a determined ruler or victorious pagan usurper, the support of the army, a vigorous program, and large-scale hostility to Christianity, but none of this materialized to any extent. King notes that after the battle of the Frigidus some six hundred noble families in Rome received baptism. Some undoubtedly saw the judgment of heaven in the pagan defeat; others saw Christianity as the key to imperial favor; still others may have been motivated by fear: R. Lanciani observed that he had never seen a building so devastated as the palace of the Symmachi and of the Nicomachi, which he studied in the 1880's. He saw in it the vengeance of the Roman populace upon the leading pagan aristocratic family after the battle: *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, New York 1967 reissue of 1897 publication, 346-48. Individual pagans could have survived, but public sacrifice to pagan gods must have ceased.

[14] Cf. his *Retractionum Libri II*, 69 quoted in G.E. McCracken, ed., Saint Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* [= Loeb Classical Library], I, Cambridge, Massachusetts-London 1966, 2.

[15] *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 10; II, 24 note 24 citing Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.16.15.

Ammianus Marcellinus called the Templum Genii, the populace was still strongly attached to Tyche as the patron of the city, if not to the Twelve Gods: George of Cappadocia, the Christian bishop of Alexandria, was lynched in 361 partly because he demanded how long the Templum Genii would be left standing.[16] Before the end of the fourth century, however, as Palladas indicates,[17] the Christians had won out, and the Tychaion had been converted to secular use as a tavern.

For Ephesos the evidence is sculptural. When the Temple of Hadrian was repaired in late antiquity, four relief blocks were placed in the pronaos.[18] Three are narrative, depicting the founding of Ephesos with Androklos hunting a boar, a Roman emperor in military dress sacrificing, Amazons fleeing from Herakles, and the Indian triumph of Dionysos. These are agreed to be *spolia* (reused material) from the time of the Tetrarchs.[19] The fourth block, D (Ephesos 3, figure 42), shows a row of thirteen standing deities.[20] Its date is disputed. F. Miltner, R. Fleischer, and G.M.A. Hanfmann hold that the style of the carving is Theodosian or perhaps, because of the subject matter, Julianic,[21] B. Brenk that it is Tetrarchic.[22]

The first six figures on block D are more widely spaced than the rest, and a vertical "break" runs through the seventh figure. R. Fleischer considered the right half a patch but affirmed that both were by the same sculptor.[23] If, however, the sculptor were merely patching out a relief, surely he could have avoided cutting through one figure. It seems more probable that he began carving the relief at the left end (as on the unfinished relief from Cyrene, figure 171). Finding he had spaced the first figures too widely, he crowded the rest of the figures into what space remained to bring the total up to the thirteen required. Later the block was sawn in two to facilitate moving it or fitting it into the pronaos of the Temple of Hadrian. Thus Block D was also reused.

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[16] Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.11.7, cited by D. Bowder, *The Age of Constantine and Julian*, New York 1978, 108-109.

[17] *Anthologia Palatina* IX.180, cited by P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, 393 note 418; discussed by C.M. Bowra, CQ 54 (1960), 122-25.

[18] On the Temple of Hadrian see F. Miltner, ÖJh 44 (1959) Beiblatt, cols. 264-66, drawing col. 275; H. Engelmann, ZPE 9 (1972), 91-96, dating its foundation to 132/133 and the inscription to 136/138.

[19] N. Saporiti, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* [= Marsyas suppl. 1], 270-75; R. Fleischer in *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, Vienna 1967, 238-58.

[20] I am most grateful to Dr. B. Brenk for providing me with photographs of this relief block.

[21] Miltner, ÖJh 44 (1959) Beiblatt, col. 271; Fleischer, *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 27-71; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine*, 92.

[22] IstMitt 18 (1968), 240-41, 246-48, 251, 258.

[23] R. Fleischer, *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 46.

There is evidence of activity about the Temple of Hadrian in both periods. During the time of the Tetrarchy, Junius Tiberianus, proconsul of Asia, placed bronze statues of the rulers in front of the temple.[24] Under Theodosius (379-395), Nummius Aemilianus Dexter replaced one of these with a statue of the emperor's father.[25] If the relief was carved earlier, nonetheless it appears to have been consciously reused in the Temple of Hadrian when it was restored in the late fourth century.[26]

The thirteen standing figures represent Roma with helmet and round shield, a veiled goddess probably Selene with a crescent on her head, a nude god with hands at his sides, nude Apollo whose kithara has been broken away, Artemis with her diagonal quiver strap, Androklos wearing a mural crown and accompanied by his dog, Herakles resting his club on his head, Dionysos(?) wearing a wreath, Hermes(?) in chiton and chlamys, an archaistic Hekate wearing a kalathos, a graceful, draped Aphrodite with a mirror, Ares wearing a muscle cuirass(?) and chlamys, and Athena with helmet, aegis, and round shield.[27] Except for Androklos,[28] the founder of Ephesos, all seem to be deities, six male and six female. They are not the Olympians. Three — Selene, the huntress Artemis, and Hekate — may be regarded as different aspects of Artemis, the chief goddess of Ephesos. The presence of Hekate recalls the wonder-working statue of the goddess at Ephesos which was manipulated by the Neoplatonist Maximus in the time of Julian.[29] Roma is not ordinarily one of the Twelve, but she balances Athena at the other end of the row. R. Fleischer compares them to the figures of Roma and Konstantinopolis on the base of the column of Arcadius.[30] These are not the twelve Olympians nor are they likely to be the Twelve recognized by the Tetrarchs since Zeus is absent, but they could, perhaps, be a set suitable for Ephesos shown in the company of the city's founder. Despite their lateness and crudity, several of the figures are clearly derived from earlier statue types, both archaistic (Selene, Hekate) and classicizing (Athena, Apollo, Artemis).[31]

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[24] J. Miltner, ÖJh 44 (1959) Beiblatt, cols. 266-68; B. Malthus, Opuscula Atheniensia 7 (1967), 94; B. Brenk, IstMitt 18 (1968), 250.

[25] J. Miltner, ÖJh 44 (1959) Beiblatt, cols. 268-69. On Nummius Aemilius Dexter see Jones-Martindale-Morris, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I, 251; J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 111-12.

[26] References supra, note 18.

[27] I have followed R. Fleischer in general on the identification of the figures, reserving judgment only on the god between Selene and Apollo. He could be Men, as Fleischer tentatively proposed, for there is a reference to (Men) Axiottenos as the twelfth seated god on T 47 from Saitta(e), Lydia. Originally F. Miltner identified the eighth, ninth, eleventh and twelfth figures as members of the imperial family.

[28] On Androklos see N. Saporiti, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, 270-71.

[29] R. Fleischer, *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 48 and note 132. Cf. J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empéreur Julian*, Paris 1965, 73.

[30] Ibid., 51.

The relief is a manifestation of the civic cult of the Twelve Gods; yet it adorned a building dedicated to the emperor Hadrian, one which continued to be associated with rulers as the bases set up in front show by their inscriptions naming the Tetrarchs and the father of Theodosius. As in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in Athens,[32] the Twelve are here juxtaposed with a local hero and with later rulers. What is peculiar is the date, for the relief seems to have been set in place in the late fourth century, possibly as part of the refurbishment of the temple by Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, a Christian.[33] Ephesos had been a strongly pagan city. The great temple of Artemis seems to have been despoiled only in A.D. 401 under the leadership of the patriarch, St. John Chrysostom.[34] The relief from the Temple of Hadrian is evidence that as late as the 390's the welfare and safety of the city were still linked with the Twelve Gods.

Association with the Ruler

Apart from the action taken by the people of Kyzikos honoring Hadrian (Kyzikos 1 = T 45), no Roman emperor received the title of Thirteenth God. The tale related by St. John Chrysostom that the Roman Senate declared Alexander the Thirteenth God (T 42 A) is a mistaken conflation of the fact that the Roman Senate declared Alexander Severus a *divus* after his assassination with the tradition that Alexander the Great was recognized as the Thirteenth God.[35]

At Kyzikos the pediment of the Hadrianeion may have contained a bust of the emperor in a medallion surrounded by representations of the Twelve Gods.[36] Under the Tetrarchy, all four living rulers appear surrounded by an assembly of gods on the Arch of Galerius at Thessalonike (Thessalonike 1, figure 108). Galerius erected the quadripartite arch shortly before A.D. 300 to commemorate the tetrarchs' military successes against the Parthians.[37] Both of the surviving piers are decorated with bands of (mostly) narrative relief, but the panel in question, Laubscher's panel B II 21, proclaims the divine status of the Tetrarchs.[38]

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[31] Fleischer compares the Apollo to Apollo Lykeios: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 50.

[32] Supra, 163, 253.

[33] References supra, note 25. On the Christian attitudes toward ancient sculptures in Constantinople see C. Mango, *Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder*, DOP 17 (1963), 55-75. M. Marvin notes that pagan images were allowed to remain in baths in the Christian era: AJA 87 (1983), 379-80.

[34] Palladius, *Dialogus* 13, cited by C. Foss, *Ephesos after Antiquity; A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge 1979, 86. R. Fleischer notes that Bishop John of Ephesos was still converting pagans in 532: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, 68.

[35] Supra, 283.

[36] Ibid., 278.

The Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, sit enthroned above the busts of Caelus and a sky goddess. Beside them stand the Caesars, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, while female personifications (symbolizing the provinces of Britain and Mesopotamia or Syria) kneel to the left and right.[39] In the lower left corner of the relief is Oceanus accompanied by a halflength female with a cornucopia (called Tethys by Laubscher); in the lower right an earth goddess with putti, cista mystica, and snake. Above these lower figures a row of eight standing gods flanks the rulers: Isis (sistrum), Virtus (Amazon type with helmet and trophy, leading a horse), one of the Dioscuri (chlamys, pileus) and Serapis (fully draped god wearing a modius on his head) on the left; Diocletian's patron Jupiter (half-draped, bearded), the other Dioscurus, an armed god carrying a trophy and leading a horse (identified as Mars by Laubscher, Honos by Rothman),[40] and Fortuna (cornucopia) on the right.

Laubscher identifies the goddess beside Caelus as Gaia,[41] but there is already an earth goddess in the lower right corner. Rothman regards the goddess as a duplication of Caelus forced upon the artist by the need to portray two emperors rather than a single heavenly ruler.[42] She rightly compares the arrangement of the emperors above personifications of sea, sky, and earth to that of the Dieberg plaque, where the central figure is Helios.[43] On the other hand, it seems excessive to see strong Mithraic influence upon the panel, as she does, because Mithras himself is absent as well as Sol and Luna. There can be no doubt, however, that placing the living emperors above the sky gods proclaims them to be supreme in heaven as on earth.

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[37] M.S.P. Rothman, AJA 81 (1977), 427-54.

[38] Excellent recent studies of the iconography: H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* [= Archäologische Forschungen 1], Berlin 1975, especially 69-78, pls. 45, 1; 51; 58-60, 1; M.S.P. Rothman, ByzStud 2 (1975), 19-40.

[39] H.P. Laubscher, supra note 38, 70-71, 74-75; M.S.P. Rothman, supra note 38, 22; eadem, AJA 81 (1977), 444.

[40] H.P. Laubscher, supra note 38, 73; M.S.P. Rothman, supra note 38, 24-25. According to Laubscher, the horses are those of the Augusti for whom the gods serve as grooms. He cites a follis issued by the city of Rome showing Mars with the trophy leading a horse, which bears the legend MARTI C-O-M-ITI AVGN [= C.H.V. Sutherland-R.A.G. Carson, *Roman Imperial Coinage* VI, *From Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)*, London 1967, 379, no. 218].

[41] Laubscher, supra note 38, 75-76.

[42] Rothman, supra note 38, 26-28. Both Laubscher and Rothman cite as parallels for the composition Jupiter enthroned above Caelus on a sarcophagus with the Judgment of Paris in the Villa Medici and Christ enthroned above Caelus on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Cf. also A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography; a Study of its Origins* [= Bollingen Series XXXV.10], Princeton 1968 reprinted 1980, 43.

[43] Rothman, supra note 42 and pl. 12. On the Dieberg plaque see M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II, no. 1247, fig. 324, with bibliography; *Römer am Rhein; Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln 15. April bis 30. Juni* 1967, 169-70, A 123, pls. 44-45.

There are thirteen gods in all, but "Tethys" seems to be a mere appendage of Oceanus, inserted to balance the babies of the earth goddess in the opposite corner. Alternatively, the sky goddess could be regarded as a duplication of Caelus. By either means, the total can be reduced to twelve, and the function of the deities seems similar to that of the Twelve Gods — maintaining order, though here, as on Rome 5 (frontispiece), it would be the order of the universe, not the individual city state.

On Rome 5, the gods were the twelve Olympians. Here the only Olympian certainly present is Jupiter. However, the armed god may well represent Mars, for there is a similar figure on an aureus issued by Constantius Chlorus with the legend MARTI VICTORI and on aes issued by Galerius himself with the legend VIRTVTI EXERCITVS.[44] The identification of the figure as Honos is less satisfactory: Honos does not appear on tetrarchic coins; the Trajanic figures identified as Honos do not carry a trophy.[45] Other figures could be regarded as abstract substitutions for Olympians: Oceanus for Neptune, the earth goddess for Ceres or perhaps Venus, Virtus for Minerva. Fortuna and the Dioscuri are combined with the weekday gods to make a set of twelve on Matisco/Macon 1 and had old Italian cults. Isis and Serapis, however, are oriental gods. Both had associations with Thessalonike: Serapis possessed a sanctuary there from the end of the third century B.C., which was flourishing in the third century after Christ.[46] Isis had the cult epithet of Tyche, which relates her to the city goddess.[47] The divine assembly here could thus be regarded as the Twelve Gods of Thessalonike.

There is no other evidence for a cult of the Twelve Gods in Thessalonike. O. Weinreich cited an inscription from the time of the Roman empire mentioning a priest of the Twelve Gods (T 62 A).[48] Unfortunately the relevant portion reads TON THEON DO---, not TON DODEKA THEON as, for example, on Ostia 1. Where the number twelve follows the word for gods, the article is usually repeated as in T 18 C, T 29 A 2. C. Edson, who edited the inscriptions of Thessalonike, notes two other inscriptions which list persons as priests of the gods (number not specified) and concludes that the DO--- here is the name of a person, not DO(DEKA).[49] L. Robert added a second inscription, but on this the entire phrase is restored.[50]

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[44] Sutherland-Carson, *Roman Imperial Coinage* VI, 167, Treviri no. 31; 587, Cyzicus nos. 50-52, pl. 14, 52.

[45] K. Fittschen, AA 87 (1972), 756-57, figs. 10, 31. On earlier coins Honos is still another type, a young, half-draped male holding a cornucopia: M. Bieber, AJA 49 (1945), 25-34.

[46] F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* II; *La culte d'Isis en Grèce* [= EPRO 26], Leiden 1973, 182-91.

[47] Ibid., 187.

[48] *Zwölfgötter* 787 B 29.

Though the arch was erected by Galerius, it seems unlikely that these gods represent a set of twelve recognized by the Tetrarchs themselves because neither Hercules/Herakles, the patron of Maximian, nor Helios/Sol, the patron of Galerius himself,[51] is included.

What is particularly interesting here is the position of the rulers vis-à-vis the Twelve Gods. On the compitum of the Via dell' Abbondanza (Pompeii 1), the Genius of the emperor was represented below the Twelve Gods. He could thus be regarded as their vice regent upon earth. The Parthian monument at Ephesos showed the (deceased) emperor Lucius Verus seated in an assembly of gods.[52] In the pediment of the Temple of Hadrian at Kyzikos, the emperor was set apart from the gods by being portrayed in the form of a bust within a medallion.[53] Here the living Tetrarchs are translated to the heavens and take their places in the center as the chief gods of the pantheon. The Twelve are their subordinates.

In the scramble for power after Diocletian retired, Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, eventually emerged as sole ruler. He seems at first to have been inclined to solar monotheism,[54] but before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge he was inspired to fight under the symbol of the Christian God. When he defeated Maxentius there, who presumably had the traditional gods of Rome on his side, it followed that the God of the Christians must be that Supreme Being on whom the welfare of the state depended, and Constantine accepted Him as such.[55] If he omitted the traditional sacrifices to the gods on his entry into Rome,[56] this would have been in accordance with Roman attitudes: He was indebted to the Christian God for his success, not to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the rest. Thus Constantine had established a new divine patron for the state. Though he might neglect the traditional deities, he did not directly attack them. The pagan gods were not effaced from the Hadrianic medallions which were built into the Arch of Constantine, and medallions with Sol and Luna were carved for the arch.[57] Constantius II also made no essential changes in the traditional pagan religion of Rome and even named a pagan prefect.[58] A later prefect, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, as we have seen, restored the Portico of the Di Consentes.[59]

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[49] HSCP 51 (1940), 127-29; *IG* X.2.1 (1972), no. 31.

[50] *Études anatoliennes; recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure,* Amsterdam 1970, 448 note 3.

[51] Divine patrons of the Tetrarchs: H. Dörries, *Constantine the Great,* New York-Evanston-San Francisco-London 1972, 24-25; tetrarchic religious policy: J.H.W.G. Leibeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion,* Oxford 1979, 35-43.

[52] Supra, 278.

[53] Ibid.

[54] F. Altheim, *Der unbesiegte Gott,* 104-107, 115-17; Dörries, supra note 51, 24, 31-32; Liebeschuetz, supra note 51, 277-79; T. Christensen, *Christos oder Jupiter; der Kampf um die geistigen Grundlagen des römischen Reiches,* Göttingen 1981, 154-56.

[55] K. Kraft in H. Kraft, ed., *Konstantin der Grosse* [= Wege der Forschung 131], Darmstadt 1974, 300-336; Liebeschuetz, supra note 51, 291-92.

[56] Cf. Dörries, supra note 51, 40-41; 43-44.

There was, however, an important question of precedence to be resolved — the relationship of the emperor to the Christian God. The earlier emperors could be regarded as vice regents of the gods, but the Tetrarchs on the Arch of Galerius occupy the supreme rank in the pantheon. Constantine was their successor. The seated portrait of Constantine in the Basilica Nova in Rome may have been provided with a lance in the form of a cross or topped by the labarum, but its colossal size indicated the superhuman rank of Constantine himself.[60]

In his new capital, Constantine recycled a statue of Helios to represent himself.[61] This was not an unknown pagan practice, for Nero's colossal portrait, from which the Colosseum takes its name, was transformed into Sol after Nero suffered damnatio memoriae, and later Commodus replaced its head with his own portrait.[62] I. Karayannopoulos' doubts that the statue identified Constantine with Helios have been refuted by S. Kyriakides.[63] Certainly Constantine was recognized as a Christian saint in the fourth century, and the icons placed for worship at the base of the column which held this statue sound very like the Christianization of the ruler cult.[64]

Two of Constantine's tetrarch predecessors had built mausolea within their palace complexes — Diocletian and Galerius. Both were centralized, domed structures standing in open courts.[65] For his burial place Constantine erected a similar building but added four arms, making it cross-shaped, and dedicated it as a church to the Holy Apostles.[66] According to Eusebius (T 56 A),[67] Constantine himself had his sarcophagus placed in the center, flanked by memorials to the twelve Apostles. A Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, Nikolaos Mesarites, interpreted this arrangement as signifying Constantine was the thirteenth apostle of orthodoxy (T 56 C) while Nicephorus Xanthopulus writing in the fourteenth century claimed that the church was built above an earlier altar of the Twelve Gods (T 56 D).

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[57] H.P. L'Orange-A. von Gerkan, *Spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogen* [= Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 10], Berlin 1939, 162-81. Cf. also Christensen, supra note 54, 210-11.

[58] R. Klein, *Symmachus*, 28-29.

[59] Supra, 305-306.

[60] H. Kahler, JdI 67 (1952), 1-3; H. Dörries, *Constantine the Great*, 42-43; J. Vogt in H. Kraft ed., *Konstantin der Grosse*, 369-73.

[61] T. Preger, Hermes 36 (1901), 457-69; I. Karayannopoulos, Historia 5 (1965), 341-57; C. Mango, DOP 17 (1963), 57 and note 13; H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* [= Studia Archeologica 2], Rome 1969, 20.

[62] Pliny, *Natural History* XXXIV.45-46; Dio Cassius LXII.22.3; discussed by Blanck, supra note 61, 17-18.

[63] Karayannopoulos, supra note 61; Kyriakides, Hellenika 17 (1962), 219-51.

[64] On the extant remains of the column see C. Vett, AA 44 (1929), cols. 340-42; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, 255-57.

The location of the Church of the Holy Apostles outside the Greek city of Byzantion and inland makes it extremely unlikely that it replaced an altar to the Twelve Gods.[68] In Rome Constantine did not build churches on the sites of pagan shrines but outside the city on imperial property,[69] and it seems probable that he would have avoided such places in Constantinople as well. I know of no church dedicated to the Holy Apostles built above an altar to the Twelve Gods. In Athens, the Church of the Holy Apostles was erected at the opposite corner of the agora from the earlier altar of the Twelve Gods three-quarters of a millennium after the earlier cult had been abandoned.[70] Nonetheless it may be significant that a Byzantine writer would link Constantine's tomb with the cult of the Twelve Gods.

In the Church of the Holy Apostles, the focus was on Constantine. In R. Krautheimer's words,[71]

> ostensibly the tomb was the mausoleum of the Emperor and a martyrium was dedicated to the apostles. Its connotation, however, was that of the heroon-martyrium of the Emperor himself; ... where he was venerated as the thirteenth of the Disciples, in the company of the Twelve Apostles themselves; and where he was the centre, if not of devotion, of attention, as much as or more than the Eucharist celebrated near by.

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[65] Mausoleum of Diocletian: D.S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1943 reprinted 1954, 255-57; Mausoleum of Galerius: J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 2nd edition, Penguin Books, 1981, 450-54.

[66] On the Church of the Holy Apostles see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Penguin Books 1965, 72-73.

[67] On the authorship of the *Vita Constantini* see F. Winckelman, ed., *Eusebius Werke* I.1, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, Berlin 1975, lvi-lvii, who accepts it as mostly the work of Eusebius himself.

[68] Supra, 154; T 11 E. On the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Fatih Camii which replaced it see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 405-11, with bibliography.

[69] R. Krautheimer, *Rome; Profile of a City*, 29-31.

[70] The basic source for the Athenian Church of the Holy Apostles is A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles* [= Athenian Agora 20], Princeton 1971.

[71] Reference supra, note 66.

A. Heisenberg concluded that Constantine wished to be buried as Christ, and O. Weinreich saw this as the latest instance of a ruler claiming the rank of Thirteenth God.[72] Of the earlier instances cited by Weinreich, Charmylos on Kos was a private citizen and had a rectangular tomb, not a rotunda (T 29 D). Philip II of Macedon may have aspired to be recognized as the Thirteenth God; after his conquests, Philip's son, Alexander the Great, demanded it, but later rulers avoided the connection. After the posthumous cult of Eumenes II of Pergamon there was a gap of centuries before the people of Kyzikos, across the Propontis from Constantinople, honored Hadrian as the Thirteenth God. Alexander Severus achieved no higher rank than divus. Thus Constantine was not following a long established tradition which recognized the ruler as the Thirteenth God.

The source for Constantine's burial arrangements lies rather in the preceding half century — in the cult of Sol Invictus as the universal supreme god and in the Tetrarchs assuming, as they did in the panel of the emperors enthroned on the Arch of Galerius (Thessalonike 1), the place of the Supreme Being in heaven surrounded by the Twelve Gods.[73] Before he took up Christianity, Constantine had been interested in solar religion. It was a statue of Helios, the sun god, which he appropriated for his portrait in Constantinople. We shall presently discuss a diadem from the time of Aurelian (270-275), which shows Sol Invictus as the Thirteenth God flanked by the Olympians (Laodikeia 1, figures 60-61).[74] The position of the emperors on the Arch of Galerius is comparable to that of Helios = Sol on the Dieberg plaque. If Constantine was the first Christian emperor, he was also the heir of the Tetrarchs, and his burial arrangements proclaim that he, like the Tetrarchs, was the Supreme Being. He no longer equated himself with Sol but, as Heisenberg concluded, with Christ, who had given him the victory over Maxentius. Subsequently it may have been felt that Constantine claimed too high an honor for himself. At all events, Constantius II removed his father's sarcophagus from the Church of the Holy Apostles on the pretext that the building was unsafe and placed it in a rotunda next to the church, where later emperors were also entombed.[75]

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[72] A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* II; *Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel*, Leipzig 1908; O. Weinreich, *Triskaidekadische Studien; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zahlen* [= Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 16, 1], Giessen 1916, 3-14; idem, *Zwölfgötter*, 788 B 30; 848 N 114. Contra, T. Christensen, supra note 54, 237-38.

[73] Supra, 310-13.

[74] Infra, 320-22.

[75] A. Heisenberg, supra note 72, 97-117; R. Egger, ÖJh 16 (1913), 212-30; P. Grierson, DOP 16 (1962), 5-6, 21, 23; R. Krautheimer, supra note 66, 91.

Pagan Philosophy and Religion

At Aquae Cutiliae in the Sabine territory near Rome, there was found an altar dedicated to the Most Holy Twelve Gods by T. Flavius Iulianus (T 53). The dedicator is otherwise unknown, but the name Flavius Iulianus occurs in Roman prosopography of the third and fourth centuries.[76] Presumably, therefore, the altar is late. The gods themselves are not named.

Middle and Later Platonism

In the extant fragments, Iamblichus refers twice to the Twelve Gods, both times as leaders (*Hegemones*).[77] In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (T 41 D), he regards them as hypercosmic deities from whom come powers (dynameis). In his commentary on the *Parmenides* (T 41 E) he is concerned with the properties of numbers. The number twelve is that of the Twelve Gods, each of whom is essentially joined to the form of twelve.

From the references in the writings of Neoplatonic philosophers, it is apparent that they interpreted the passage in the *Phaedrus* concerning the journey of the gods through the heavens (T 19) in terms of the Twelve Gods. Hermeias (T 19 A) and Sallustius (T 41 F) mention the twelve (concentric) spheres of the kosmos. According to Hermeias, it was debated whether the Twelve Gods were the actual spheres, i.e., the outermost (*aplane*), the seven planetary spheres, and the four elements, or whether they were the souls which governed these, or again the intellects which governed the souls. Still another view, according to Hermeias, equated Zeus with the sun and Hestia with the zodiacal "house" of the sun, i.e., Cancer, for which Jupiter acted as tutela according to Manilius (T 40 C). Hermeias himself subscribed to a different interpretation which we shall take up shortly, but Sallustius adhered to the view that the Olympians governed the spheres, an interpretation in keeping with the concept of the gods as tutelae of the planets. In so far as possible, each Olympian was connected with the planet or element usually associated with him or her. Demeter received the planet of Kronos (Saturn), presumably because Kronos was not an Olympian, and Athena the outermost sphere, the aither. According to Diogenes Laertius, Zeno had long before associated Athena with the aither.[78] Hermeias' sources ascribed the outermost sphere (*aplane*) to Zeus, presumably because Plato had made him the chief of the gods, but this would have created a problem concerning the divine protector of the planet Jupiter.

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[76] For persons named Flavius Iulianus see *RE* 12 (1909) sv. *Flavius*, nos. 102-104; Jones-Martindale-Morris, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I, 478, 756. The earliest recorded, L. Flavius Iulianus, L. f. Quirina, served as quaester during the reign of Antoninus Pius: Academia Litterarum Borussica, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I.II.III.*, 2nd edition, III, Berlin 1943, no. 296.

[77] J.M. Dillon, ed., *Iamblichi Chalcidensis In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, Leiden 1973, 190-191, 214-217 with commentary on 395.

Hermeias himself linked the Twelve with the four divine functions of the kosmos, a view to which Sallustius (T 41 F) and Proclus (T 41 H) also subscribed. These were the creative, the life-giving, the protecting, and the harmonizing (Sallustius) or elevating (Proclus). Each function had three subdivisions — beginning, middle, and end; hence there were twelve in all. According to Hermeias, twelve is the product of the perfect (*teleios*) number three and the generating (*genesiourgos*) number four; thus twelve furnishes the whole divine order. Consequently there can be no gods outside it. Therefore Sallustius incorporates Dionysos in Zeus, Asklepios in Apollo, and the Charites in Aphrodite. Hermeias, on the other hand, makes Dionysos the Thirteenth God on the ground that he is both one of the gods and one of those made a god (T 19 A). Hermeias also provides a number for each of the Olympians apart from the dyad of Zeus and Hestia.

Within the 4 x 3 framework established by the Neoplatonists, each Olympian had a place:

Creative	Life-giving	Protecting	Harmonizing (Elevating)
Zeus	Demeter	Hestia	Hermes
Poseidon	Hera	Athena	Aphrodite
Hephaistos (Hermeias says Plouton)	Artemis	Ares	Apollo

Proclus treats the gods as abstractions of their individual functions in assigning them: Hermes, for example, is a leader of souls. Sallustius seems more influenced by iconographic types: Apollo harmonizes with his lyre; Athena, who usually wears armor, protects; and Aphrodite is nude because her function, harmony, creates beauty and beauty is not concealed. Except for Athena, these are not the types commonly chosen in representational groups of the Twelve Gods. There Apollo generally carries the kithara and is dressed as a kitharode while Aphrodite is modestly draped, not nude. Sallustius, then, is not thinking of any particular set of Olympians but determining their position on the basis of the attributes usually given the individual gods.[79]

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[78] VII.147 cited by A.D. Nock, ed., *Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, Cambridge 1926, lvii-lx.

The Neoplatonists accepted the Twelve Gods as a legacy from Plato. For them the Twelve are the Olympians, who control the universe like their counterparts on Rome 5. Like the Twelve on the Mithraic relief from Osterburken (Osterburken 1), however, they are remote from what really concerns the philosophers. Ingenious Academic speculation produced an elaborate numerical system into which the Olympians could be neatly fitted. They were also related to the concentric spheres of the kosmos, a theory which may have been derived from Middle Platonism.[80] Speculation like this was limited to an élite still attached to the traditional pagan cults. Sallustius may have intended his pamphlet for ordinary pagan worshippers, as a counterblast to Christian writings,[81] but it did not bring about a pagan revival.

Other Late Pagan Writers

Palladas in an epigram on the faithlessness of women (T 43 B) complains that a mistress who has sworn to be true (presumably by the Twelve Gods as in Attic comedy) may break faith by seeking twelve newer gods. W.R. Paton correctly interprets the newer gods as a gibe at the twelve Apostles.[82] By conversion to Christianity, she may avoid the consequences of swearing falsely. The substitution of the apostles for the Twelve Gods recalls Constantine's placing of memorials of the twelve Apostles on either side of his sarcophagus.[83]

Martianus Capella in his *Wedding of Philology and Mercury* (T 37 B) recalls the old Roman view of the Twelve Gods, citing Ennius' distich naming the twelve Olympians and referring to them as the colleagues of Jupiter Tonans.[84]

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[79] In his commentary on this passage, G. Rochefort relates the type of Apollo to the ivory Apollo by Bryaxis in the Temple of Apollo at Daphne: *Saloustios, Des dieux et du monde*, Paris 1960, 34. One could also cite the Knidian Aphrodite for the nudity of Aphrodite, but I doubt that Sallustius had any specific statue in mind.

[80] J.M. Dillon, supra note 77, 251.

[81] Sallustius is generally identified as Saturninus Salutius Secundus, Prefect of the East under Julian (A.D. 361-363). Cf. most recently P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography*, Oxford-New York 1981, 68 note 74, 126-27, 154-57. R. Étienne preferred Flavius Sallustius, Julian's Prefect of Gaul: REA 65 (1963), 104-13. His argument has been refuted by G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978, 125 Appendix III.

[82] W.R. Paton, ed., *The Greek Anthology* IV [= Loeb Classical Library], London-New York 1918, note on pp. 32-33.

[83] Supra, 315-16.

[84] Cf. supra, 235.

Association with Sol Invictus

Shortly before the second World War, Professor F. Altheim discovered a gold diadem of Sol Invictus in the Aleppo art market, which was said to have come from Laodikeia in Syria.[85] It has since been acquired by the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne[86] (Laodikeia 1, figures 60-61).

In type it resembles the diadem of Cybele (Neapolis/Nablus 1), but its workmanship is cruder. Instead of soldered loops for the ribbon fasteners, the ends are roughly perforated, with the holes going right through the embossed figures. The figures themselves were not formed from individual dies as on the diadem of Cybele but impressed from two matrices, one with a row of gods, the other with a frontal head of Sol Invictus beneath a gable, flanked by his horses' heads. Because of the narrowness of the gold strip, only the upper parts of the figures could be fitted on. The craftsman, who was apparently a native of the area where the diadem was found, worked from left to right, embossing the left end first, then the center, and finally the right end.

The ends were formed on the same matrix, for the eight figures discernible on the right end reproduce the first eight of the ten on the left.[87] Above the row of gods the matrix had a foliate band in relief, part of which was embossed above the last figure on the left end and the first three figures on the right. Thus on a miniature scale the matrix would have resembled the relief of the Twelve Gods and Androklos from Ephesos (Ephesos 3).

The crudity of the work makes it difficult to identify some of the deities,[88] but from left to right they appear to be: Jupiter/Zeus with an out-sized thunderbolt and scepter rather than Neptune/Poseidon as proposed by J. Brackner; [89] a goddess with a diadem(?) and a long scepter, by position Juno/Hera; Minerva/Athena, easily recognizable by her spear and shield; a deity with the legs swathed in drapery and with the right hand raised and balled (Aphrodite according to Bracker, possibly Vulcan/Hephaistos wearing a himation);[90] a bearded and half-draped god, Neptune/Poseidon with his rudder rather than Asklepios holding a snake (Bracker); Ceres/Demeter, again easily recognizable by her flaming torch; Apollo Citharedus holding his cithara; a goddess not unlike Selene on Ephesos 3, wearing a veil over her head, from her position Diana/Artemis rather than Rhea as proposed by Bracker; on the left end only, Mars/Ares in a waist-length cuirass over a knee-length chiton, holding a standard or trophy and shield; a slender goddess resembling a xoanon, who should be Venus/Aphrodite next to Mars/Ares. All ten deities can be identified as Olympians, and they seem to be paired like the month gods. The two missing, Mercury/Hermes and Vesta/Hestia, are also paired among the month gods. It seems quite probable, therefore, that the matrix used for the row of gods depicted the twelve Olympians as tutelae of the months.

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[85] F. Altheim, Welt als Geschichte 5 (1939), 300-302; idem, *Die Soldatenkaiser*, Frankfurt am Main 1939, 281-84; republished in translation by G.H. Halsberghe, *Cult of Sol Invictus*, 160-61. I am most grateful to Professor Dr. Ruth Altheim-Stiehl for confirming the supposed provenience of the diadem.

[86] J. Bracker, AA (1974), 79; Kölner Römer-Illustrierte 1 (1974), 104, figs. 210-12. My warm thanks to Dr. I.D. Stutzinger, formerly of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, for assistance concerning the diadem and to Dr. H. Hellenkemper, Director, and Dr. M. Riedel of the staff for enabling me to examine the diadem in March 1982.

[87] Professor Altheim counted eleven figures on the left, the first being damaged by the hole for the ribbon tie. Bracker omitted this from his list. To my eye it looked more like an out-sized thunderbolt, and I could find no trace of a figure in the corresponding position on the right.

[88] I base my identifications on my own examination. Professor Altheim recognized among the figures Apollo, Mars, Venus and Neptune but did not specify which they were: Welt als Geschichte 5 (1939), 302.

[89] Kölner Römer-Illustrierte 1 (1974) 104.

On the naiskos of Cybele in Cairo (Unknown Provenience 2, figure 126) the head of Helios forms the central acroterion and the Twelve Gods occupy the basement. Conceivably the matrices used to emboss the diadem of Sol Invictus were the pediment and basement of another naiskos of Cybele, but of this there can be no proof. As juxtaposed on the diadem, the sun god and the tutelae of the months could signify the passage of the year.

The sun god, however, is Sol Invictus. From its poor workmanship, the diadem should have been produced during the third-century collapse. Within this period, as F. Altheim indicated in his original publication,[91] the iconography best fits the reign of Aurelian (A.D. 270-275). The Syrian sun god, whose cult Elagabalus promoted, was shown as a conical stone with an eagle; the sun god of Palmyra as a warrior god.[92] The type which Aurelian chose for his Sol Invictus, the radiate sun god in a frontal quadriga, goes back to Greek representations of Helios.[93] It is found on

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[90] This figure does have a rather well-developed breast, but its attire seems to be a himation similar to that worn by Neptune/Poseidon. Vulcan/Hephaistos may wear a himation and is often paired with Minerva/Athena as on Rome 6 and 8.

[91] References supra, note 85.

[92] Altheim, Welt als Geschichte 5 (1939), 301; Halsberghe, *Cult of Sol Invictus*, 160. Cf. also the coinage of Elagabalus: Mattingly-Carson-Hill, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* V; *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, 2nd edition, British Museum 1975, 546, 560, 572, 574, 575, pls. 89, 7; 91, 2, 8.

[93] K. Schauenburg, *Helios; Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott*, Berlin 1955, 38-39, 44, note 320 citing examples.

Roman coinage before the end of the second century B.C.[94] Though not unknown in Sassanian art,[95] this sun god is essentially Greco-Roman. In making Sol Invictus the chief god of the Roman state, moreover, Aurelian followed Roman procedures, founding a temple in Rome, establishing games in his honor, and setting up a college of pontiffs[96] (in which Vettius Praetextatus later served). On the diadem Sol Invictus is flanked by the Olympians, the Roman Di Consentes. He is thus the chief god of the Roman pantheon, the Thirteenth God in conjunction with the Twelve. Made and worn in Syria, the diadem is Roman in iconography and shows the imposition of Roman religion upon the east.

The Stephanephoros from Sardis

A vaulted tomb excavated at Manisa produced a small portrait head of an elderly man wearing a diadem with twelve tiny draped busts (Sardis 1, figures 102-103). Because of its similarities to a portrait head of Diocletian in shape, hair style and forehead wrinkle, it must belong to the period of the Tetrarchy.[97]

The diadem identifies the man as a stephanephoros or priest. Usually such priests served the imperial cult, though we have found one earlier head, Ephesos 2, with exactly twelve busts, which might represent a priest of the Twelve Gods.[98] The office of stephanephoros is attested at Sardis from the Hellenistic period.[99]

The heads on the diadem are all male, unshaven rather than beardless, and provided with the type of hat worn by the Tetrarchs. There are too many heads for them to be the Tetrarchs, and, if earlier emperors had been included, some of these should have had full beards, like the imperial portrait statues shown in the Oratio scene on the Arch of Constantine.[100] It is also obvious, since the heads are all male, that they cannot represent the twelve Olympians. One possibility remains. Southeast of Sardis, in the mountains of Lycia, there existed in the third century after Christ a cult of twelve identical male hunting gods to whom a series of reliefs were dedicated (Komba 1-25).[101] A similar set of twelve armed gods was depicted in the Hittite rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya east of Sardis some fifteen hundred years earlier.[102] The stephanephoros from Sardis may have served some native cult of this type. Unlike the Lycian reliefs, however, his portrait belongs stylistically with official tetrarchic sculpture.

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[94] M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, 318 no. 389, 73C, pl. XLI. Denarius issued by A. Manlius Q.F. Ser., dated 118-107 B.C. Cf. also J.P.C. Kent-M. and A. Hirmer, *Roman Coins*, New York 1978, no. 41 dated c. 115 B.C.

[95] H.P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmis Kingship*, Oslo-Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, 66, fig. 40 a-c.

[96] F. Altheim, *Welt als Geschichte* 5 (1939), 302-303; idem, *Der unbesiegte Gott*, 89-102; G.H. Halsberghe, *Cult of Sol Invictus*, 135-48. On the Temple of Sol Invictus in Rome see most recently F. Coarelli in U. Bianchi-M.J. Vermaseren eds., *La Soteriologia dei Culti Orientali nell' Impero Romano* [= EPRO 92], Leiden 1982, 47-48.

[97] E. Rosenbaum in Inan-Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, 166; G.M.A. Hanfmann-N.H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975* [= Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 2], Cambridge, Massachusetts,-London 1978, 101.

[98] Supra, 277.

[99] G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983, 113 and note 14. He does not mention the portrait head under discussion.

Decorative Metalwork

Various metal reliefs from storage chests (*scrinia*) of the fourth century represent gods of the Roman pantheon, sometimes even in conjunction with Christian subjects.[103] This mingling of pagan and Christian elements suggests that they were selected for their decorative quality rather than their religious significance. In no case is a complete set of twelve gods preserved.

From Kaiseraugst in Switzerland there is a fragment of a silver-plated bronze cylindrical box, which seems to have had twelve figures standing in arcades (Augusta Raurica/Augst 1, figure 19). The three which survive are: Apollo (only his hand resting on a cithara), Minerva (helmet, aegis, shield and spear, accompanied by her owl perched on a candelabrum), and Mercury (caduceus, moneybag, goat). All are Olympians, but they have no particular associations apart from belonging among the Twelve Gods. It is probable that originally the box showed the twelve Olympians, possibly arranged in pairs but not according to any of the systems we have encountered elsewhere. The presence of Minerva between Apollo and Mercury proves that the set did not represent the planetary gods.[104]

Though the subject matter is pagan, the style is transitional between Roman and early mediaeval art. The frontal poses and statuesque types recall earlier representations of the Twelve Gods, but the bodies have become insubstantial. Their flowing, curving lines, especially in the case of Minerva suggest later manuscript illumination.

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[100] H.P. L'Orange-A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, Berlin 1939, 82-83.

[101] Supra, 301-304.

[102] Yazilikaya 1-2; supra, 144.

[103] H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* I, *Katalog* [= Wiener Byzantinische Studien 9], Vienna 1971, especially 135, A 65; 142-43, A669.

[104] The planetary gods may have been represented on another box from Augst. The extant fragment shows Luna: A. Kaufmann-Heinemenn, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz* I, *Augst und das Gebiet der Colonia Augusta Raurica*, Mainz 1977, 110, no. 168, pl. 109.

Another row of deities, rather more rounded in modelling, with heads in profile instead of frontal, appears on a fragment from a bronze-plated iron chest found in Trier (Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, figure 30). Here spirally twisted columns support a horizontal architrave which carries a triangular pediment above each god. The five extant figures are: Sol/Apollo (radiate head, laurel branch), Bacchus (young, nude god with cantherus and thyrsus), Fortuna (cornucopia and rudder), Mercury (cock, tortoise, caduceus, moneybag, wings on head), and Neptune or Jupiter (nude, bearded god with a long staff which may have belonged to either a trident or a scepter). The left end is broken, but it looks as if Fortuna had been placed in the center with two gods on either side. If the other side also had five figures and each end one, there would have been twelve in all. How many gods there were originally is quite uncertain. At least two were not Olympians, but all occur elsewhere among the Twelve Gods and this would be an appropriate subject for a chest which might hold important, possibly even official, documents.

The representation of gods who were earlier numbered among the Twelve continued well into the Christian era. A silver pail dated by its stamps to the reign of Heraklios (610-614) has three pairs of deities embossed on its sides: Apollo and Artemis, Ares and Aphrodite, and Herakles and Athena[105] (figures 152-55). Among the Twelve, Athena is usually paired with Hephaistos or Poseidon, but she is paired with Herakles on the earliest representation of the Twelve Gods (Athens 1) as well as on the Albani puteal (Tibur/Tivoli 1). On the pail he may have been included as a compliment to the emperor. The foliate bands above and below the gods recall those above the Twelve Gods on the panel with the emperors enthroned from the Arch of Galerius (Thessalonike 1) and the relief from the temple of Hadrian at Ephesos (Ephesos 3).

The Month Gods in Trier

At the end of the third or early in the fourth century after Christ, when Augusta Treverorum was the capital of Constantius Chlorus, a certain Monnus laid a polychrome carpet mosaic which included representations of the months and seasons (Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, figures

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[105] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, inv. no. VII A 95. H., 0.258 m. R. Noll, *Katalog der Antikensammlung* I; *Vom Altertum zur Mittelalter*, 83, no. P 1, fig. 57 with bibliography; AA 83 (1968), 807, fig. 3. The Corbridge Lanx has a collection of five Olympians — Diana, Minerva, Juno, Vesta, Apollo: E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* 20, pl. 56, second half of the fourth century.

20-29).[106] The mosaic by Monnus is smaller than Hellín 1, and the passage of the year is a secondary theme occupying the panels nearest the edges. Originally each corner contained a youthful male Season riding the beast associated with him, but only Autumn riding a panther is well preserved (figure 21). Four square panels adjacent to the corners with the Seasons and eight rhomboidal panels, two on each side, contained divine busts labelled with the names of the months in Latin.

The twelve trapezoidal panels contiguous with the border may have contained the signs of the zodiac. Unfortunately only part of one is now extant, situated to the left of the summer Season between the panels for June and July. This has the hindquarters and body of a lion, which could be interpreted as the zodiac sign Leo (figure 29). In the restoration published by F. Hettner a few years after the discovery of the mosaic,[107] the trapezoidal panel to the left of this one contains what seem to be the legs or claws of a crab, i.e., of Cancer, the sign preceding Leo. No traces of this remain in the panel today, as L. Dahm has observed, and there is no documentation for the drawing.[108] Consequently it is uncertain whether the signs of the zodiac were included. The lion alone is insufficient evidence because a similar carpet mosaic in Orbe, Switzerland, which had the weekday gods as its subject, has a border of running wild animals, among them a lion.[109]

Of the panels with the months eight are extant, at least in part. For April only the label survives. In the position of May there is a fragment of a caduceus, symbol of Mercury. The six remaining gods are: June — a diademed goddess with a scepter, presumably Juno; July — bearded Neptune with a trident; found out of context but now placed in the panel for August — a beardless deity in a red garment, either Ceres or Diana; September — bearded Vulcan equipped with tongs; October — youthful Bacchus crowned with vine leaves and provided with a beribboned thyrsus; November — Isis with her sistrum.

Among the painted medallions from Pompeii (Pompeii 3), Bacchus is the mirror image of the Trier Bacchus. It is uncertain, however, whether he was present as the patron of October.

As the table in Chapter IV indicates, the set of month gods represented in the mosaic of Monnus is farther from that given by Manilius than is the set of the Hellín mosaic. Hellín and Trier agree in assigning Mercury to May whereas he is the tutela of June in the rustic calendars and of Cancer according to Manilius. May was the month named in honor of his mother Maia and the month in which their festival was celebrated.[110] There is general agreement on Vulcan as the tutela of September and/or Libra. Bacchus had replaced Mars as the god of October, a change foreshadowed by the allusion to the vintage in the Hellín panel for October. Finally both Hellín and Trier show Isis as the goddess for November, the month in which occurred the festival of Isis, whereas earlier Manilius had Diana. The fragmentary state of the mosaics impedes further comparison, but it is clear that the month gods were not a static group but changed in the course of time. The set of Olympians gave way to a set determined by the major festival or the name of the month.

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[106] My thanks to Dr. W. Binsfeld and the staff of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier for enabling me to examine the mosaic in March 1982.

[107] AntDenk 1 (1889), fasc. 4, pl. 49.

[108] *100 Jahre Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier* [= Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 14], Mainz 1979, 103.

[109] V. von Gonzenbach, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*, 181-94, pls. 60-67; supra, 299-300.

There is no indication that the mosaic by Monnus was based on a ceiling design, as we have suggested Hellín 1 was. The models chosen by the two mosaicists are quite independent; the locations where they worked and the use of Latin shows that the theme of the month gods belongs to the western half of the empire.

In addition to the mosaic, there was found at Trier a terracotta mould for a parapegma (a calendar with holes for a peg to mark the days of the month).[110a] It is dated by the coins found with it to the first half of the fourth century. This is divided into two registers, with the weekday gods in a row above and, below, busts of the four Seasons flanking a central seated goddess who is identified as Nemesis or as Victory writing on a shield. The figures add up to twelve, but in this instance there is no reason to consider them the month gods: Except for the seated goddess, the same figures occurred among the painted medallions from Pompeii (Pompeii 3) as sets distinct from the month gods.

Among later Latin writers, Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* has Vettius Praetextatus refer to Mars and Venus as the tutelae of March and April.[111] The association of Mars with March, at least, persisted in illustrated calendars after the month gods had disappeared as a set.[112] Macrobius also writes that each zodiac sign is the abode of an appointed deity.[113] Here the examples he cites, of Mars with Aries and Scorpio and of Venus with Taurus and Libra, indicate that he is not thinking of the

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[110] H. Stern, MonPiot 54 (1966), 56; H.H. Scullard, *Festivals of Rome*, 122.

[110a] P. Meyboom, *Hommages Vermaseren* II, 786, 787, pl. CLXI, 2, with bibliography.

[111] I.12.5, 8.

[112] H. Stern, *Calendrier de 354*, 223-27. M.R. Salzmann has now shown that the statue depicted in the illustration for April in the Calendar of 354 is male and represents Attis rather than Venus: AJA 88 (1984) 43-50.

[113] *Saturnalia* I.12.10.

Twelve Gods as tutelae of the zodiac but rather of the astrological concept of the signs of the zodiac as "houses" of the planets.[114]

Finally Damascius, head of the Athenian Academy when it was closed in 529, called the zodiokratores (masters of the zodiac) cosmic gods, homonymous with the hypercosmic gods and like them imperishable (T 40 E). In Neoplatonism the hypercosmic gods are the twelve Olympians; hence this reference fits the Twelve Gods better than the planetary gods. Thus the concept of the twelve Olympians as the tutelae of the zodiac (and the months?) persists to the end of literate paganism.

Magical Papyri

Two Greek magical papyri from Egypt, one from the third, the other from the mid-fourth century, refer in passing to the Twelve Gods (T 40 F 1-2). As the passages stand, the Twelve Gods could be the signs of the zodiac, and H.-G. Gundel so interprets them.[115] In T 40 F 2 they are called the "twelve rulers of the thirty days," a phrase which recalls the months of the Egyptian solar year (T 2 A) and Diodorus Siculus' description of the twelve chief gods of the Chaldaeans (T 6). The deities may therefore be the tutelae rather than the signs. In this case they could be either the Olympians or the Egyptian month gods, for the clepsydrae with the Egyptian month gods, as we have seen continued in use into Roman times.[116]

Christian Echoes

Christian writers were not overly concerned with the Twelve Gods, though we have suggested that Augustine might have been inspired to compose his *De Civitate Dei* partly in response to pagan critics who linked the capture of Rome by the Goths with neglect of the Di Consentes.[117] Clement of Alexandria and (apparently) St. John Chrysostom bring up the recognition of Alexander of Macedon as the Thirteenth God (T 25 B, T 42 A). As the master of the world whose kingdom had disintegrated almost immediately upon his death, Alexander offered an instructive contrast to Christ, who died in obscurity but whose kingdom was eternal.[118] The theme of the ephemeral nature of Alexander's achievements had already been used by the pagan writer Lucian (T 25

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[114] Cf. supra, 290 and note 67.

[115] *Weltbild und Astrologie*, Munich 1968, 52-53.

[116] Supra, 149.

[117] Supra, 307.

[118] Cf. J. Straub, *Divus Alexander, Divus Christus*, in *Regeneratio Imperii*, Darmstadt 1972, 178-194.

A); the Christians took it over to emphasize the superiority of Christ to earthly rulers.

The emperor Constantine christianized the concept of the Thirteenth God in preparing his tomb in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. His sarcophagus stood in the center with memorials to the twelve Apostles on either side (T 56).[119] Whether or not the structure lay above an earlier altar of the Twelve Gods as Nicephorus Xanthopulus later asserted (T 56 D), Constantine appropriated for himself the place of Christ among the Apostles, retaining the rank of the Thirteenth God.

O. Weinreich related Christian representations of Christ among the Apostles to the Lycian Twelve-Gods reliefs.[120] As we have seen, the source for this composition is more probably pagan representations of a teacher or philosopher surrounded by his pupils.[121] No matter what the subject, it was customary in Late Roman art to show groups of people as rows of frontal standing figures with the most important individual in the center.[122]

Among the sarcophagi with the twelve Apostles, three have stars carved beside the heads of the apostles, and H.-G. Gundel has suggested that these may reflect an assimilation of the Apostles with astral deities and the zodiac.[123] An excerpt made by Clement of Alexandria from the writings of Theodotus says that the Apostles replaced the signs of the zodiac, presiding over rebirth as formerly the signs had watched over birth.[124] In a sermon ascribed to Clemens Romanus, the number of the apostles is compared to that of the months of the year.[125] Finally at the Council of Braga in Spain held in A.D. 561 or 563, an anathema was pronounced against the followers of Priscillian for regarding the signs of the zodiac as being under the patronage of the twelve Patriarchs (T 57).[126] This heresy sounds very much like a Christianization of the pagan belief in the Olympians as tutelae of the zodiac.

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[119] Supra, 315-16.

[120] *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* [= SBHeidelberg 1913, 5], Heidelberg 1913, 26-32; *Zwölfgötter* 848 N 113.

[121] Supra, 302-303 and notes 124-25. H. Grabar also compares contemporary activities like the emperor presiding at Councils: *Christian Iconography*, 43-44.

[122] Cf. the Oratio and Donatio scenes on the Arch of Constantine or those on Theodosius' base for the obelisk in Constantinople.

[123] H.-G. Gundel, *RE* series 2, 19 (1972), sv. *Zodiakos*, 644.

[124] Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, ed. R.P. Casey [= Studies and Documents 1], London 1934, 58, section 25.1. Incorrectly cited by Gundel, supra note 123.

[125] *Clementis Romani Quae Feruntur Homiliae Viginti*, ed. A.R.D. Dressel, Göttingen 1853, II.23 [= p. 58, lines 10-12].

[126] W. and H.-G. Gundel, *Astrologumena; die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte* [= Sudhoffs Archiv Beiheft 6], Wiesbaden 1966, 338; *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia* ed. C.W. Barlow [= PAAR 12], New Haven 1950, 4, 80-81.

So far as the sarcophagi are concerned, they have only stars, not signs of the zodiac. In one instance, on the sarcophagus from Manosque, the sun and moon were also carved beside Peter and Paul, the chief apostles.[127] These have nothing to do with the zodiac; consequently, as H. Leclercq wrote,[128] the stars imply indicate the heavens. The Apostles here cannot therefore be taken to have replaced the pagan gods as tutelae of the zodiac.

Conclusions

The cult of the Twelve Gods was conducted in public by magistrates for the well-being of the city. Where the aristocracy which supplied the magistrates remained largely pagan, such a cult could survive the conversion of the emperor to Christianity. Unlike Christianity, it could not withstand public suppression, and, when the Battle of the Frigidus showed the Christian God to be more powerful than the pagan deities, the public cult ceased.

The concept of the twelve Olympians as hypercosmic deities who controlled the four functions of the universe and presided over the twelve concentric spheres which comprised the universe was retained by the Neoplatonist philosophers. However it was remote from their chief interests. This tenuous half life ceased with the closing of the Academy in A.D. 529.

In the late third century, the diadem of Sol Invictus (Laodikeia 1) combines the Olympians with Aurelian's universal sun god. Its discovery in Syria illustrates the influence of Roman iconography on eastern religion.

The tetrarchic reliefs of the Twelve Gods — the panel of the emperors enthroned on the Arch of Galerius (Thessalonike 1) and block D from the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos (Ephesos 3) introduce new gods among the Twelve. On the Arch of Galerius they have become subordinate to the living ruler (here quadrupled) who had formerly served as their earthly viceroy. Constantine, who inherited from the Tetrarchs the supremacy of the ruler over gods and men, translated this into Christian terms, making himself in his tomb equal to Christ and surrounding himself with memorials to the twelve Apostles in place of the Twelve Gods.

In the latest representation of the month gods, Trier 1, the Olympians have been replaced as tutelae by the gods for whom a given month was named or in whose honor the major festival was held. The Olympians, however, continue as a decorative subject on metal containers in the fourth century. The stephanephoros from Sardis (Sardis 1) served still another set of Twelve Gods, perhaps akin to the Lycian college of hunting gods.

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[127] H. Leclercq-F. Cabrol, *Dictionaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* I, 2, Paris 1924, col. 3014, fig. 1044.

[128] Ibid.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest datable cults of the Greek Twelve Gods were established in Olympia and Athens in the Archaic period. Though sets existed earlier in Anatolia and Egypt, these are not the sources for the Greek cult. Rather its establishment in the panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia was attributed to Herakles, whom all Greeks recognized as a hero. In Athens the founding of the cult is linked to the Peisistratids, to their unification of Attika and possibly to their expansionist policies. Its center was in the economic and political heart of the city — the marketplace — and its function was the well-being of the city state.

In the fifth century, the representation of the Twelve on the east frieze of the Parthenon definitely tied them to Athenian imperialism. It may have been at this time that they became patrons of democracy rather than tyranny as earlier. In any case, references to them by Aristophanes show their political importance. The finest hour for the Attic Twelve was the decade following the Battle of Mantineia, when Euphranor painted them along with Theseus, Demos, and Demokrateia, when the Boule of Athens and that of the Athenian cleruchs on Imbros made dedications to them, when they were invoked in the Athenian treaty with the Arkadians and other Peloponnesians, when Demosthenes could refer to their serving as judges as a divine prototype for the Athenian Council of the Areiopagos, when Kallistratos in vain sought sanctuary upon their altar. Outside Athens, Athenian influence may have led to the introduction of the cult in Arkadia and to the dedication of statues of the Twelve, said to have been by Praxiteles, in neighboring Megara.

Philip II of Macedon recognized the propaganda value of the cult after his victory at Chaironeia. In having his statue carried at Aigai along with those of the Twelve, he may have attempted to show himself as the leader chosen by the gods to head the panhellenic expedition against Persia. As a counterpart to this, Alexander at the end of his conquests erected altars to the Twelve Gods by the Hyphasis River in India. Evidence of Macedonian promotion of the cult may be found in the association of the Twelve Gods with Tyche in Alexandria, the naming of the civic tribes of Magnesia on the Maeander after the Olympians, Mnason's commissioning of paintings both of the Twelve Gods and of a battle with the Persians at Elateia, and possibly in the votive triglyph altar found in Epidauros. Macedonian propaganda making the Twelve Gods patrons of Hellas overseeing Greeks defeating Persians may be reflected on South Italian vases.

At the end of his life, Alexander demanded recognition as the Thirteenth God. Among his successors, Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Monophthalmos may have been the rulers who introduced their cult in the Dodekatheon on Delos. Immediately after associating themselves with the Twelve Gods, Philip II and Alexander met death, and Demetrios and Antigonos suffered disaster at Ipsos. No other Hellenistic ruler sought the rank of Thirteenth God until it was awarded posthumously to Eumenes II of Pergamon. Even Demetrios Poliorketes himself was merely honored as a hero among the founders of Demetrias, not as the Thirteenth God, though he may have named the months there after the twelve Olympians in accordance with Plato's recommendation in the *Laws* that monthly festivals be celebrated for the individual members of the Twelve.

Rome took over the Greek cult when threatened by Hannibal in 217 B.C. As the South Italian vases show, the concept of the Twelve Gods defending Greece from barbarians had reached there in the time of Alexander. Like the Greek cult, the Roman was an official foundation in the marketplace, i.e., the Forum. In Rome lectisternia honoring the Twelve Gods, who where known as the Di Consentes, were held in times of crisis, not only under the Republic but later under the Flavians and Marcus Aurelius. However, it remained a municipal cult, independent of emperor worship. Neither Julius Caesar nor Augustus sought recognition as the Thirteenth God. In Pompeii the emperor was shown below the Twelve, as their vice regent on earth. The Roman Senate made Alexander Severus a divus but did not name him the Thirteenth God.

In the Greek-speaking half of the empire, the situation was different. At Athens, the imperial cult was established in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios adjacent to Euphranor's painting of the Twelve Gods. At Ephesos a private dedication showed Augustus and his grandsons above the Twelve. Later, in return for his benefactions, the people of Kyzikos actually named Hadrian the Thirteenth God. The Tetrarchs themselves were shown officially on the Arch of Galerius at Thessalonike enthroned in heaven surrounded by gods representative of the Twelve. In his burial arrangements, Constantine translated this into Christian terms, surrounding his sarcophagus with memorials of the twelve Apostles.

As long as the empire flourished and there was no danger of invasion, the cult of the Twelve Gods languished. The gods were venerable, remote, but not needed. Pausanias found the sanctuary of the Twelve at Thelpousa in ruins and failed to recognize the surviving double altars in Olympia as those founded by Herakles. In Athens the altar of the Twelve Gods was not restored after the Herulians departed. However in the late fourth century there is evidence of renewed interest. In Rome Vettius

Praetextatus restored the statues of the Di Consentes and their portico. In Ephesos a relief depicting the Twelve with the founder was used in refurbishing the Temple of Hadrian. Sallustius expounded the function of the Twelve in his tract for pagans. As an official cult for the protection of the state, the Twelve Gods could survive only so long as they had the support of the ruling class. When Theodosius' victory at the Frigidus proved the Christian God to be stronger than the pagan deities, the cult of the Twelve Gods could not survive by going underground. It was finished.

In Olympia and Athens, the Twelve were major, named Greek gods, but the two sets were different. In Athens the set represented by the kyathos from Vulci differs from that on the Parthenon frieze. The membership continued to vary, though the Twelve were always the chief gods of a given city or individual at a given time. From the fourth century on, the Twelve are often synonymous with the Olympians, but, as we have seen, the two compital paintings from Pompeii, though close in date, show different sets of Twelve Gods.

The earliest complete list of the Olympians is that of the gods honored in the lectisternium celebrated at Rome in 217 B.C. However it seems highly probable that the tribes of Magnesia on the Maeander were renamed for the Olympians when the city submitted to Alexander, and it would appear that the set was in existence before 293 B.C., when the months of Demetrias in Thessaly were named for them.

Anomalous though it may seem, it was possible for the Twelve to be invoked collectively along with individual members just as they could be depicted as a group in the stoa dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios in Athens or in the sanctuary of Artemis at Megara. They could also be associated with non-members. As patrons of the city state, their association with the goddess Tyche seems obvious. More interesting is their connection with Kybele/Cybele as the Mother of the Gods. In Athens, whatever connection there may have been in the popular mind, the cults in the Agora remained separate. In Egypt, however, in the third century B.C., the Twelve are shown subordinate to the Mother of the Gods as they are on a statuette from the Samnite shrine at Curti in Italy. The Dodekatheon cylinder was found in Ostia next to the sanctuary of the Magna Mater, and still later in Syria the Twelve flank a local Astarte/Cybele. At times, however, Kybele/Cybele may herself be one of the Twelve.

Tyche and the Mother of the Gods may be regarded as Greek, but the Twelve can also be associated with oriental deities. On the plaque from Osterburken, Mithras is shown as an intermediary between the worshipper and the Twelve Gods above him. Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Sol Invictus are superior to the Twelve. The diadem of Sol Invictus is of particular interest because it shows the Roman form of the god flanked by the Roman Di Consentes although its workmanship is Syrian. It is thus evidence of Roman influence upon an eastern cult.

Generally the Twelve were regarded as the patrons of a given city and received official worship at a centrally located altar. There is sporadic evidence of private cults — the votive relief from Lebadeia where the set includes Kybele and seems to have chthonic associations, two connected with tombs on Kos and at Saittae in Lydia, the silver Fortuna of Matisco/Mâcon, which must have brought good luck to a family or individual. In the last named, as on the statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the set includes the planetary gods.

It was Plato who expanded the concept of the Twelve Gods and their function as patrons of the city state. In his *Laws* he made them patrons of the ideal city, recommending that the civic tribes be named for them and that sacrifices be made to them each month as individuals. In the *Phaedrus* he pictured them as universal gods, driving across the heavens and watching over the affairs of men. The concept of the Twelve as rulers of the universe is given pictorial expression on the Capitoline base (Rome 5) and later on the Mithraic relief from Osterburken where the Twelve occupy the heavens between the sun and the moon and above the zodiac band. This theme was elaborated by the Neoplatonists and incorporated into Sallustius' tract. Apart from their respectable Greco-Roman ancestry, their universality must also have made the Twelve suitable companions for Sol Invictus on the Laodikeia diadem and the Tetrarchs on the Arch of Galerius.

The concept of the Twelve as patrons of the months and later the zodiac originated in Egypt, where it is represented in the XVIIIth Dynasty and where it continued to or was revived after Alexander's conquest. As major gods and goddesses, the Egyptian month gods could readily be equated with the Greek Twelve, as Herodotus did. Plato may have been inspired by their example in suggesting that monthly sacrifices be made to the Twelve Gods. Though the months of Demetrias seem to have been named for the Olympians when it was founded in 293 B.C., the concept did not find expression in Greek iconography: The calendar frieze on the Metropolis in Athens shows the signs of the zodiac and personifications of the months but not the month gods. In Rome the Olympians are named as tutelae of the months in the first century after Christ. Manilius makes them guardians of the zodiac and their busts were included along with those of the Seasons and the gods of the days of the week in a Pompeian wall painting. Though rare, the Roman representations of the month gods are all of interest. The Ara Borghese, on which the Twelve stand above the Horai, Charites, and Moirai is most closely derived from Greek iconography. The "Altar" of Gabii shows the heads of the Olympians as in the Roman celebration of the lectisternium. Rome 9, a marble candelabrum base, and the mosaic from Hellín both have the month gods mounted on Genii or monsters symbolizing zodiac signs, a Roman contribution to classical iconography. The latest representation, the mosaic by Monnus at Trier, belongs to the end of the third century after Christ. As with the municipal Twelve, the roster of the month gods changes in the course of time. In the first century they are the Olympians, but the later representations substitute gods to whom the chief festival of the month was devoted for the Olympians originally associated, and Bacchus as the god of the vintage becomes patron of October in place of Mars.

Egyptian clepsydrae with representations of the native month gods continued to be used in Roman times, and their significance was not lost: Two have the Latin names of months incised on the rim.

The cult of the Anatolian Twelve Gods, a set of anonymous armed male deities, itself seems to have survived in the Lycian mountains into the Roman period. The votive reliefs of Komba dated to the third century after Christ show the native Twelve flanking a central figure who may be Artemis or the Father of the Gods. Un-Greek and certainly non-Olympian as these gods look, a newly published example names one of them Hermes, and we must query how far the native cult had been penetrated by the Greco-Roman.

Representations of the Twelve Gods occur in a variety of forms, from a circle of dots at Epidauros to herms or stelai (Tegea and Pherai) to, what is most common, fully anthropomorphic figures. They also occur on a variety of media. In addition to the paintings and groups of statues attested by the written sources, there are a few vase paintings, mosaics (month gods only), gold diadems, a stucco naiskos, and stone reliefs, which, because of their resistance to destruction, comprise the bulk of the material.

The representations usually served a decorative purpose even when in a religious context. The compital shrines of Pompeii are an exception. Usually the Twelve were worshipped at a common altar, and, so far as we know, were not depicted on or beside the altar. Again there are possible exceptions: We do not know where the "twelve images" of the Dodekatheon on Delos were placed with respect to the altars, and the triglyph frieze of the Twelve Gods at Epidauros decorates a fictive altar. More often they are purely decorative or perhaps convey a political message.

Though not themselves objects of worship, the Twelve may accompany a deity who was worshipped. Their statues stood in the sanctuary of Artemis in Megara, in that of Tyche in Alexandria. Among the extant examples on which they appear, the naiskos of Kybele in Cairo, the seated Mother Goddess from Curti, the Osterburken plaque of Mithras, and the statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus may all be regarded as cult objects.

There is no single prototype from which all or even a majority of the representations of the Twelve Gods are derived. They do appear most commonly as a row of isolated, frontal figures, usually standing though Zeus/Jupiter is regularly enthroned. However not only the roster but also the order and the specific types chosen vary from one representation to another. Certain general types suitable to the function of the gods as official patrons of cities are preferred: Whereas in classical art Apollo is frequently nude, as one of the Twelve he usually wears the dress of a citharode and carries the instrument with which he creates harmony. Similarly Aphrodite/Venus is commonly shown nude, often in erotic poses, but as one of the Twelve she is modestly draped and Eros/Cupid hovers sedately by her shoulder with no thought of mischief. Often the figures are archaized, to suggest the antiquity of the cult. They are not great art, but they can be charming. What is more important, they provide much information on who the gods were, their associates and significance, and the development of the cult, which could not be obtained from the written sources alone.

PART THREE

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE EGYPTIAN MONTH GODS

Catalogue of Representations

Dynasty XVIII

1. Karnak, Thebes. Alabaster waterclock or clepsydra (H., 0.346 m., top D., 0.48 m., lower D., 0.26 m.). Cairo, Egyptian Museum. Figures 156-59.

G. Daressy, BIE series 5, 9 (1915), 5-16; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 6-7, pls. 1-3; K. Neugebauer-R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 12-14, no. 3, pl. 2.

Hieroglyphs originally colored or inlaid; bands separating registers blue with incised stars. Three registers, of which two upper show decan list and planets, northern constellations and deities on either side of vignette of Amenhotep III offering to Re-Harakhty (the sun) and protected by Thoth (the moon). In lowest register six panels with month gods arranged in pairs with king in center making offerings to one. Two RKH months represented by hippopotami placed back to back below vignette. The deities read from right to left around the vase in the order of the Egyptian months are: THY, king, Ptah; Hathor, king, Sekhmet; Min, king, RKH-WR hippopotamus; RKH-NDS hippopotamus, king, RNWTT; Khonsu, king, Khenti-irty; IPT, king, Re-Harakhty.

Date: Amenhotep III (1397-1360 B.C.).

Dynasty XIX

2. Medinet Habu, Thebes, Mortuary Temple of Ramses II. Astronomical ceiling (L., 9.10 m., total W. of three panels, 3.90 m.). In situ. Figure 160.

H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* II, 472-73; R.S. Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, 43-44, pls. II-III; B. Porter-R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian ... Paintings* II^2, 440; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 478; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 17-18, no. 8, pl. 5.

Three registers with border of hieroglyphic texts. Arrangement similar to that of Appendix I, 1, but laid out on plane surface with beginning and end of year in center with baboon of Thoth. Third register, read from right to left: RKH-NDS jackal on standard (seventh month); king offering to RNWTT (eighth month); two columns of text; Khonsu greeted by king,

king greeting Khenty-irty (ninth and tenth months); column of text; IPT adored by king (eleventh month); king adoring Re-Harakhty (twelfth month). Baboon of Thoth on Djed-pillar. THY greeted by king; king greeting Ptah (first and second months); column of text; Hathor adored by king, king adoring Sekhmet (third and fourth months); two columns of text; Min adored by king; king adoring RKH-WR jackal on standard (fifth and sixth months).

Date: Ramses II (1290-1223 B.C.).

Dynasty XX

3. Medinet Habu, Thebes. Mortuary Temple of Ramses III. Ceiling (L., 7.70 m., W., 3.06 m.) of chapel of Osiris. In situ.

Medinet Habu VI, p. xx (Hughes), pl. 476; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 26-27, no. 17, pl. 11.

Dependent on ceiling of Ramses II (Appendix I, 2) according to Hughes but less well preserved. Extant month gods in third register are: head of jackal (seventh month), head of king facing left; IPT adored by king (eleventh month); baboon of Thoth on Djed pillar; THY greeted by king (first month), king greeting Ptah (second month); column of text; Hathor worshipped by king and king worshipping Sekhmet (third and fourth months); column of text; Min (fifth month).

Date: Ramses III (1179-1147 B.C.).

4. Medinet Habu, Mortuary Temple of Ramses III? Block (pres. L., ca. 1.05 m.) probably from Second Hypostyle Hall.

Medinet Habu VI, pl. 477; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 27-28, fig. 5, no. 18.

Fragment with lower part of register with northern constellations and upper part of month gods. Extant are two disks plus hieroglyphs naming IPT, Ramses III, and Re-Harakhty (gods of eleventh and twelfth months).

Date: Ramses III (1179-1147 B.C.).

Dynasty XXVI (Saite)

5. Fragment of clepsydra (original H., 0.37 m., original D., 0.57 m. at top, 0.52 m. at bottom). Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

P. Montet, Kêmi 8 (1946), 35-39, pls. 1-2; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 42-44, no. 34, pl. 22 B, fig. 9.

Fragment with baboon and pourspout. Four registers of hieroglyphic text below; series of panels at top of which two extant have from right to left Ta-urt and hawk, symbols of IPT and Re-Harakhty.

Date: Necho II (610-595 B.C.).

Macedonian kings

6. Rome, Isaeum Campense(?). Fragment of black granite clepsydra (max. H., 0.335 m.). Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 2507 a plus Naples, Museo Nazionale, Egyptian Collection, inv. no. 2327 (Borchardt). Formerly in Museo Gaddiano, Florence.

A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 271, no. 1; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung* 7-8, no. 2; A. Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], 145 no. 327, figs. 337-39.

Only one figural register on exterior. Hermitage fragment shows baboon of Thoth with panel to right in which king, dressed as Egyptian pharaoh makes offering to Re-Harakhty while IPT stands behind him (eleventh and twelfth months).

Date: Alexander the Great (331-323 B.C.).

7. Nile Delta, Tell el Yahudiya(?). Basalt clepsydra (H., 0.37 m., W., 0.38 m.). London, British Museum, Egyptian collection, no. 993. L. Borchardt added a fragment said to be in the Musée Guimet, Paris, but I was unable to locate this in 1981.

L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung* 8, no. 3; British Museum, *Guide to the Egyptian Collection* (1909), 254, no. 949; I.E.S. Edwards, *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, 109, 176.

Single register with hieroglyphic bands above and below. Extant month gods: Khonsu(?) presented offering by king in Egyptian dress; lower half of god behind king; goddess behind king making offering to god. Deities probably represent last four months of year.

Date: Alexander the Great (331-323 B.C.).

8. Fragment of black stone clepsydra (H., 0.305 m., pres. W., 0.28 m.). London, British Museum, Egyptian collection, inv. no. 938, from Hart collection, Reigate. Figures 161-62.

Birch, Archaeological Journal (1850), 111f; A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 271 no. 2; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 8 no. 6, pl. 4, 2; I.E.S. Edwards, *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, 109, 176.

Single register of figures with hieroglyphic bands above and below. Incised on rim: OCT and N., the Latin abbreviations for the months of October and November (which are roughly equivalent to the fourth and fifth months of the Egyptian year, but OCT is over Min and N.. over pharaoh). Extant figures from right to left: hand and feet of goddess, probably Hathor, to whom pharaoh in red crown makes offerings; Sekhmet (third and fourth months); Min receiving offering from king of whom only arm is preserved (fifth month).

Date: Philip Arrhidaios (323-317 B.C.), reused in Roman times.

Ptolemaic Dynasty

9. Italy. Black granite clepsydra (H., 0.205 m.). Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 2507 b.

A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 263-74, no. 3; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 8, no. 7; J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 (1971), 261 note 2; A. Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], 145-46, no. 328, figs. 339-42.

Originally three registers, of which only lowest is preserved with month gods: goddess, probably THY, behind pharaoh making offering to Ptah; two columns of hieroglyphic text; Hathor, king in red crown making offering with Sekhmet standing behind him (first through fourth months).

Date: Ptolemy II (283/282-246 B.C.).

10. Rome, Isaeum Campense. Black granite clepsydra (H., 0.38 m.). Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. no. 27.

W. Helbig, *Collection Barracco*, pls. 11, 11a; A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 263-74, no. 4; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 9 no. 9, pl. 4, 1; 5; C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica, Guida*, Rome 1949, 35 no. 27; J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 (1971), 261 note 2; A. Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], 146 no. 329, fig. 343.

Bottom fragment with pour hole in center and panels to either side. Extant deities visible are (right to left): king in Egyptian dress greeting Re-Harakhty; pour hole; goddess (probably THY), king worshipping Ptah (twelfth, first, and second months).

Date: Ptolemy II (283/282-246 B.C.).

11. Unfinished limestone clepsydra (H., 0.525 m., top D., 0.67 m.) purchased in Egypt. Chicago, Illinois, Oriental Institute, inv. no. 16875.

J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 (1971), 259-62, no. 14, pls. II-III.

Complete but apparently full of iconographic errors. Register with month gods at top with the following figures read from right to left, beginning at pour hole: THY; king in Egyptian dress worshipping Ptah; Hathor; Sekhmet; king advancing left; animal-headed goddess with sistra (in place of queen?); Min; Ta-urt advancing left in place of two

RKH months; snake-headed goddess (RNWTT?) following Khonsu; Hawk god worshipped by king; Sekhmet; Hawk god worshipped by king; Hawk god.

Date: probably Ptolemy II (283/282-246 B.C.).

12. Fragment of rim of black granite clepsydra (H., 0.10 m., W., 0.16 m., Th., 0.025 m.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. N 664 (= AF 894).

Pierret, *Catalogue de la Salle historique ... Musée du Louvre* (1889), 265, no. 669; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 8-9, no. 8; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 60, no. 44, pl. 22C.

Of original three registers only top preserved with decans. AP (Latin abbreviation for April) preserved on rim.

Date: Ptolemy II (283/282-246 B.C.) reused in Roman times.

13. Edfu. Temple of Horus. Astronomical frieze in outer hypostyle hall.

H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, 46-48, 472-73; B. Porter-R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian ... Painting* VI, 133-34; R.S. Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, 45, pls. IV-V; K. Neugebauer-R.S. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III, 67, no. 49; M.C. de Rochemonteix-E.G. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* III, pl. lxxiv.

Second half of frieze has gods of days of month, month gods, and three female seasons arranged in five registers with order running from left to right. Last six figures of fourth register and first six of fifth are month gods: THY, Ptah, Hathor, Sekhmet, Min, porcine hippopotami on standards, RNWTT, Khonsu, Khenty-irty, IPT, Re-Harakhty followed by Seasons.

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-116 B.C.).

Ptolemaic-Roman Imperial

14. Rome, Hadrianic ruins in Vigna Bonelli in front of Porta Portense (Temple of Fortuna). Unfinished black granite clepsydra. Found in mid-nineteenth century. East Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. no. 19556, Figures 163-65.

Visconti, AdI (1850), 437-38, pl. R, 5; A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 263-74, no. 6; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 9, no. 11; A. Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], 145, no. 326, figs. 334-36.

Single register with king offering to one of two month gods in each panel. Gods read from right to left, starting from pour hole: THY, king in Egyptian dress adoring Ptah; Hathor, to whom king presents offerings, Sekhmet; Min greeted by king (first through fifth months). ... King facing missing deity, god; goddess (probably IPT), king with crown of Amun presenting offering to Re-Harakhty (tenth through twelfth months).

Date: Ptolemaic, reused in time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138).

15. Fragment of stone clepsydra (H., ca. 0.20 m.). Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 2613.

L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 9, no. 10, pls. 4, 3; 6, 2.

Parts of two panels with month gods and two bands of hieroglyphic text below. The deities read from right to left are: god in kilt; two columns of hieroglyphic text; goddess (possibly Khenty-irty and IPT, tenth and eleventh months).

Data: Roman Imperial (Borchardt).

16. Rome, behind Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Fragment of red granite clepsydra (H., 0.25 m.). Turin, Museo Egizio, Suppl. inv. no. 8.

A. Wiedemann, ProcSBA 23 (1901), 263-74, no. 5; L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 8. no. 5; A. Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* [= EPRO 20], 146, no. 330, fig. 344.

Rim fragment. Apparently single register. Only Min (fifth month) preserved.

Date: Ptolemaic, reused in Roman times.

17. Fragment of granite clepsydra (H., 0.188 m., W., 0.168 m., Th., 0.03 m.). Moscow, Pushkin Museum, inv. 1.a.5955, from Golenischev collection.

L. Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, 8, no. 4; S. Hodjash-O. Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, Leningrad 1982, 185 no. 129 with additional bibliography.

Originally three registers, of which parts only of middle and lowest remain, with brick red in figures and hieroglyphs. In middle register two of deities attending Northern Constellations; row of five-pointed stars below.

Bottom register, right to left: Pharaoh in red crown turned right (toward missing deity of third month); Sekhmet (fourth month) turned right; Min (fifth month) turned left.

Date: Ptolemaic (Hodjash).

APPENDIX II

GROUPS OF GODS OTHER THAN THE TWELVE

It need hardly be said that there are many assemblies of gods in Greek and Roman art which do not represent the Twelve. As I learned more about the Twelve, I became more discriminating in selecting representations, but some of the rejected sets seemed worthy of mention because they were related to others which did show the Twelve Gods. References to other sets will be found in the monograph itself.

Alexandria, Egypt

In addition to the two examples listed in the Catalogue, there is a silver relief attachment found in a hoard at Marengo. H., 0.122 m. L., 0.85 m. Th., 0.001 + m. Turin, Museo di Antichita, inv. no. 5457. Figure 166.

G. Bendinelli, *Tesoro di Argenteria di Marengo* [= Monumenti d'Arte Antica 1], Turin 1937, 19-28, no. 5, pls. 7-8, figs. 12-21; *EAA* IV (1961), sv. *Marengo*, 831, fig. 1008; Bologna, VI Mostra Biennale d'Arte Antica, *Arte e civiltà romana nel Italia Settentrionale dalla Repubblica alla Tetrarchia*, 419, no. 607, pl. 123.

Convex strip, possibly attached to circular base, with thirteen figures including six Olympians, from left to right: Athena, Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Ares, Hermes(?), Aphrodite, Dioskouroi, and three nymphs.

Date: Severan (A.D. 193-235).

Bryastovets (Karaagach), Bulgaria

Bronze helmet from a tumulus burial of the first century after Christ. H., 0.197 m. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 6176. Figures 167-70.

I. Velkov, Isvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arheologicheski Institut 5 (1928-1929), 15-20, pls. III-V, figs. 7-9; BMMA 35 (1977) 52-55, pl. 15; I. Venedikov, *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*; a Special Exhibition held at the British Museum January-March 1976, no. 420.

This conical helmet of Near Eastern type was probably worn by an auxiliary infantryman in a Roman legion.[1] Six deities are embossed on it, five in arcades on the headpiece and the sixth, Neptune/Jupiter with thunderbolt and trident, on the cheek guard. The other deities are: Mercury with purse, caduceus, tortoise and goat, Apollo with eagle and cithara, Mars fully armed by a pile of greaves, winged Victory by an altar; Minerva with owl, spear, shield, and helmet. Despite the early context,[2] the flabby anatomy and multiplicity of attributes recall late Roman decorative metalwork like Augusta Rauricorum/Augst 1 or Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2. The deities are not the Twelve but symbolize their function as guardians of the state.

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[1] Cf. H.R. Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome*, New York 1975, 83, 88, pl. 237.

Date: Late first century after Christ.

Cyrene, Libya

Unfinished architectonic relief of Pentelic marble with frieze of deities. Found in the Agora of Cyrene east of the "oikos" (G. O.). H., 0.30 m. Pres. L., 1.73 m. Cyrene, Museum, inv. no. 15.020. Figure 171.

E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene; statue e rilievi di carattere religioso* [= Monografia di archeologia libica 5], Rome 1959, 42-43, no. 64, pl. 57.

At the left end of the unfinished egg-and-dart moulding at the top of the frieze, the sculptor had begun to carve an acanthus leaf. By analogy with the treatment of the corner on a base from Epidauros (ANM 1425), this marks the end of the entire frieze. The figures appear to be arranged symmetrically about the fourth figure from the left. Hence there would have been a total of seven figures, not twelve, of whom the following six are preserved in whole or in part: Zeus enthroned left but turning his head back to look at Hera; Hera standing frontally, touching veil; nude Apollo seated right on block with tortoise-shell lyre; Artemis or Kyrene standing with short peplos and quiver; nude Aristaios[3] seated left on rock with pointed amphora by left hip; right foot of frontal standing goddess. To balance Zeus and Hera, the sixth and seventh deities may well have been Amphitrite and Poseidon. The object held by the fourth figure is doubled over, rather like the fruit of the silphium plant as represented on archaic coins of Cyrene.[4] Each figure is set on a fictive base like the figures on Tibur/Tivoli 2. Paribeni commented on the similarity of the figures to Athens 5, but they are not exact copies. The choice of deities suggests that they are the patrons of Cyrene, possibly surrounding the eponymous nymph, Kyrene, as the Twelve do Androklos the founder on Ephesos 3.

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[2] Compare the figures on a late first-century helmet from Newstead, England: Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome*, pls. 314-16. Similar arcades occur on Late Italian sigillata pottery dated to the end of the first century after Christ. Cf. especially, M.P. Lavizzari-Pedrazzini, *La Terra Sigillata Tardo-Italica decorata a rilievo nella Collezione Pisani Dossi del Museo Archeologico di Milano*, Milan 1972, pl. XVII, no. 103; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery*, London (British Museum) 1908, 38, pl. IX, L 138.

[3] Son of Apollo and Kyrene. See Schirmer, *Roschers Lexikon* I (1884-1890), sv. *Aristaios* and C. Bailey, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949, sv. *Aristaeus*.

[4] On silphium see B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, London 1910 reprinted 1963, 865; F. Chamoux, *Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battiades* [= BEFAR 177], Paris 1953, 246-63. For the fruit of the silphium plant see especially C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, London 1966, fig. 783.

Date: Hellenistic-Roman.

Pompeii, Campania, Italy

In addition to the three examples in the catalogue, there were in the House of the Epigram (V.1.18) atrium paintings of the Fourth Style, now lost, with busts of Olympians.

K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji; unveröffentliche Bilder römischer Wanddekorationen in geschichtlicher Folge herausgegeben*, Bern-Munich 1962, 138, pl. 179; idem, *Wände Pompejis*, 63.

The center of each wall panel had a medallion containing a divine bust. There were at least seven originally of which the following were recorded: Mercury, Minerva, Juno, Mars, Vulcan, Venus. The inclusion of Minerva and Juno proves that the set was not the planetary deities as in the Casa della Caccia Antica (VII.4.48)[5] but the total number is uncertain.

Thasos, Greece

Apart from the Attic sherds found in the Artemiseion (Athens 2) and the inscription mentioning the Dodekatheia (T 28), there is a marble trapezophoros of Kybele. H., 0.85 m. Pres. W., 1.57 m. Th., ca. 0.135 m. Thasos, Limenas Museum, inv. no. 18. Figure 172.

C. Picard, MonPiot 40 (1944), 107-37, pl. 10; *IG* XII, Supplementary no. 427; F. Salviat, BCH 88 (1964), 239, fig. 1; BCH 91 (1967), pl. 17; École Française d'Athènes, *Guide de Thasos*, 137, 147 no. 40, figs. 79-80; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 36, 76, 80, pl. 28; idem, *CCCA* II [= EPRO 50], Leiden 1981, 169-71, no. 529, pl. CXXVII.

Though the left end of the trapezophoros is broken, the symmetry of the decoration makes it possible to reconstruct the full width. Below, in the main zone, griffins attacking a doe. Above this a small frieze with Kybele flanked by Hermes Kadmilos and Hekate in the center; to the right six figures with six more restorable to the left. Thus the arrangement is comparable to that of the diadem of Kybele (Neapolis/Nablus 1), but the figures are not the Olympians. To the left there remain: female advancing right; frontal female being crowned(?) by female in hooded cloak. To the right there are: two females in conversational grouping, possibly Demeter and Kore; female leaning on male in exomis with shield, possibly Aphrodite and Ares; two warriors with round shields, probably Kouretes or Korybantes.

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[5] K. Schefold, *Wände Pompejis*, 180.

Date: Second century after Christ.

APPENDIX III

THE ALEXANDER AND DARIUS VASES

Two Apulian Red-Figured vases dated to the 320's show Hellas seated on an altar in an assembly of gods above a battle between Greeks and Persians while a third shows another group above Darius enthroned:

1. Naples area, now lost. Two krater(?) sherds acquired by Sir William Hamilton, known from engravings by W. Tischbein. Figure 173.

W. Hamilton, *Collection of Engravings* ... II, Naples 1795, 14-17, pls. 1-2; A. Furtwängler-K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* II, Munich 1909, 150-52, fig. 50; H. Metzger, REG 80 (1967), 312; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [= Beiträge zur Archäologie 6], Würzburg 1973, 174-80; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote,* Rome 1975, II, 5, 62, pl. 83, 2; L. Giuliani, AntK 20 (1977), 26-32, fig. 3; A.D. Trendall-A. Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, Oxford 1982, 485.

In the upper zone, left to right, forelegs of Artemis' deer; Apollo seated with lyre; Athena seated with helmet, aegis, spear, and shield with Medusa's head; Hellas seated on triglyph altar, binding hair with fillet; foot of approaching figure (Nike?). Diademed Hera standing with hand at shoulder; Zeus seated on block with long scepter; nude god with hand on hip, holding scarf in place (Poseidon?). Below: Bearded Greek horseman attacking Persian king fleeing in chariot. Amazon (or Persian?) attacked by bearded Greek foot soldier.

2. Ruvo, Apulia. Naples, National Museum, inv. no. 81667. Volute krater by Darius Painter. H., 1.55 m. Circumference 2.45 m. Figure 174.

H. Heydemann, *Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel,* Berlin 1872, 591-98, no. 3256; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* II, 150-52, fig. 51; Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder,* 174-80; J.-M. Moret, *Ilioupersis* II, 8, 100, pls. 81-83, 1; Giuliani, AntK 20 (1977), 26-32, fig. 2; Trendall-Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, 484-85, 495-96, no. 40.

Main scene on Side A. Above, left to right: Poseidon standing, nude but for scarf, with trident; draped Aphrodite seated with Eros beside her; Pan with goat horns; Athena armed, approaching in chariot; Hellas seated on altar;[1] Nike approaching with wreath and palm branch; Zeus

[1] A.D. Trendall calls this central figure Helios: Trendall-Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, 496. I retain the earlier identification because she must be Hellas on the Darius vase and is so labelled on the Copenhagen sherd.

seated with thunderbolt and long scepter; Artemis standing with bow, drawing arrow from quiver; Apollo seated with laurel and kithara. Below: Greek (or Macedonian) foot soldier attacking with sarissa(?); Greek (or Macedonian) cavalryman; two Persian foot soldiers; chariot (of Darius?); duel between Persian foot soldier and Greek horseman.

3. Canosa. Naples, National Museum, inv. no. 81947. Name vase of Darius Painter. H., 1.30 m. Circumference, 1.93 m.

H. Heydemann, *Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, 571-79, no. 3253; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* II, 142-55; M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis*, Munster, Westfalia, 1960, with earlier bibliography; H. Metzger, REG 80 (1967), 310-13; T. Hölscher, *Griechischen Historienbilder*, 177-78, pl. 14, 2; Trendall-Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, 484, 495, no. 38; new interpretation of Darius scene to be published by M. Schmidt in *Festschrift* for P.E. Arias.

Side A, above Darius enthroned: Artemis riding a stag; Apollo seated with his swan; Aphrodite with Eros; Zeus with winged thunderbolt; Hellas standing; Athena with shield; Apate with two torches; Asia seated on an altar beside a pillar topped with a head (presumably a xoanon).

In addition a sherd by the Darius Painter now in Copenhagen preserves Hellas crowned by two Nikai and three horses' heads (from Athena's chariot?).[2] An amphora from Ruvo[3] has the combat scene without the gods.

In no case do the gods number twelve, and they may include Pan, who is not one of the Twelve Gods. Yet their support of Hellas above a conflict between Greeks and Persians or the Council of Darius[4] suggests they have a similar concern for the welfare of Hellas and hence that they represent the Twelve.

It is now generally agreed that the combat scenes illustrate Alexander's campaign against Darius III Codomannus, hence recent history, rather than the earlier Persian Wars as C. Robert proposed.[5] H. Metzger thinks the Council of Darius likewise reflects contemporary events, but other scholars, most recently M. Schmidt, connect it with the earlier conflict.[6] The vases precede the painting by Philoxenos of Eretria, which was the supposed source for the Alexander mosaic in Pompeii.[7] L. Giuliani points out that the vase painter had no direct knowledge of Alexander since he provided him with a beard.[8] He may, however, have based his composition on some popular Macedonian propaganda piece.[9]

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[2] Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 13320. L. Curtius, ArchEph (1937) fasc. 2, 493-500; H. Metzger, REG 80 (1967), 312; L. Giuliani, AntK 20 (1977), 26-32; A.D. Trendall-A. Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, Oxford 1982, 504-505, no. 88.

[3] Naples, National Museum, inv. no. 81951. H. Heydemann, *Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, Berlin 1872, 502-506, no. 3220; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* [= Beiträge zur Archäologie 6], Würzburg 1973, 174-79, pl. 14, 1; L. Giuliani, AntK 20 (1977), 26-32, fig. 1; Trendall-Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, 497-98, no. 47.

[4] So identified by H. Metzger, REG 80 (1967) 308-13. Earlier C. Anti had related it to a revival of the *Persians* by Phrynichus: ArchCl 4 (1952) 23-45. Contra see T.B.L. Webster, *Art and Literature in Fourth-Century Athens*, London 1956, 65.

[5] *Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und Weiteres über Polygnot* [= 18. Hallesches Winckelmannsprogram], 1895. For recent attempts to reconstruct the Marathon painting see E.B.

It can be shown that the arrangement of figures with the assembly of gods above the action is derived from Attic painting of the late fifth century B.C. The krater from Baksy, recently discussed by B. Shefton,[10] had a row of gods above the Dioskouroi, Hebe(?), and Herakles. Fragments of a contemporary Attic vase found at Perachora preserve a divine assembly above a scene from the Caledonian boar hunt.[11] These could have served as compositional prototypes for the mid-fourth century Apulian krater from which the Lykourgos Painter takes his name.[12] On the backs of the Alexander and Darius kraters in Naples (supra, nos. 2-3), there are also divine assemblies above mythological scenes (Rape of Kore, Bellerophon).

Harrison, AJA 76 (1972), 353-78; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder*, 50-68. The painting is now generally attributed to Panainos on the basis of Pausanias V.11.6 and Pliny, *Natural History* XXXV.57.

[6] Metzger, supra, note 4; Schmidt forthcoming in the Festschrift for P.E. Arias cited by Trendall in Trendall-Cambitoglou, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II, 495.

[7] L. Giuliani, AntK 20 (1977) 27-29.

[8] Ibid., 30.

[9] Ibid., 32. One such painting would be the Battle between Greeks and Persians, which Mnason of Elateia commissioned from Aristeides of Thebes: Pliny XXXV.99. Since Mnason also commissioned a painting of the Twelve Gods from Asklepiodoros of Athens (T 21 = Elateia 1, supra, 203), it seems unlikely that the Elateia Battle scene would have included the Twelve Gods.

[10] *The Krater from Baksy* in D. Kurtz-B. Sparkes, *The Eye of Greece; Studies in the Art of Athens*, Cambridge 1982, 149-81.

[11] P.E. Corbett in T.J. Dunbabin, ed., *Perachora; the Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* II, Oxford 1962, 354-57, no. 3852, pls. 148-50.

[12] A.D. Trendall, *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* I, Oxford-New York 1978, Chapter 16, no. 5, pl. 147. British Museum, inv. no. F 271.

ADDENDUM

After submitting *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* for publication in June 1984, I came upon the limestone "Screen of Gods," of which six blocks were found at Blackfriars, London, in 1975.[1] It showed at least five Olympians, each standing in an arcade: Vulcan (anvil, tongs, hammer) and Minerva (spear, shield, owl); Mercury (goat, caduceus rod) and Diana (hound); as well as the head of Mars (beard, helmet) from the right edge. One other deity must have been depicted in the arcade next to Mars, and possibly all twelve Olympians were on hand. Though not the immediate source for Augusta Rauricorum/Augst 1, the London screen, which is dated to the third century after Christ, does provide a parallel for this type of composition on a monumental scale.

In the second volume of the *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, which appeared in 1984, E. Simon cites under Ares/Mars 345 a fragment of a marble relief in the Archaeological Museum at Split depicting Minerva, Jupiter, Juno, and Mars. The relief is dated to the second or third century after Christ. In the same volume, L. Kahil lists under Artemis 1194 a Hellenistic gold diadem in the Archaeological Museum of Kavala with busts of Olympians.[2] Only eight are present: Apollo (lyre), Artemis (bow), Demeter or Hekate (torches), Ares (armor), Zeus (thunderbolt), Hera (polos), Athena (armor), and Poseidon (trident), but we have suggested that the Twelve were depicted on two later gold diadems, Laodikeia 1 and Neapolis/Nablus 1.

Another Lycian Twelve-Gods relief has been acquired by the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: Inv. no. 72.66. *Anatolian Civilizations* II, *Greek/Roman/Byzantine*, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1983, 129.

In AntK 22 (1979) 99-103, K. Schefold related Ostia 2 to reliefs in Berlin. The subject is the lives of Athena and Hephaistos, suitable for a temple of Hephaistos/Vulcan. The deities belong to the Attic Twelve but are not necessarily shown as a group.

Finally I regret that I missed Prof. R. Turcan's most illuminating article on the altars at Lavinium and the Di Consentes: *Énée, Lavinium et les treize autels*, RHR 200 (1983), 41-66.

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[1] T.F.C. Blagg, Current Archaeology no. 57 (1977), 314-15; P. Marsden, *Roman London*, London 1980, 136.

[2] The deities are listed by D. Lazarides, *Odygos tou Mouseiou Kabalas* (1969), 142, M 1271.

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36 (1979) 182 no. 36 = T 47 A: 122, 277.

III. DEITIES

A. IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF THE TWELVE

Alpheios: Olympia (T 13 B, C, D, F).
Ammon: Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3).
Amphitrite: Athens 5?, 6?
Aphrodite/Venus: Athens 1, 3, 5?, 6?, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1?, Ephesos 3, Laodikeia 1, Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, 2, Pherai 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 B), 4, 5, 6, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Wellesley?); cosmic: T 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Hellín 1, Pompeii 3, Rome 8, 9?, T 40 A-C; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.
Apollo: Athens 2, 3, 5, Augusta Rauricorum/Augst 1, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Delos 1?, Ephesos 3, Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3), Laodikeia 1, Marbach 1, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 B), 4, 5, 7?, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo); cosmic: T 19, 19 A, T 41 A, B, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.
Ares/Mars: Alexandria 2, Athens 1, 3, Ephesos 1, 3, Epidauros 2, Laodikeia 1, Marbach 1, Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, 2, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 B), 4, 5, T 37, Samnites (T 39), Sidyma (T 48), Thessalonike 1, Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, Tusculum 1,

unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Wellesley); cosmic: T 19, 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.

Artemis/Diana: Athens 2, 3, 6?, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1?, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Bosphoros? (T 11 B), Delos 1?, Ephesos 3, Laodikeia 1?, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 B), 4, 5, 7, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tartus 1, Tibur/Tivoli 1, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Wellesley); cosmic: T 19 A, T 41 A, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Hellín 1, Pompeii 3, Rome 8, 9?, T 40 A-C.

Asklepios/Aesculapius: Chiragan 1, Epidauros 2?

Athena/Minerva: Alexandria 2?, Athens 1, 3, 5, 6, Augusta Rauricorum/Augst 1, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1, Delos 1 (T 26 C), Ephesos 1, 3, Epidauros 2, Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3), Laodikeia 1, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, 2, Pherai 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 A-B), 4, 5, 6, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tartus 1, Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Cleveland); cosmic: T 19 A, T 41 A, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.

Attis: Chiragan 1?

Caelus: Thessalonike 1.

Charites: Olympia (T 13 B, F).

Demeter/Ceres: Athens 1, 3, 5, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Laodikeia 1, Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Marbach 1, Matisco/Mâcon 1, Ostia 1, Pherai 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 B), 4, 5?, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tartus 1, Tegea 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Wellesley?); cosmic: T 19 A, T 41 A, F, H; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1?, Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.

Dionysos/Bacchus: Athens 1, 2, 3, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Ephesos 3, Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Matisco/Mâcon 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Ostia 2?, Rome 2 (T 35 B), 4?, unknown provenience (Cairo?); month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Pompeii 3?

Dioskouroi/Dioscuri: Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Marbach 1, Matisco/Mâcon 1, Rome 2 (T 35 B), Thessalonike 1.

Enodia = Artemis/Diana?: Pherai 1.

Hades: Bosphoros (T 11 B). See also Plouton/Pluto/Zeus Meilichios.

Hekate: Ephesos 3, Lebadeia/Livadia 1.

Helios/Sol: Ephesos 3?, Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3), Marbach 1?; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.

Hephaistos/Vulcan: Alexandria 2, Athens 1, 3, 4? (T 15 E), 5?, 6, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1, Epidauros 2, Laodikeia 1?, Neapolis/Nablus 1?, Osterburken 1?, Ostia 1, 2, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 4, 5, 6, 7, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo?, Cleveland); cosmic: T 19 A, T 41 A, F, H; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Gabii 1, Hellín 1, Pompeii 3, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.

Hera/Juno: Alexandria 2, Athens 1?, 3, 4 (T 15 D), 5, 6, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1, Delos 1 (T 26 C), Ephesos 1?, Laodikeia 1, Marbach 1?, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 A), 4, 5, 7?, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore?, Cairo); cosmic: T 19, 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.

Herakles/Hercules: Athens 1, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Ephesos 3, Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3), Marbach 1, Osterburken 1, Pompeii 1, Tartus 1, Tibur/Tivoli 1.

Hermes/Mercury: Alexandria 2, Athens 1, 2, 3, Augusta Rauricorum/Augst 1, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1?, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1?, Ephesos 3?, Komba 19, Marbach 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Ostia 1, Pompeii 1, 2,

Rome 1 (T 34 A), 4, 5, 6, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Cleveland?); cosmic: T 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Gabii 1, Hellín 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.
Hestia/Vesta: Bosphoros (T 11 B), Ephesos 1?, Ostia 1, Pherai 1, Pompeii 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 4?, 5?, 7?, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tibur/Tivoli 1?, unknown provenience (Baltimore); cosmic: T 19, 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Rome 8, T 40 A-C.
Hygieia/Hygeia: Chiragan 1.

Iris: Athens 1?
Isis: Thessalonike 1; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Hellín 1.

Kabeiroi, Samothracian: Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3).
Kore: See Persephone/Proserpina.
Kouretes: Lebadeia/Livadia 1.
Kronos: Olympia (T 13 B).
Kybele/Cybele: Chiragan 1, Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Marbach 1.

Leto/Latona: Delos 1?, Rome 3?

Marsyas: Neapolis/Nablus 1.
Men: Ephesos 3, Saitta(e) (T 47 A).
Mithras: Chiragan 1?

Nike/Victory: Athens 1, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Osterburken 1.

Oceanus: Thessalonike 1.

Pan: Lebaeia/Livadia 1.
Persephone/Proserpina: Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Pompeii 1, unknown provenience (Cairo).
Plouton/Pluto/Zeus Meilichios: Lebadeia/Livadia 1, Osterburken 1?; cosmic: T 19 A; month god: T 16 B.
Poseidon/Neptune: Alexandria 2, Athens 1, 3, 4 (T 15 C), 5, 6, Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Ephesos 1, Laodikeia 1, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, 2, Pompeii 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35), 4, 5, 6, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tartus 1, Tegea 2, Tibur/Tivoli 1, Tusculum 1, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cleveland?); cosmic: T 19 A, 41 A, F, H; month god: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Gabii 1, Rome 8, 9, T 40 A-C.

Rhea: Olympia (T 13 B), Laodikeia 1? See also Kybele/Cybele.
Roma: Ephesos 3.

Saturn (Kronos): planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.
Selene/Luna: Ephesos 3; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.
Serapis: Burdigala/Bordeaux 1?, Thessalonike 1.
Silvanus: Marbach 1.

Tellus (Gaia): Thessalonike 1.
Themis: Pherai 1 (substitution for Hera/Juno?).
Tyche/Fortuna: Augusta Treverorum/Trier 2, Marbach 1, Matisco/Mâcon 1, Thessalonike 1.

Vertumnus: Burdigala/Bordeaux 1?
Virtus: Thessalonike 1.

Zeus/Jupiter: Alexandria 2, Athens 1, 3, 4 (T 15 C, E), Burdigala/Bordeaux 1, Bosphoros (T 11 B), Chiragan 1?, Delos 1 (T 26 C), Hyphasis altars (T 24 B 3), Laodikeia 1, Marbach 1, Neapolis/Nablus 1, Olympia (T 13 B, F), Osterburken 1, Ostia 1, Pompeii 1, 2, Rome 1 (T 34 A), 2 (T 35 A), 4, 5, T 37, Sidyma (T 48), Tegea 2, Thessalonike 1, Tibur/Tivoli 1, 2, unknown provenience (Baltimore, Cairo, Cleveland?); cosmic: T 19, 19 A, 41 A, C, F, H; month god: Gabii 1, Pompeii 3, Rome 8, 9, T 40 A-C; planetary: Matisco/Mâcon 1, Tartus 1.

B. ASSOCIATED WITH THE TWELVE (INCLUDING HEROES AND RULERS)

Agatha Tyche: See Tyche/Fortuna.
Agathos Daimon: Pompeii 1, 2.
Alexander the Great: Athens (T 16 H 2-3), Greece (T 25), Thasos (T 28).
Androklos: Ephesos 3.
Apollo: Sarmizegethusa (T 52); Dekatophoros: Hierapytna (T 30 B-C); Karneios: Kos (T 29 A 1); Pythios: Magnesia (T 7).
Ares/Mars: Athens (T 18 A, C).
Artemis/Diana: Kos (T 29 A 1), Rome (T 43 A); Kynegetis: Komba 9, 12, 19; Leukophryene: Magnesia (T 7); Soteira: Megara (T 20); Victrix: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Asklepios/Aesculapius: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Athena/Minerva: Athens (T 18 B, D, E), Sarmizegethusa (T 52); Polias: Athens (T 16 D), Hierapytna (T 30 B).
Attis: Ostia 1?
Augustus: Athens 4?, Ephesos 1.

Charites: Rome 8.
Charmylos: Kos (T 29 D).

Demeter/Ceres: Alexandria 2, Athens (T 16 D).
Demokrateia: Athens 4.
Demos: Athens 4.
Dike: Mytilene (T 65).
Dionysos/Bacchus: Pompeii 3?; cosmic: T 19 A.

Eleusinian deities: Alexandria 2, Athens (T 16 D).
Eros/Cupid: Athens (T 17 A 4); Athens 3, Gabii 1, Pompeii 1, 3, Rome 2 (T 35 B), with Aphrodite/Venus.
Eumenes II Soter: Elaia/Pergamon (T 9).

Father of the Twelve: Komba 9, 19.

Genius Augusti: Pompeii 1, 3.

Hadrian: Kyzikos 1 (T 45).
Hekate: Neapolis/Nablus 1, unknown provenience (Cairo), with Kybele; cosmic: T 19 A.
Helios/Sol: Neapolis/Nablus 1, Osterburken 1, unknown provenience (Cairo). See also Sol Invictus.
Hera/Juno: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Herakles/Hercules: Athens (T 16 E), Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Hermes/Mercury: Sarmizegethusa (T 52); Kadmilos: Neapolis/Nablus 1, unknown provenience (Cairo), with Kybele.
Homonoia: Mytilene (T 65).
Horai (female Seasons): Rome 8.
Hygieia/Hygeia: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).

Iris: Athens 3?, attending Hera.
Isis: Herakleopolis (T 5).

Kore: Alexandria 2, Athens (T 16 D).
Kronos/Saturn: Rome 2 (T 35 A). See also Father of the Twelve.
Kybele/Cybele: Neapolis/Nablus 1, unknown provenience (Cairo).

Leto/Latona: Rome 2 (T 35 A).

Meter Theon/Mother of the Gods: Curti 1; month god: Rome (T 40 C).
Mithras: Osterburken 1.
Moirai: Rome 2 (T 35 A), 8.

Nemesis: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Nike/Victory: Athens 3? (attendant on Hera), T 17 A 4, Rome 2 (T 35 B).

Philip II of Macedon: Aigai 1 (T 23), Athens? (T 16 H 1).
Plouton/Pluto: cosmic: T 19 A.
Poseidon/Neptune: Athens (T 18 A, C, D); cosmic: T 19 A.

Rhea: Rome 2 (T 35 A).

Salus: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).
Seasons (male): Augusta Treverorum/Trier 1, Hellín 1, Pompeii 3.
Selene/Luna: Osterburken 1.
Semnai: Athens (T 16 D, E).
Serapis: Herakleopolis (T 5).
Sol Invictus: Laodikeia 1, Sarmizegethusa (T 52).

Tetrarchs: Thessalonike 1.
Themis: Rome 2 (T 35 A).
Theseus: Athens 4, 6?
Triptolemos: Alexandria 2.
Tyche/Fortuna: Alexandria 1 (T 24 A); Agatha: Athens (T 14 K); Redux: Sarmizegethusa (T 52).

Zeus/Jupiter: Araios, Basileios, Homonoios: Mytilene (T 65); Eleutherios: Athens 4 (T 15 A); Heliopolitanus: Tartus 1, unknown provenience (Venice); Machaneus: Kos (T 29 A 1); Olympios: Athens (T 16 D); Optimus Maximus: Apuli (T 51), Rome (T 43 A), Sarmizegethusa (T 52); Polieus: Kos (T 29 A 2); Sosipolis: Magnesia (T 9); Summus: Etruria (T 33 A-B); cosmic: T 19 A.

IV. GENERAL

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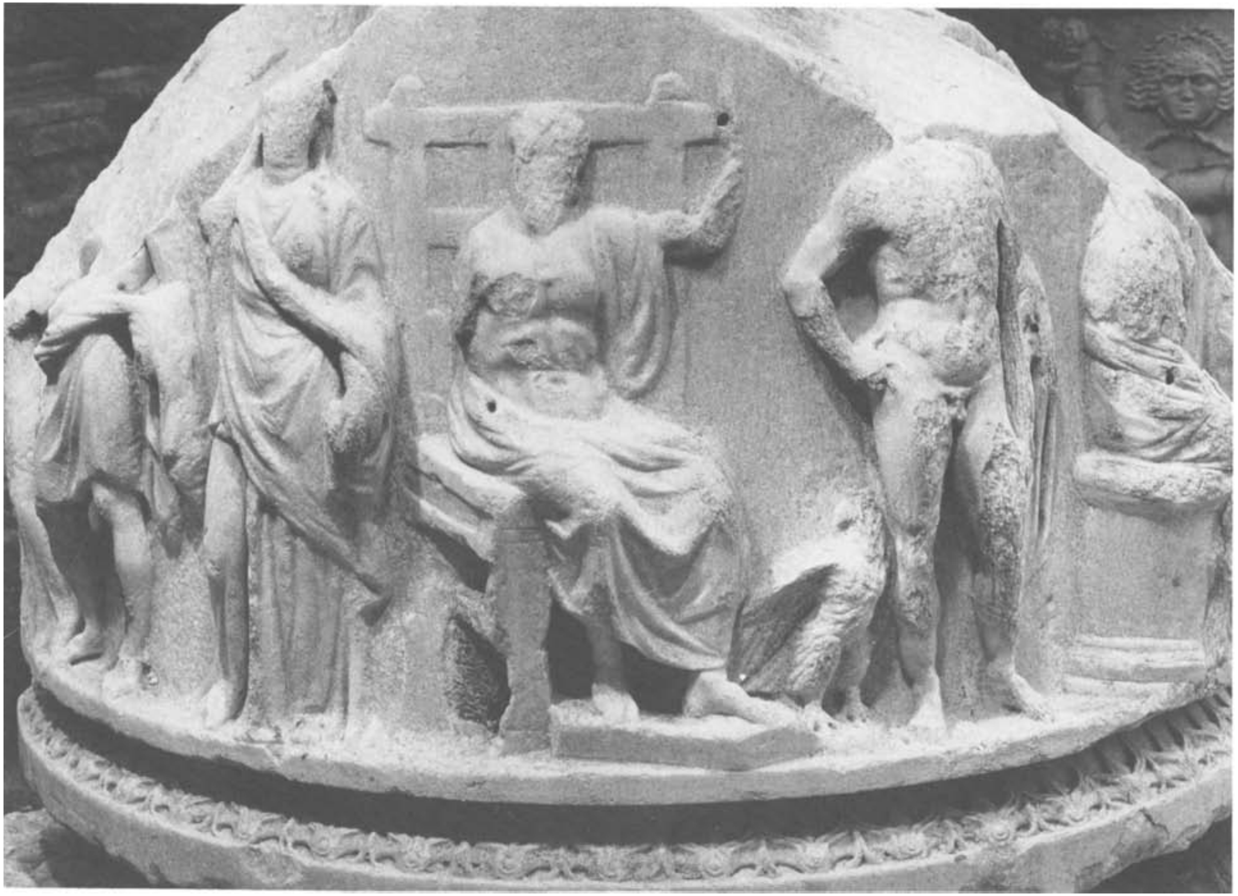

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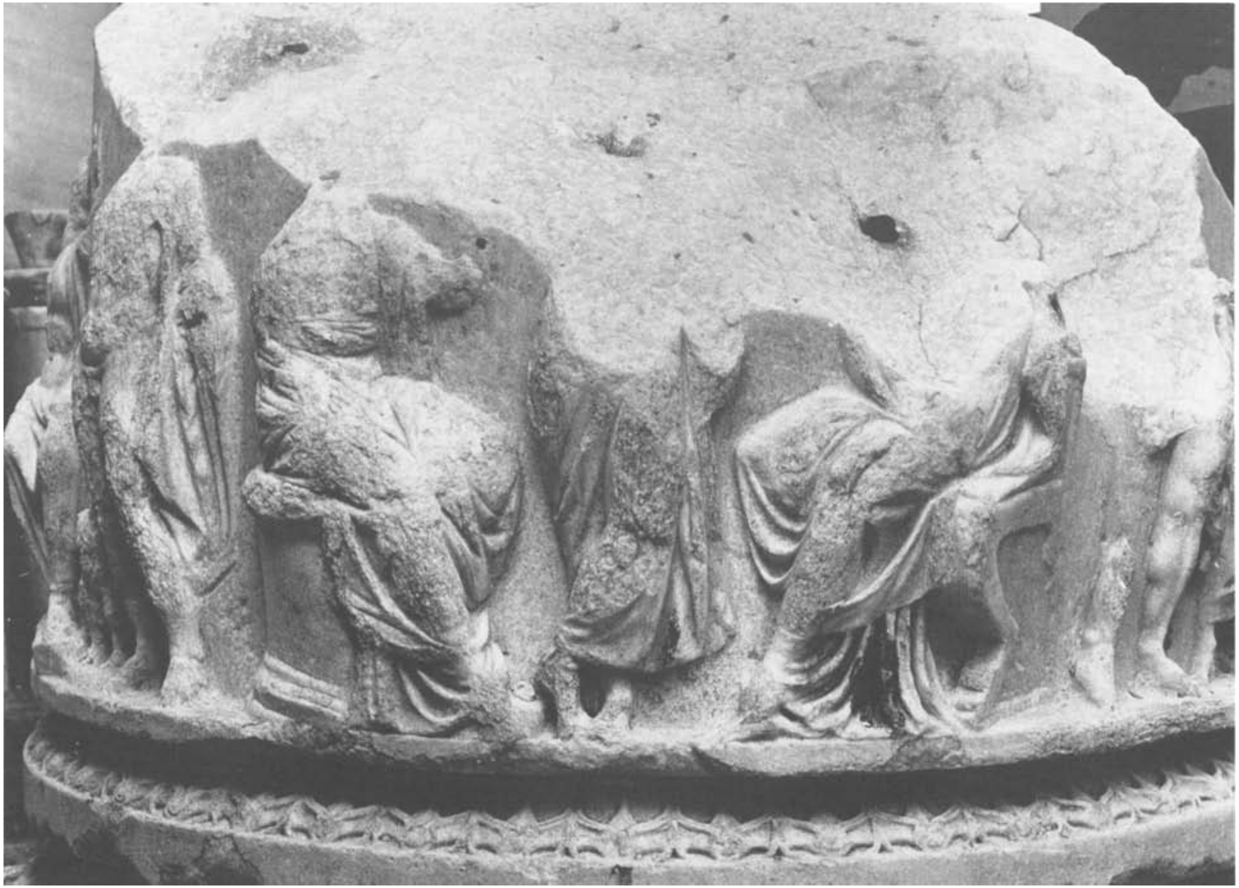

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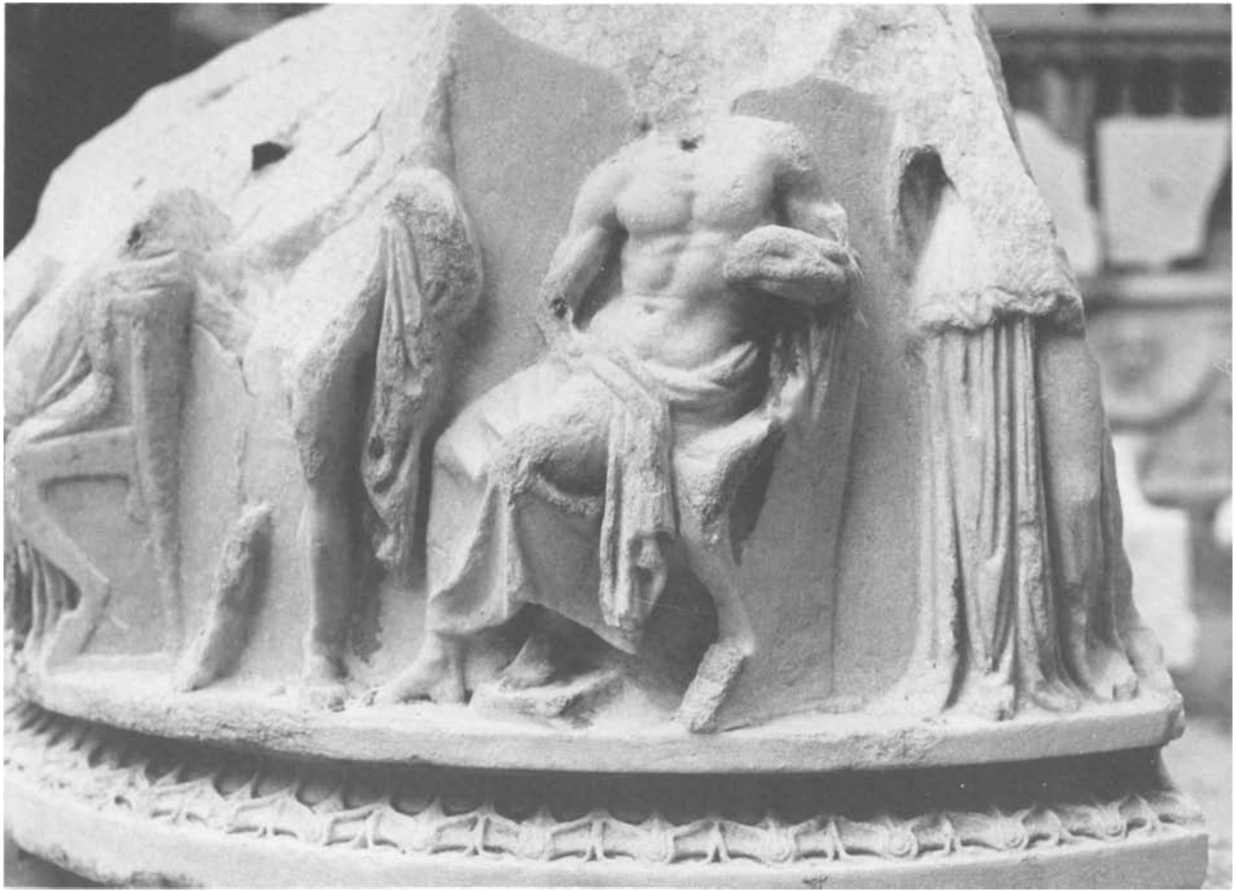

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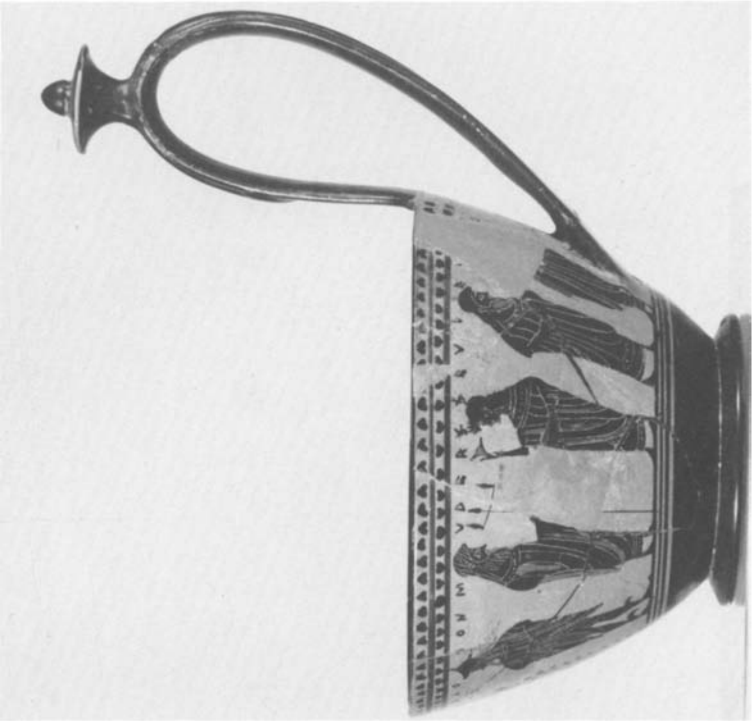

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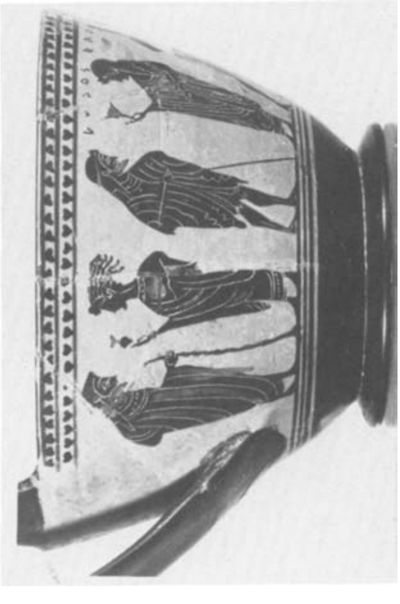

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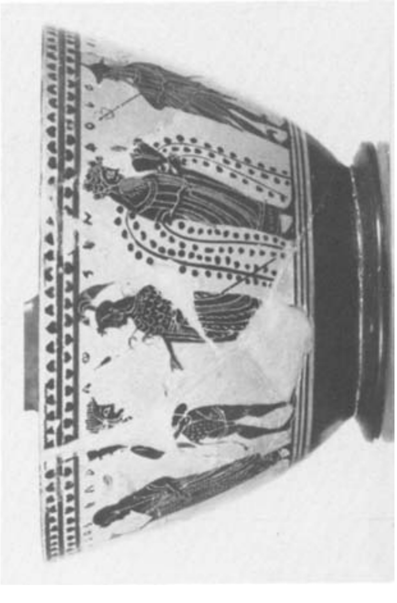

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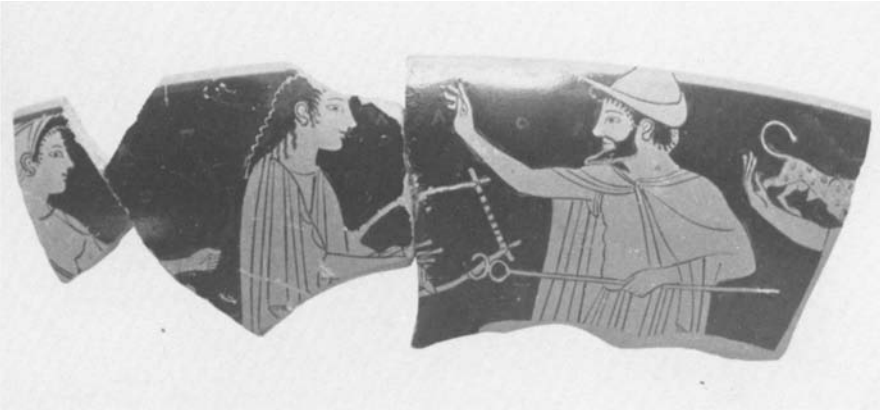

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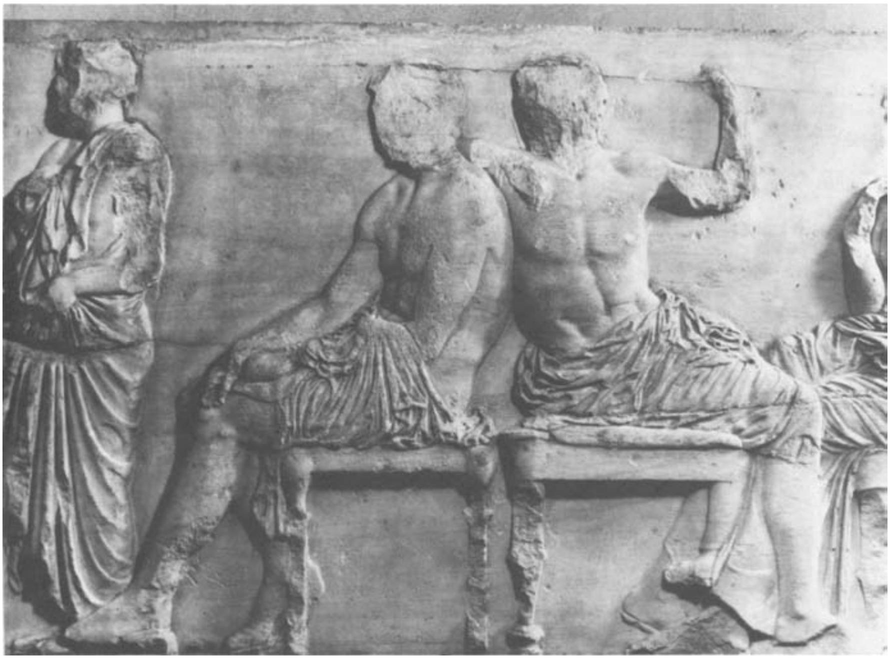

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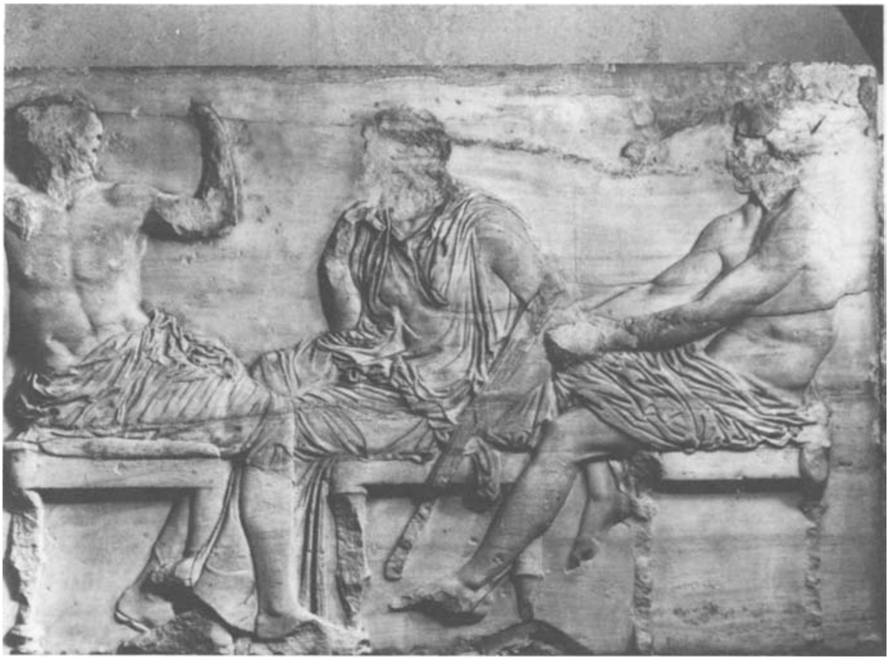

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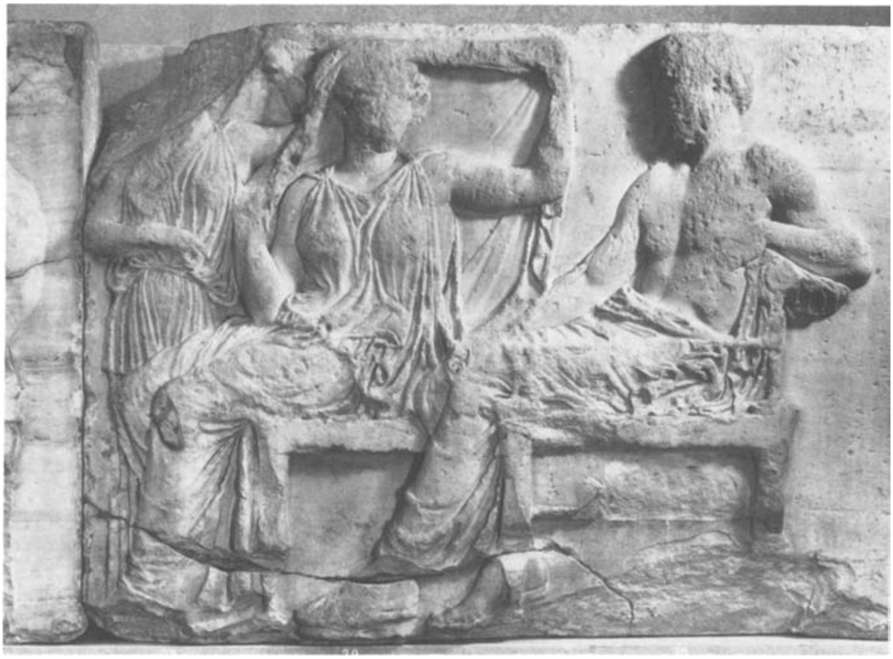

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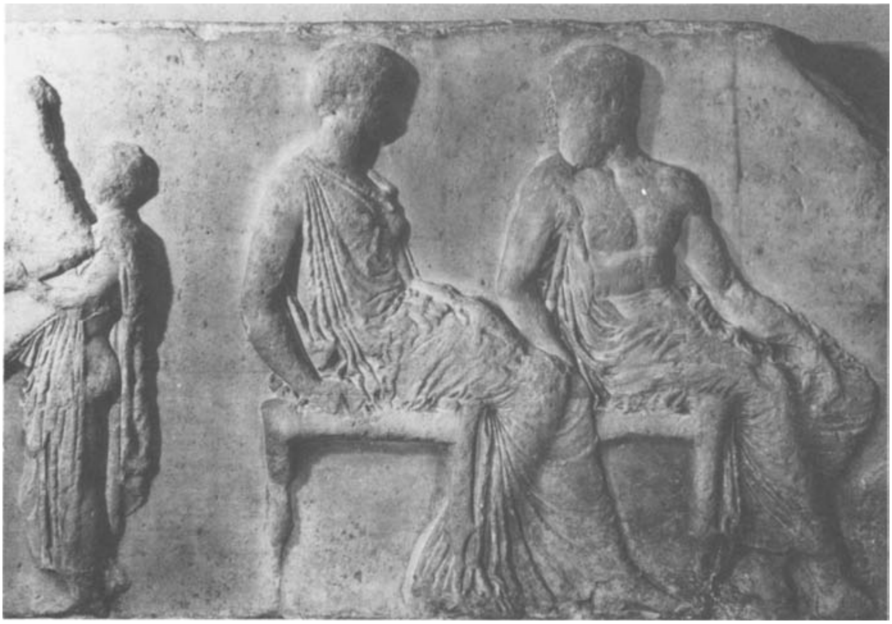

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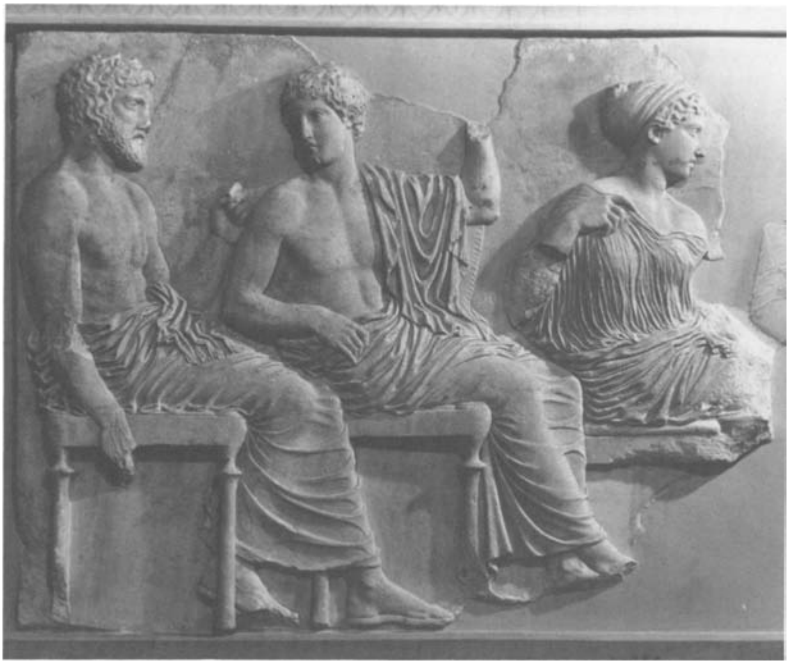

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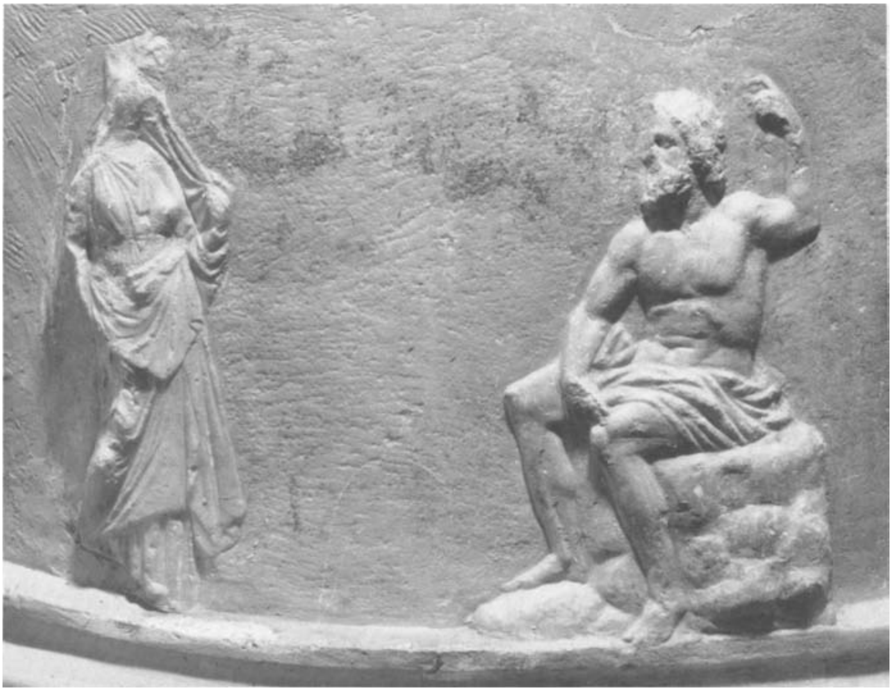

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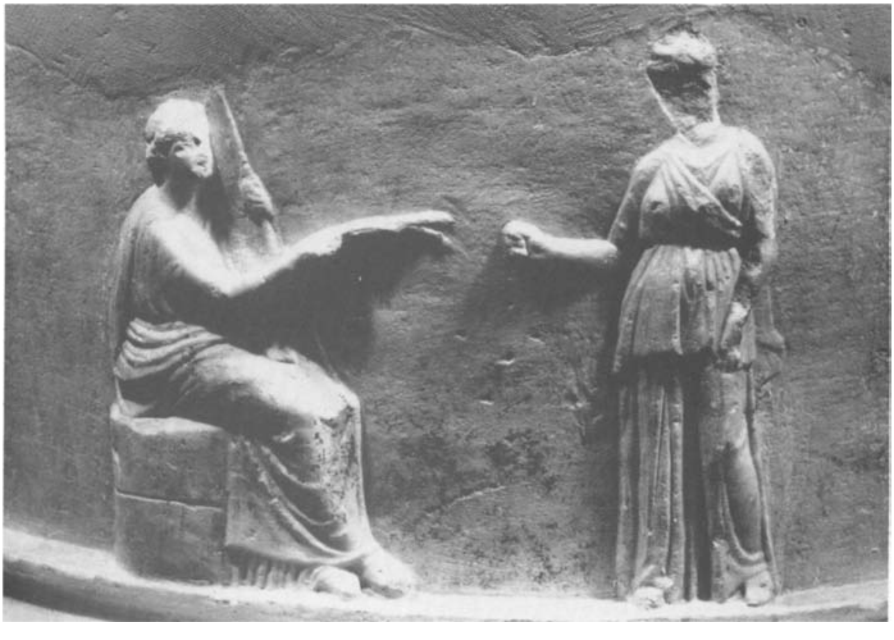

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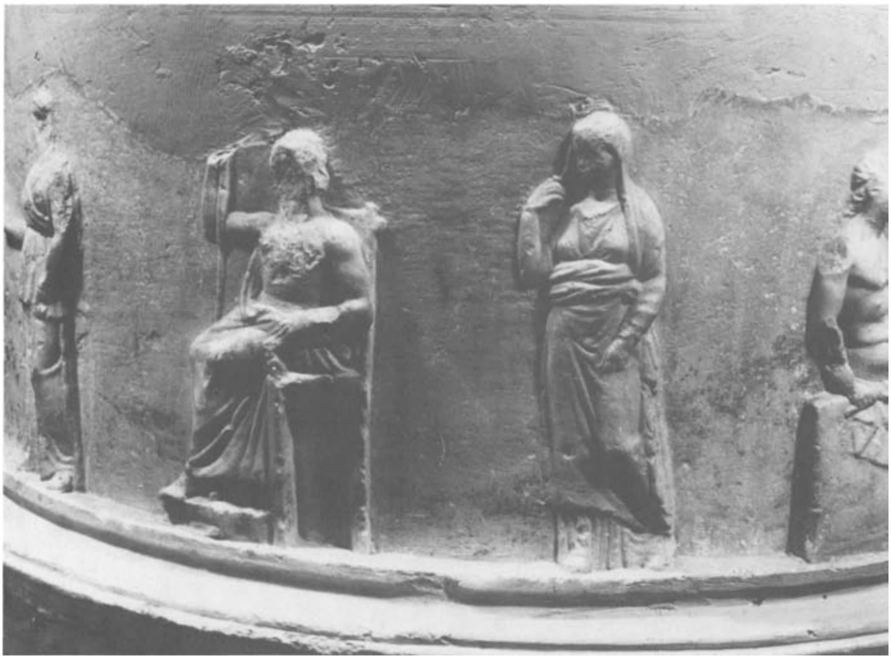

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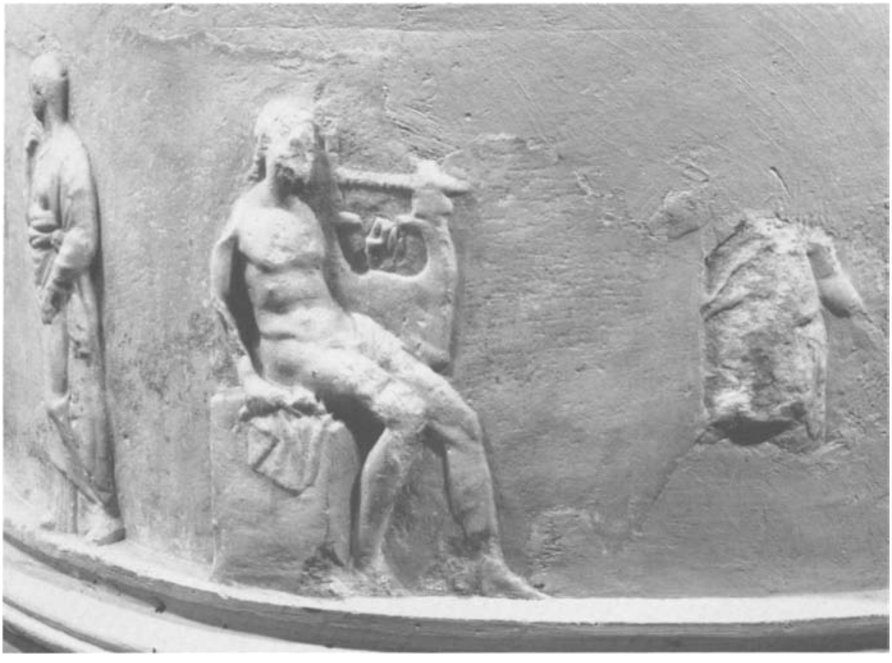

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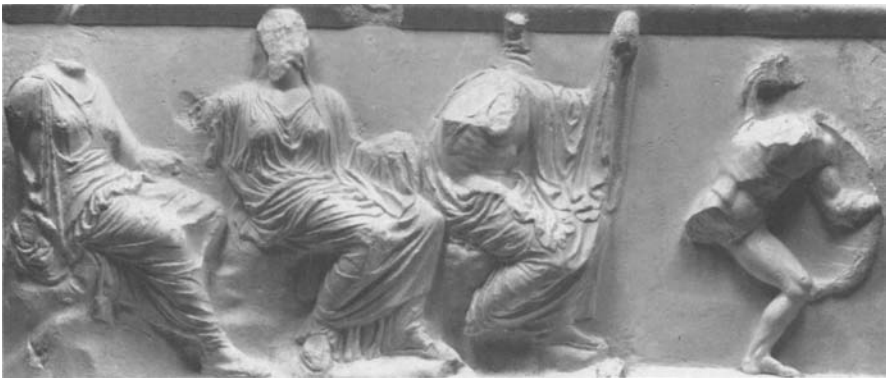

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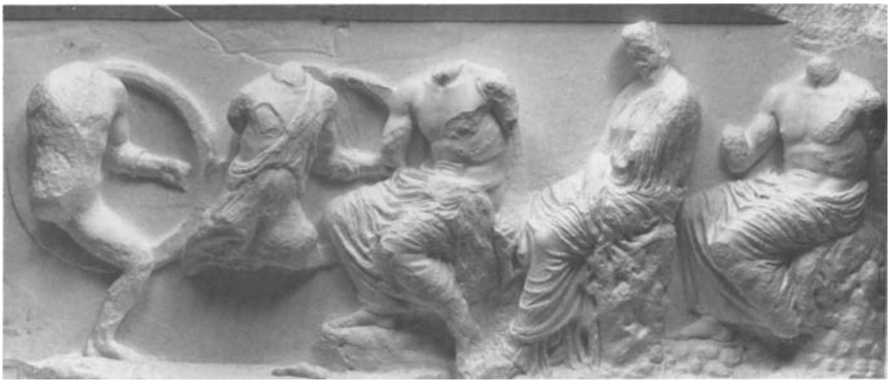

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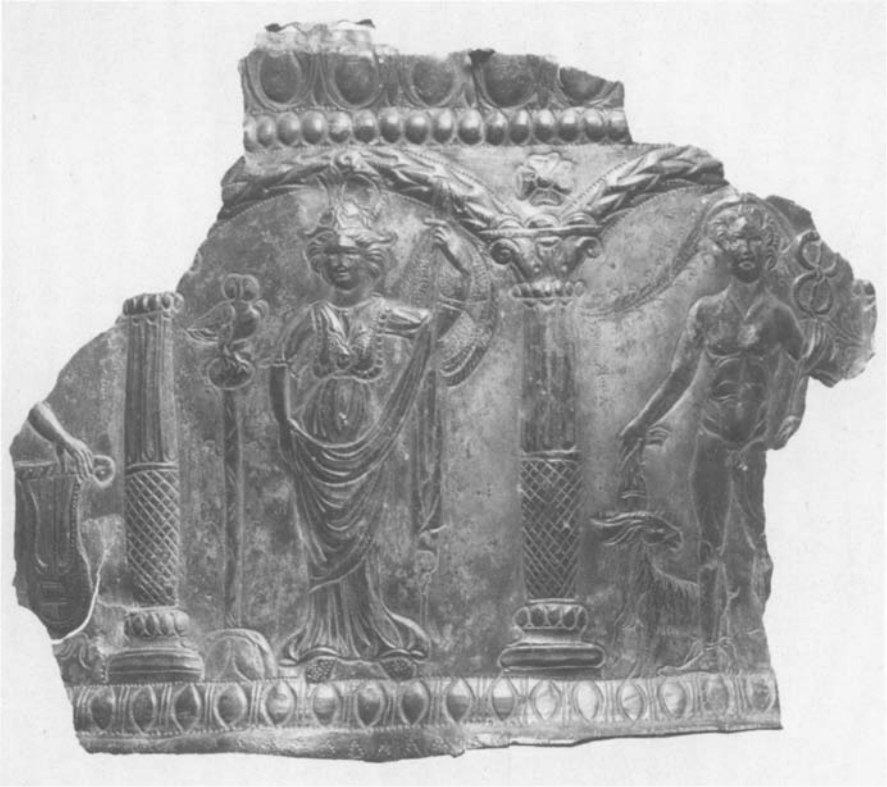

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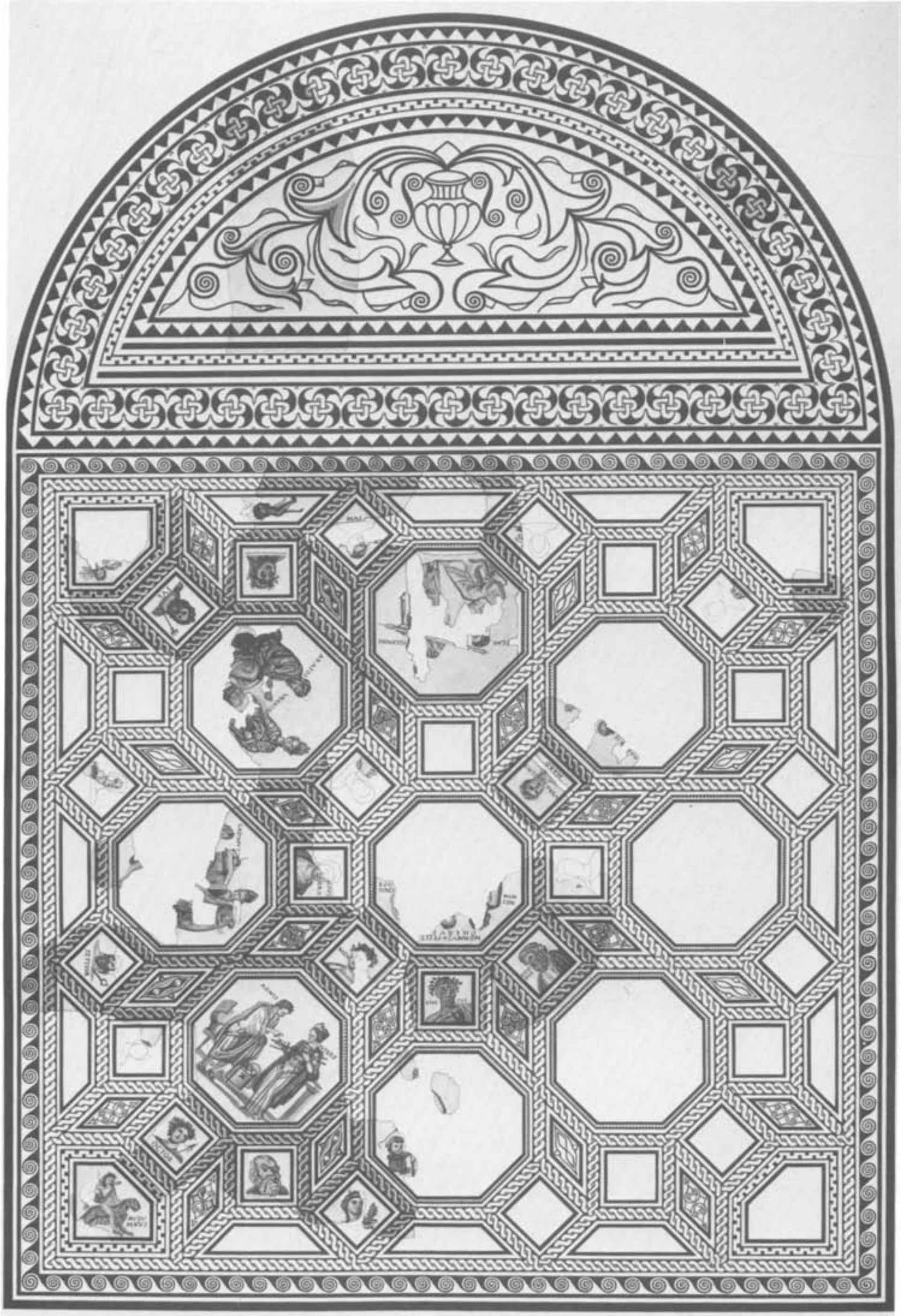

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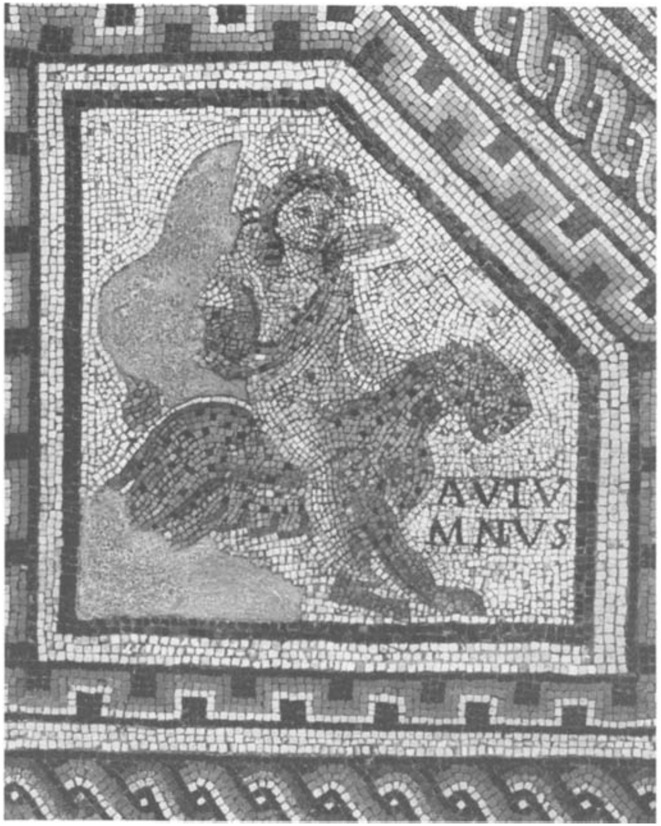

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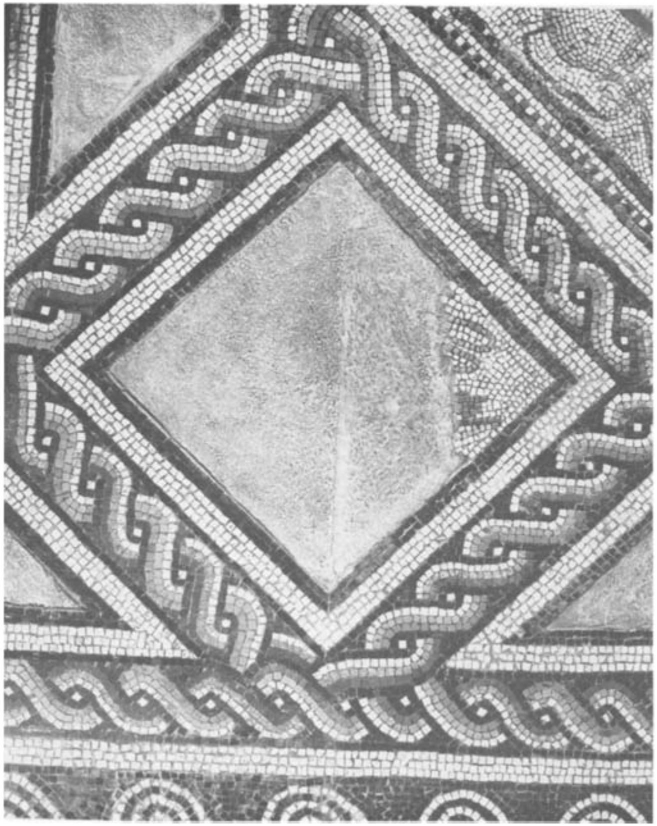

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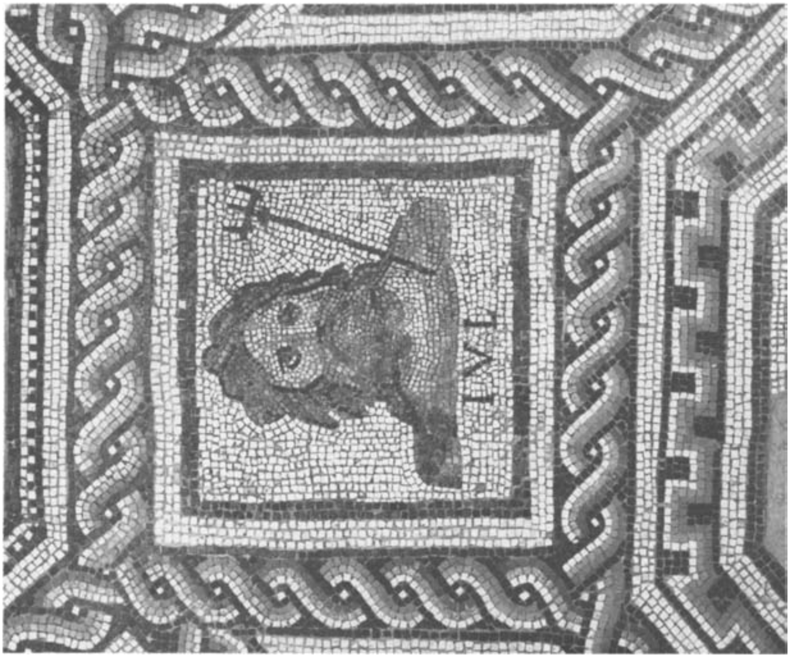

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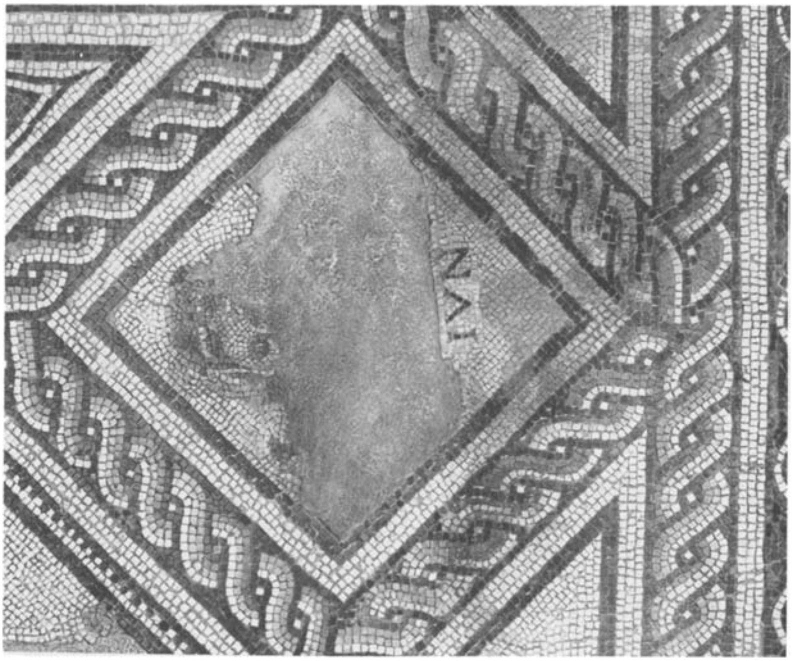

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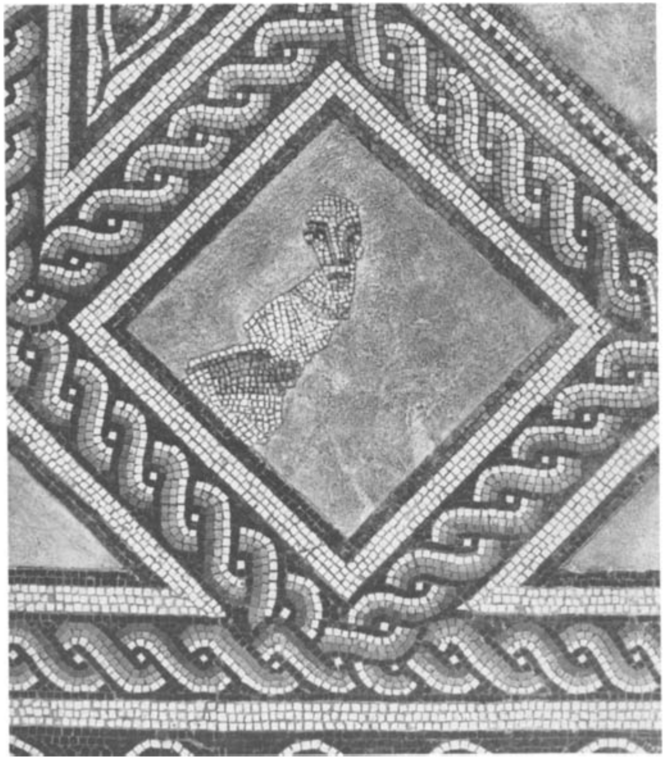

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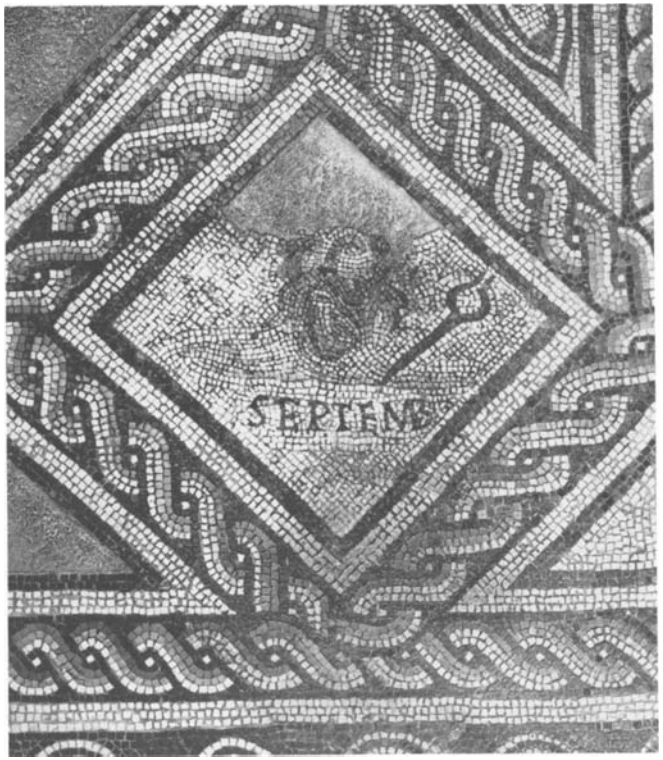

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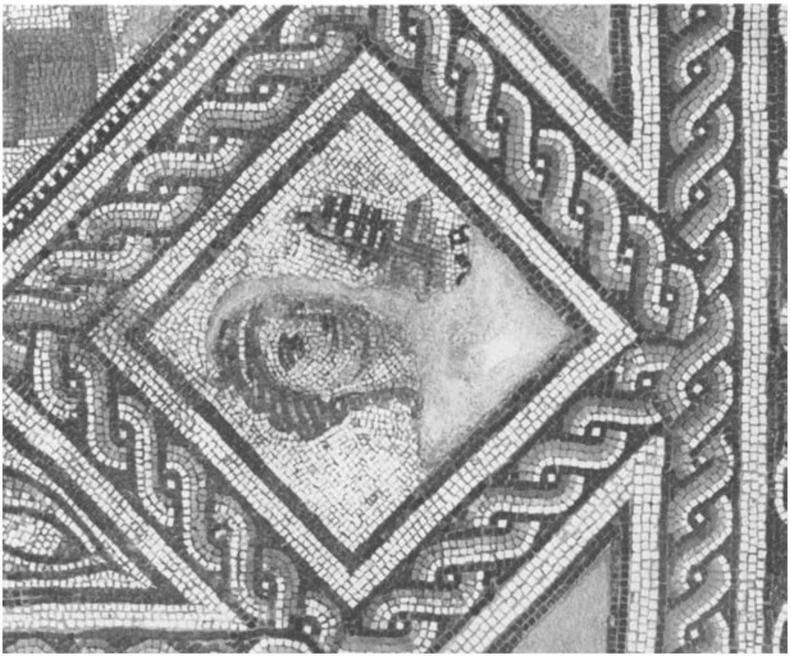

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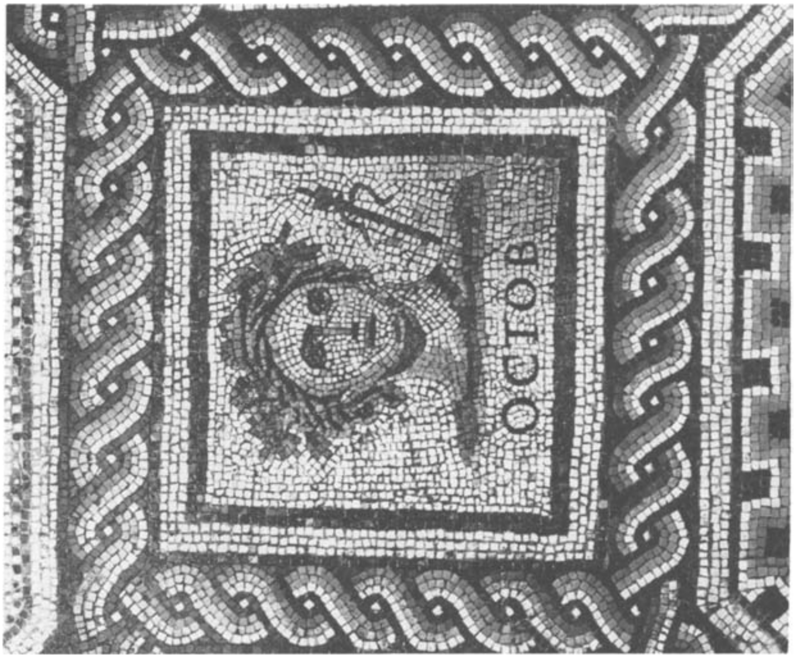

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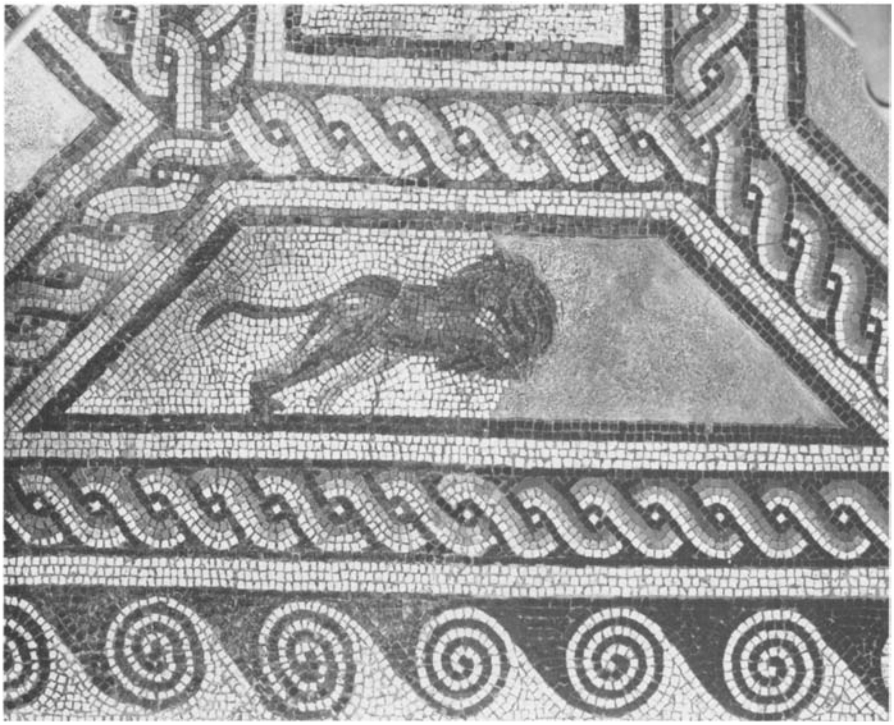

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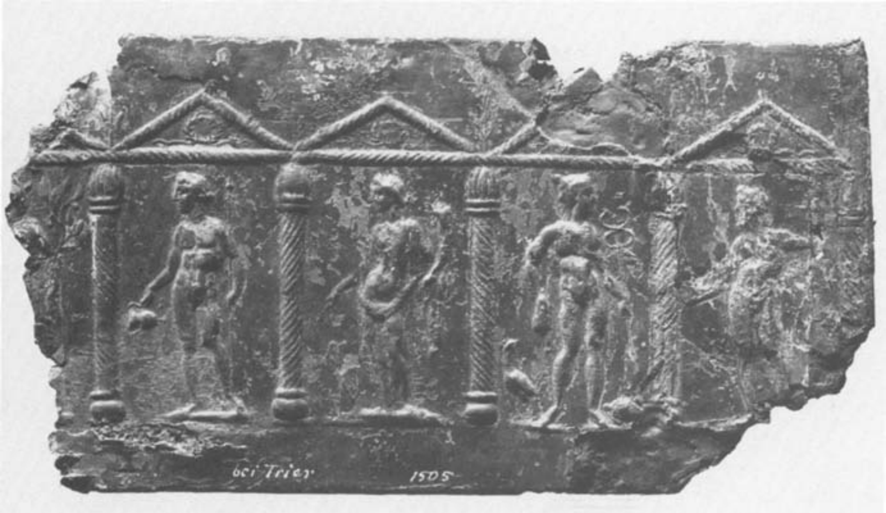
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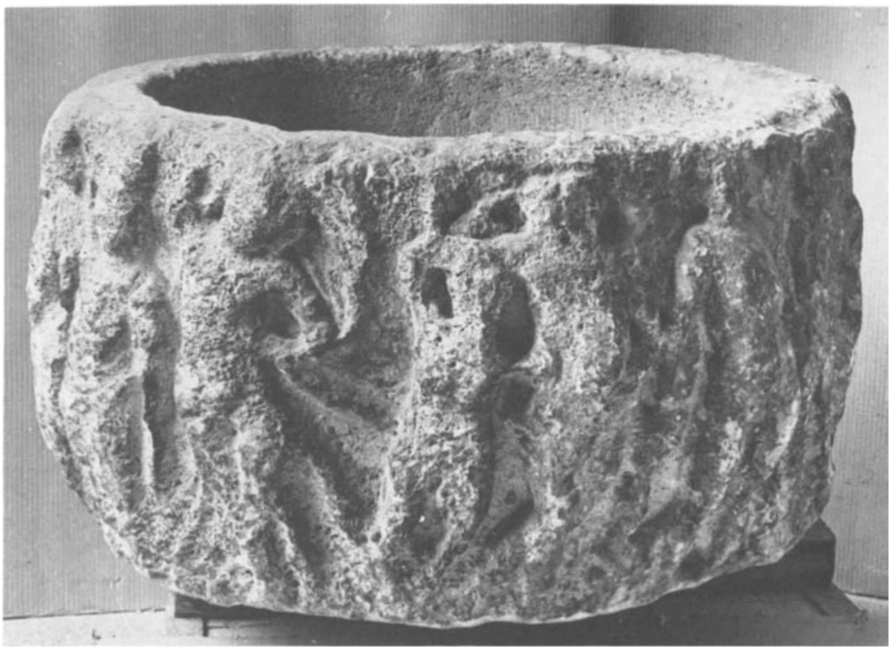

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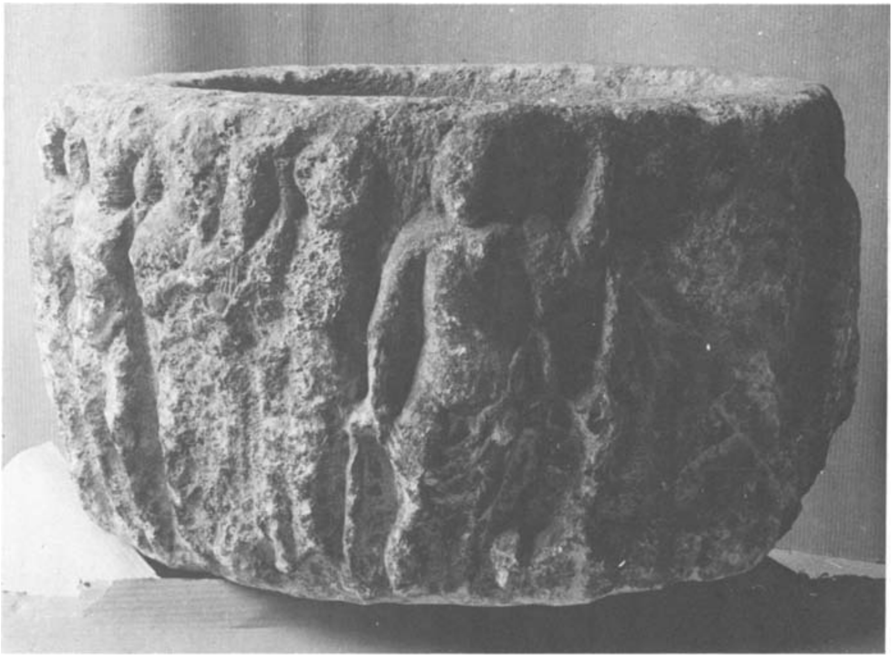

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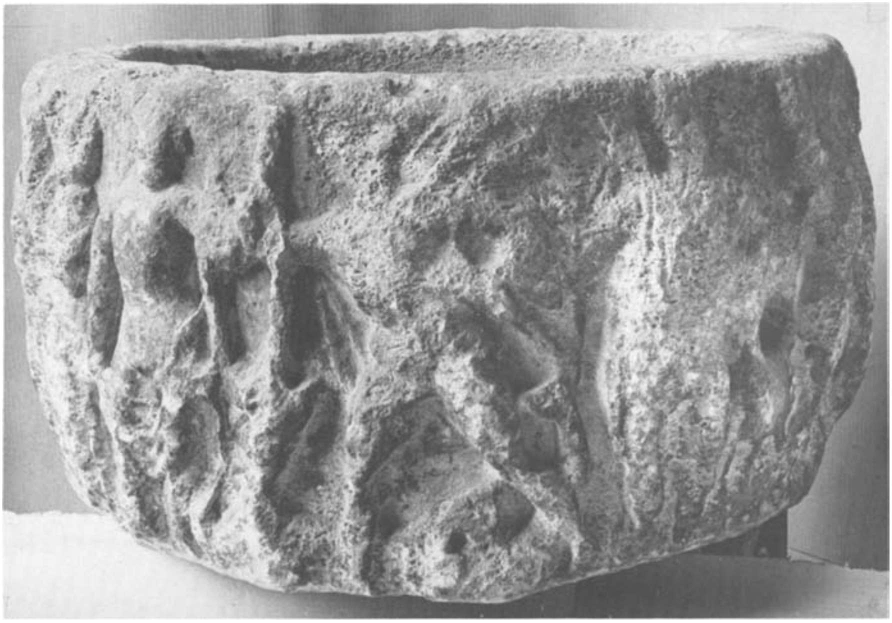

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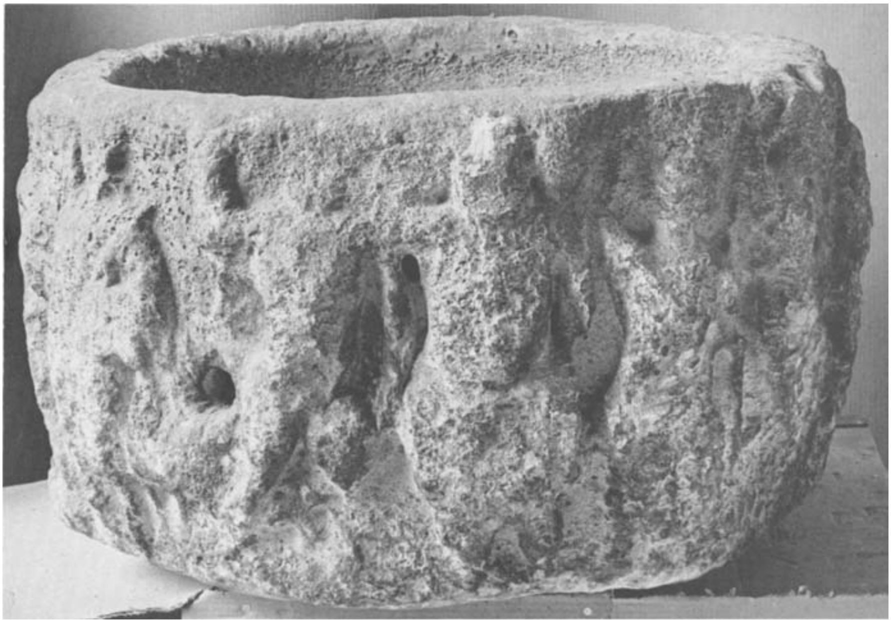

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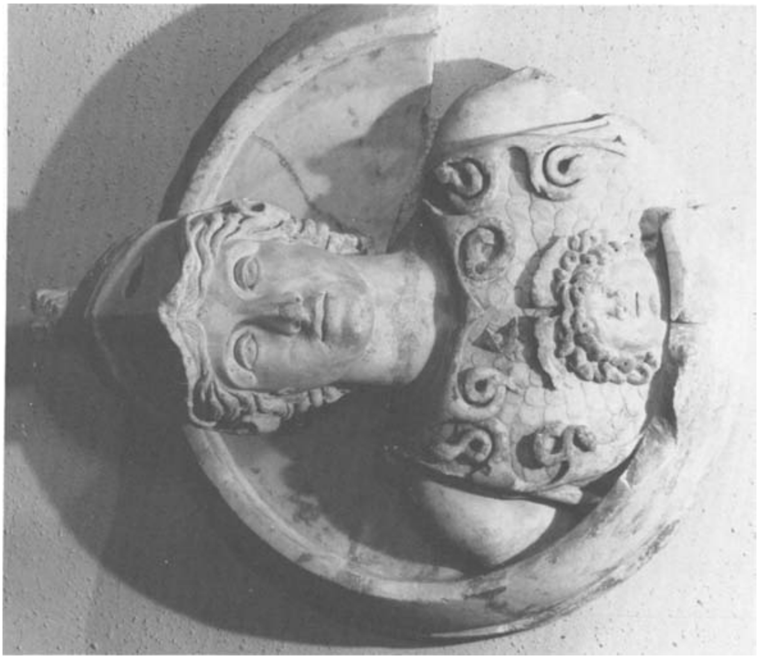

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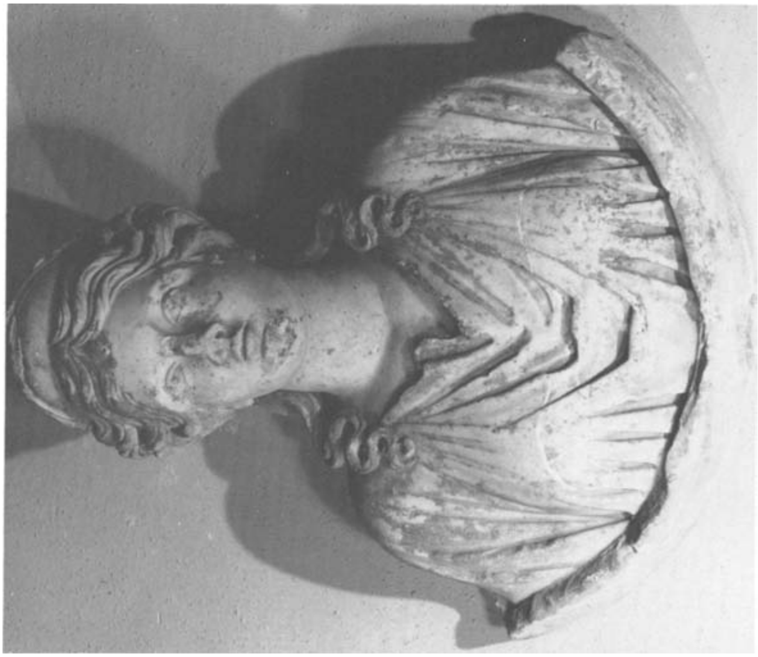

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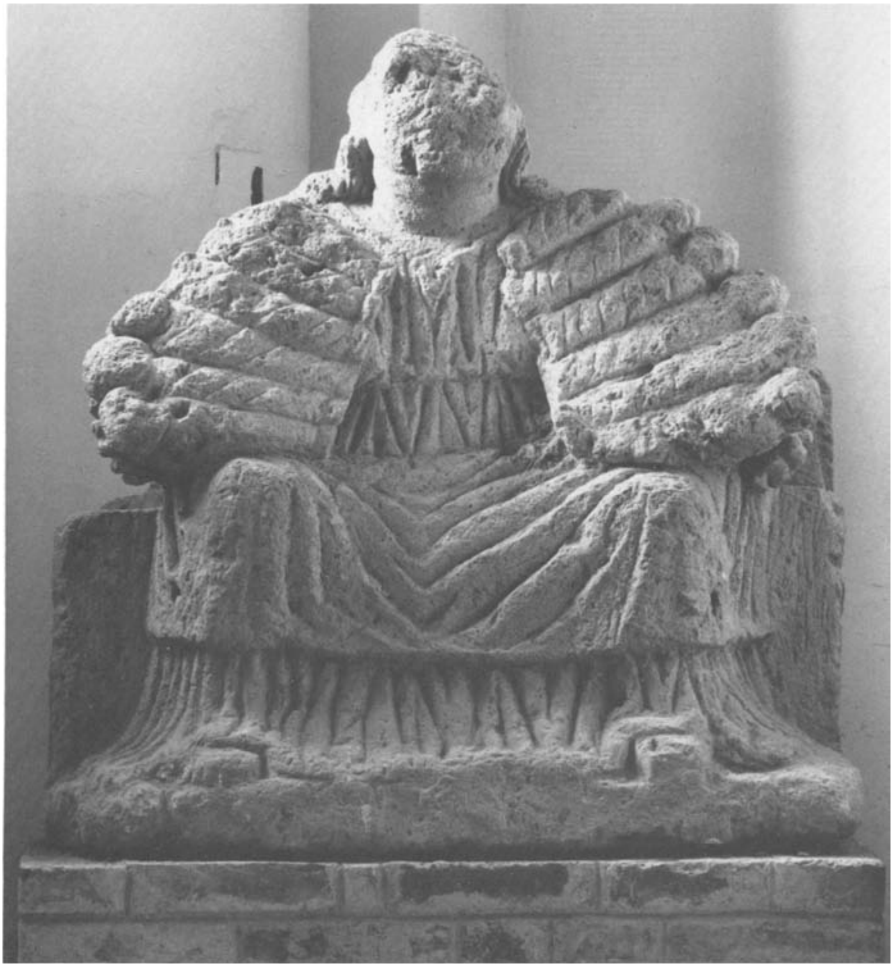
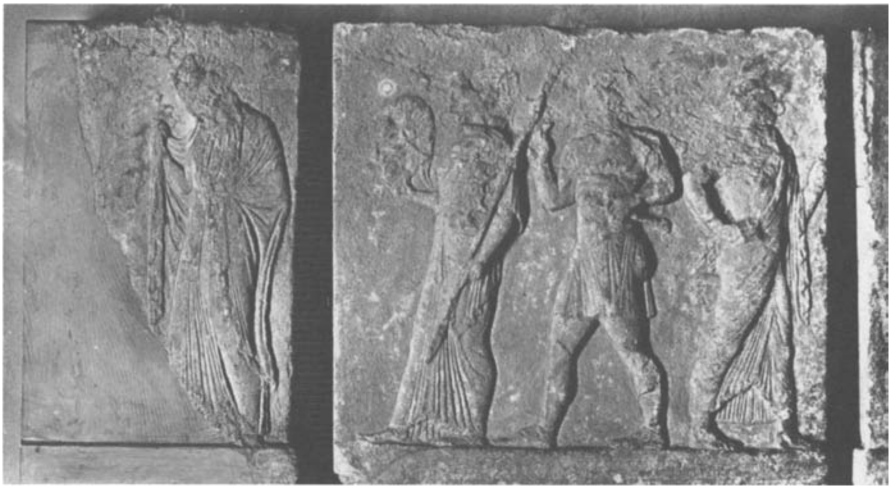


Fig. 37



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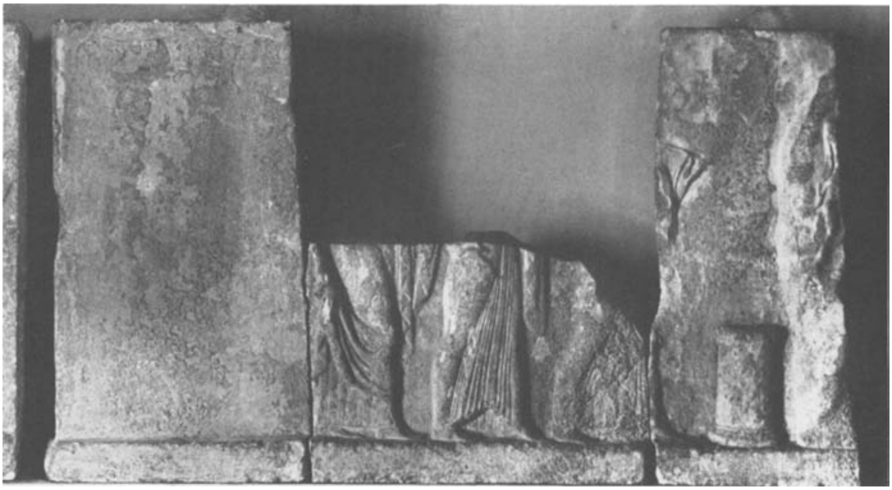

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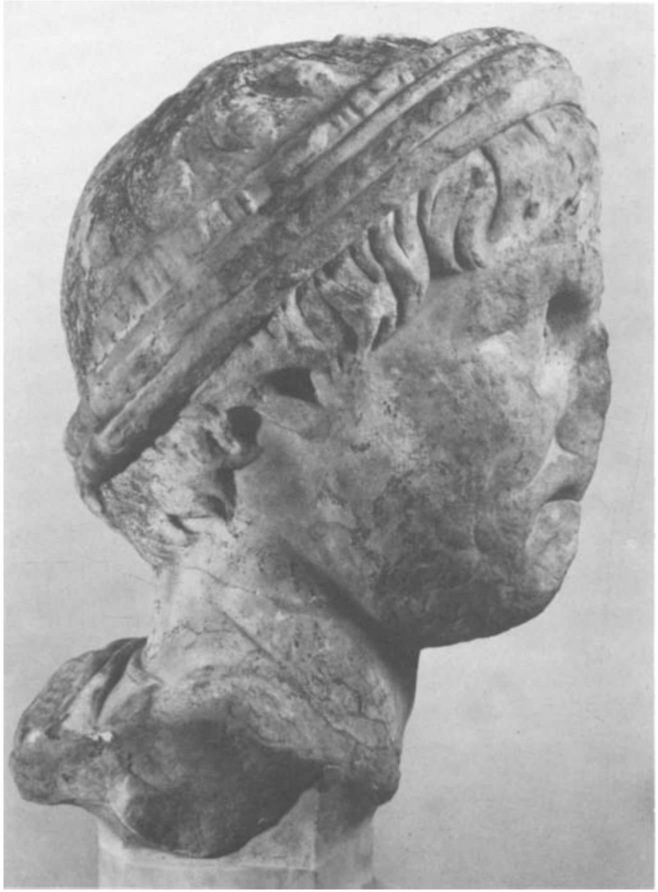

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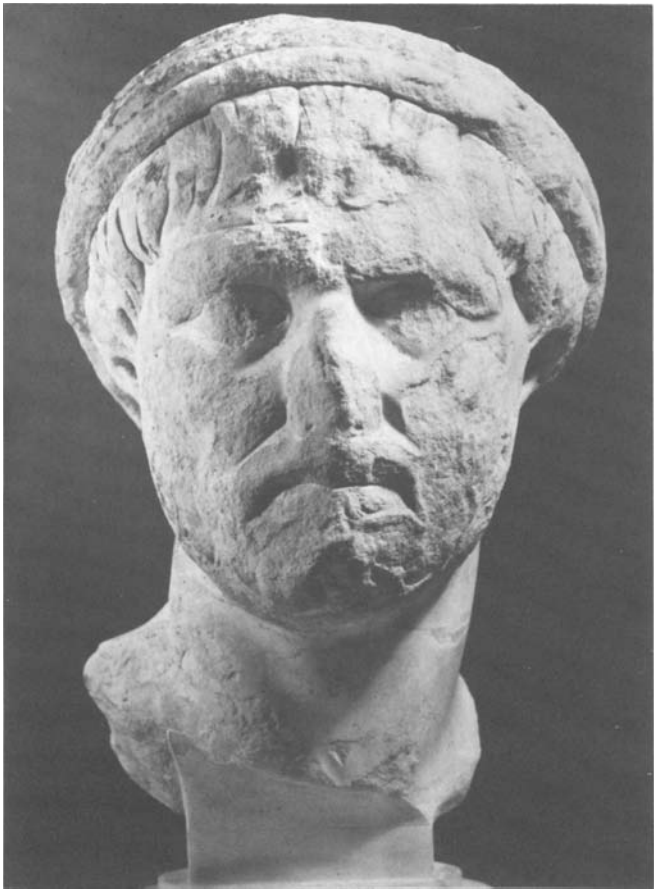
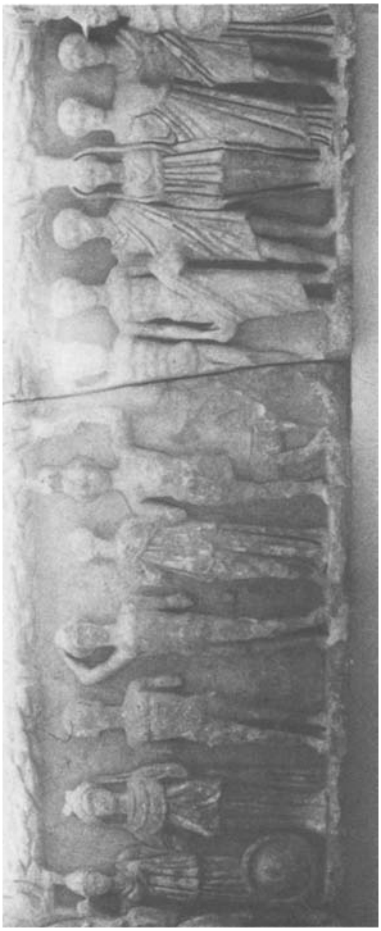


Fig. 41

Plate XXIV



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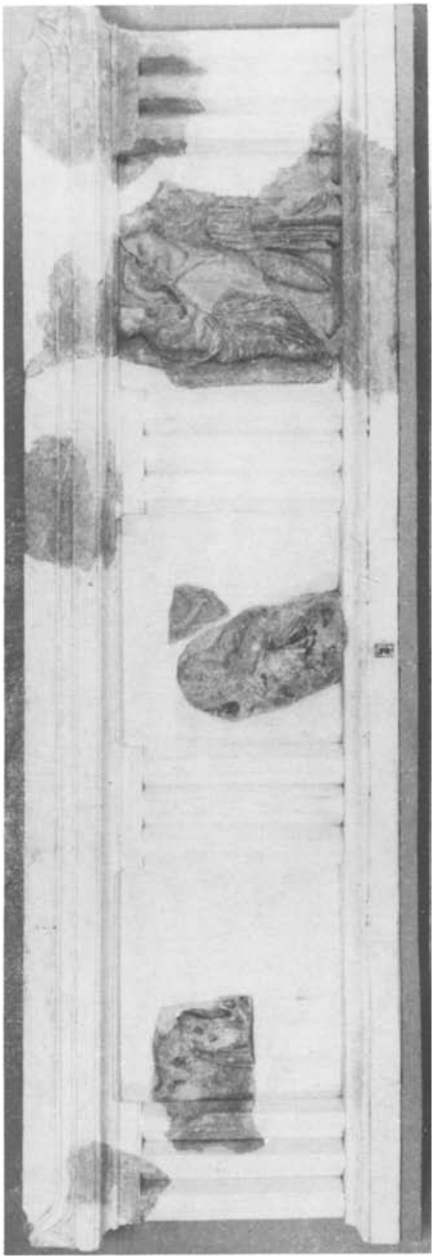
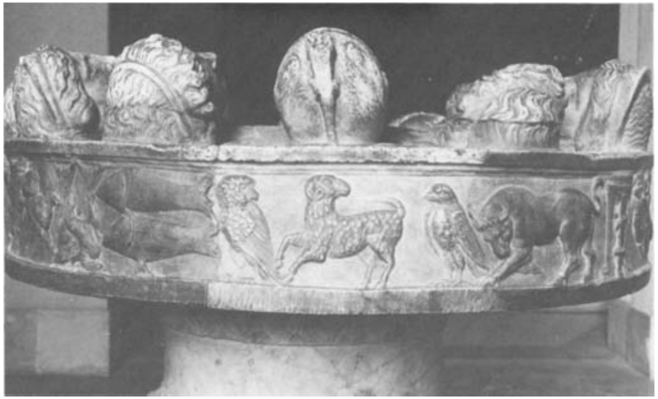


Fig. 43

PLATE XXV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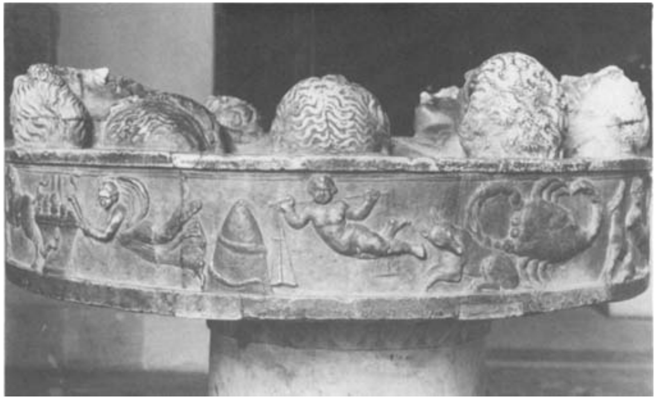
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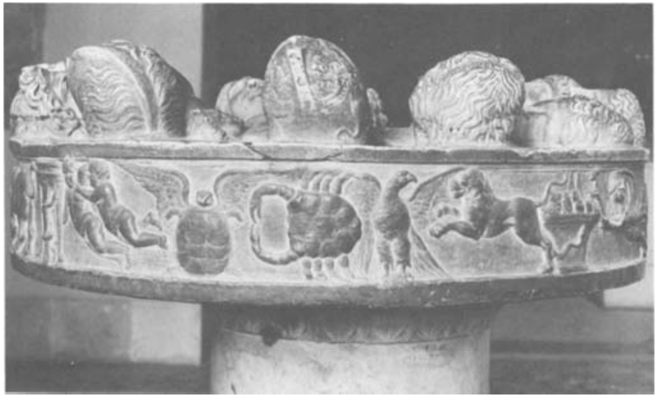
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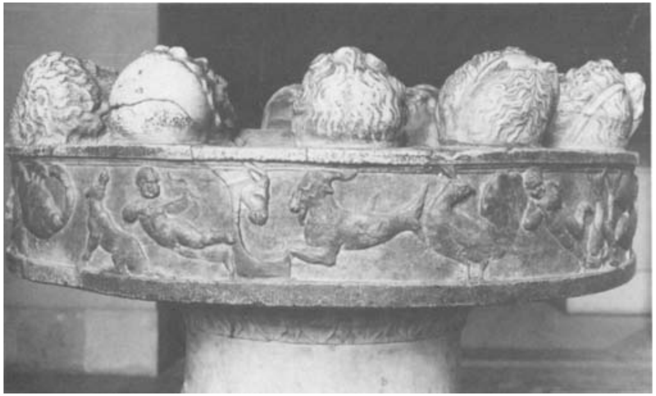
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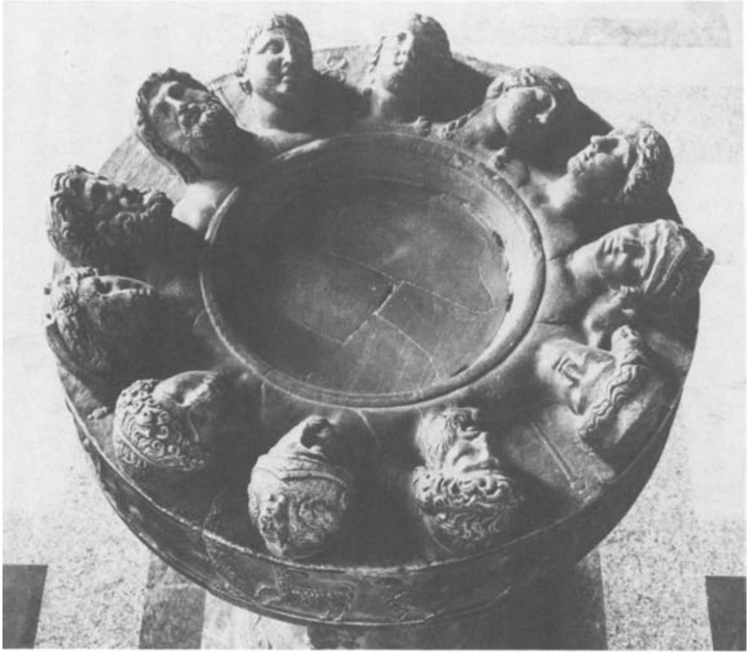

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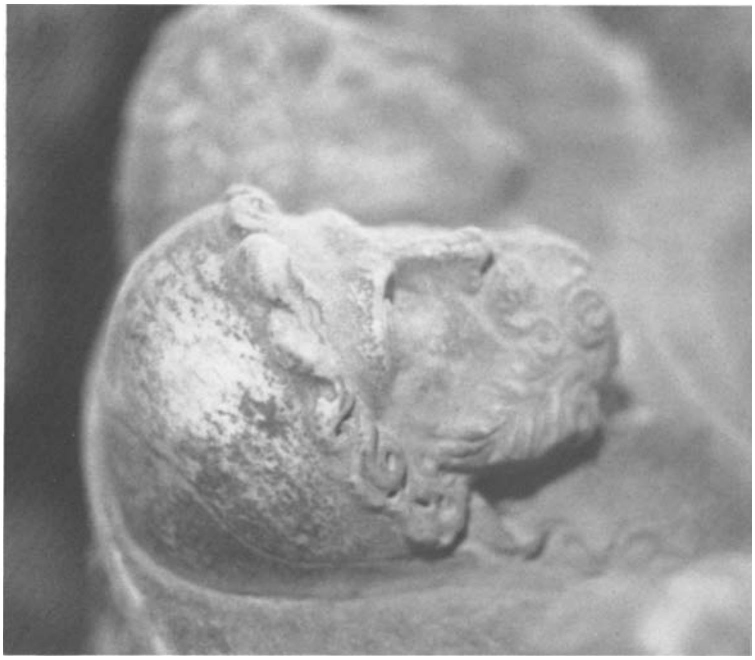


Fig. 49

PLATE XXVII

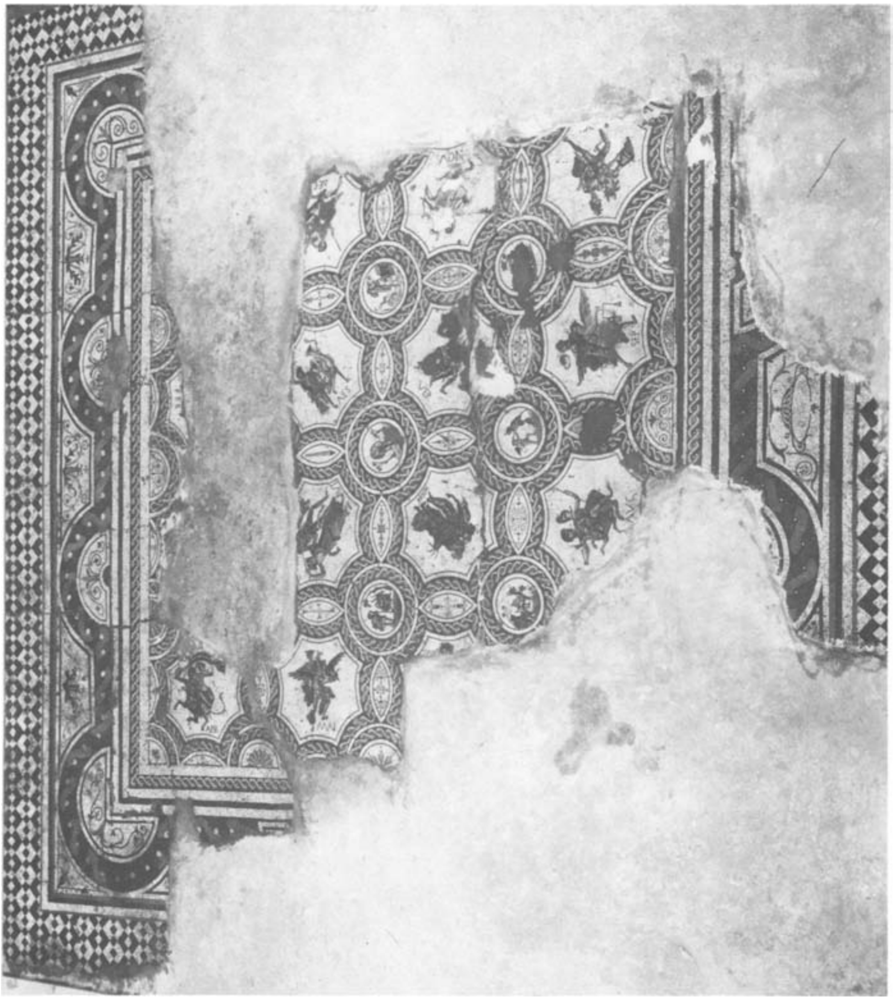


Fig. 50

PLATE XXVIII

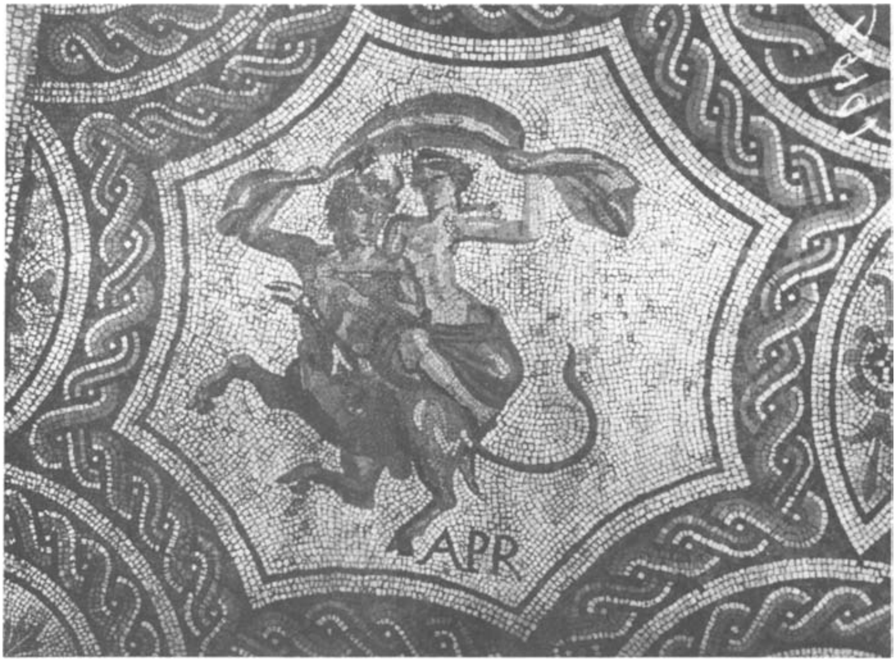


Fig. 51

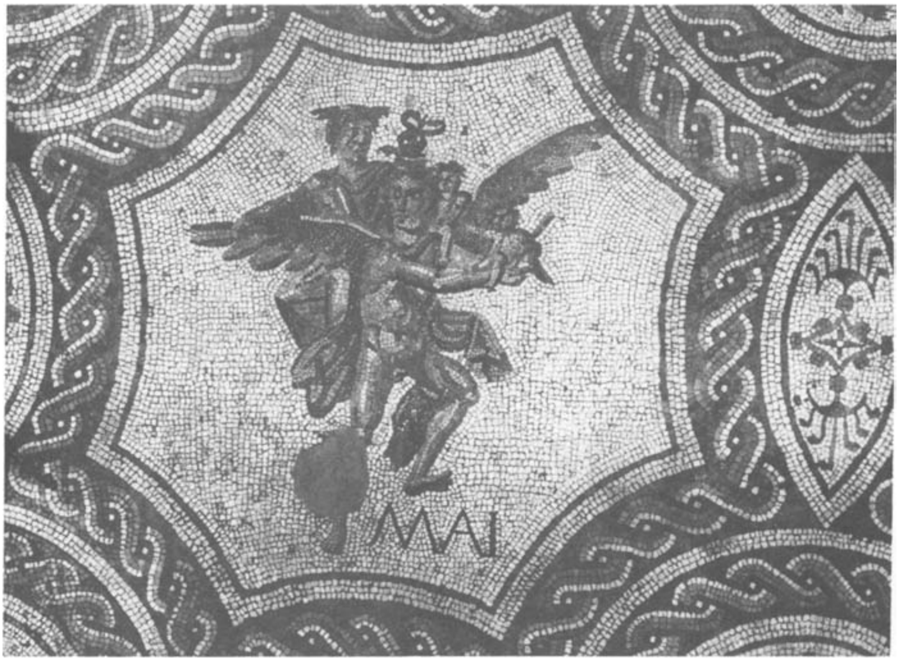
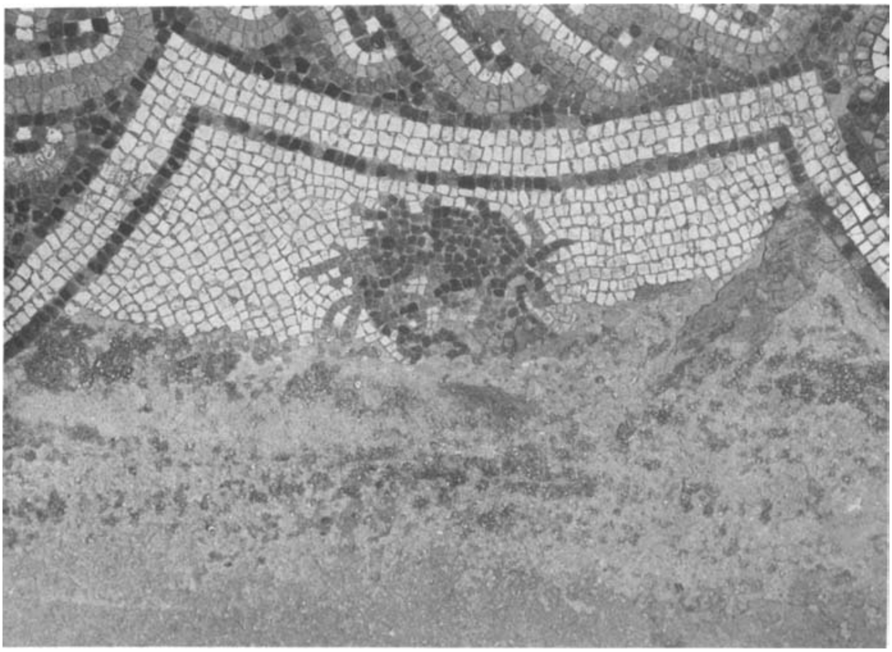


Fig. 52

PLATE XXIX



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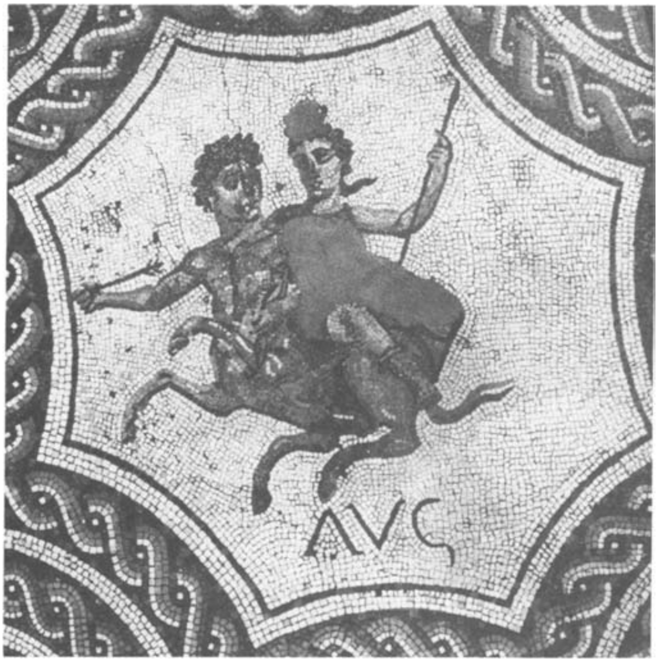

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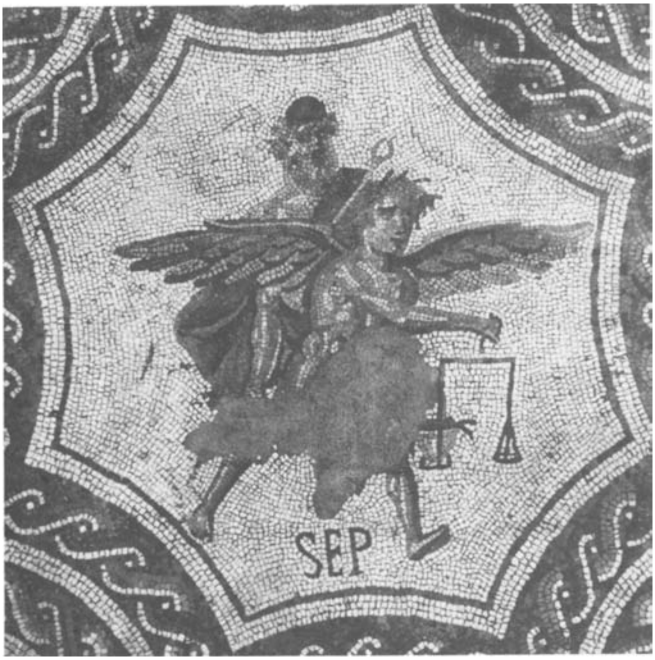
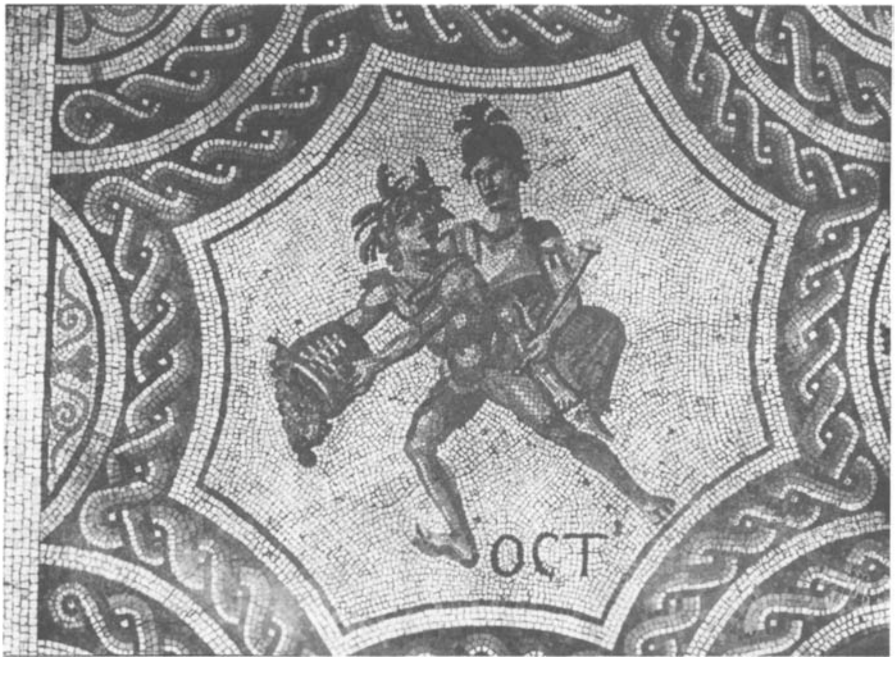


Fig. 55



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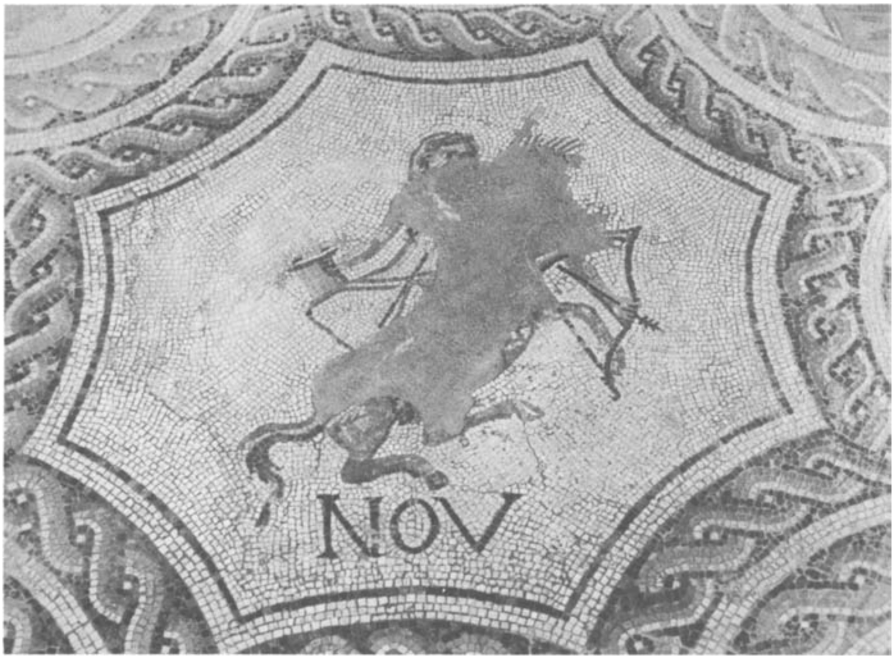


Fig. 57

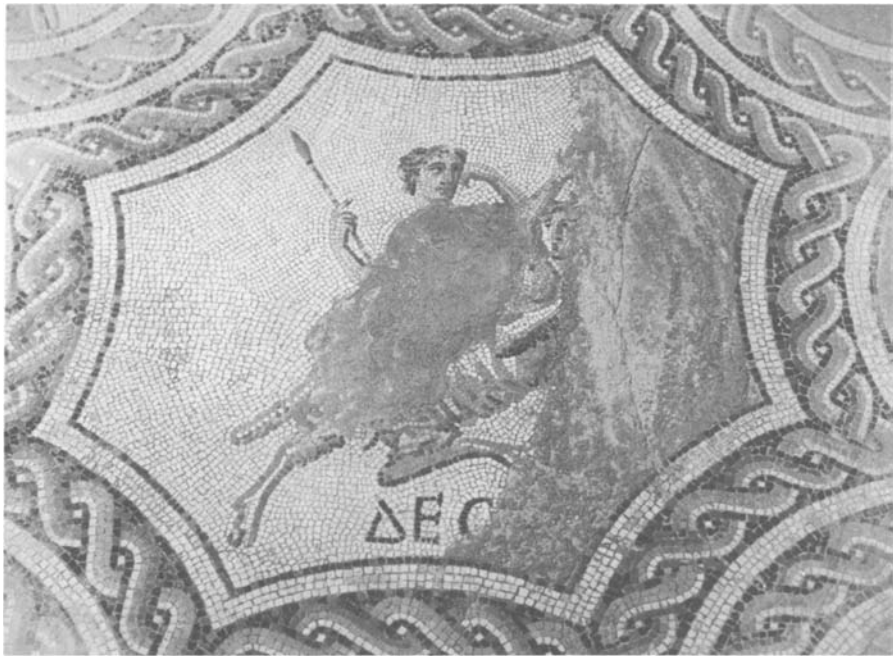


Fig. 58

PLATE XXXII

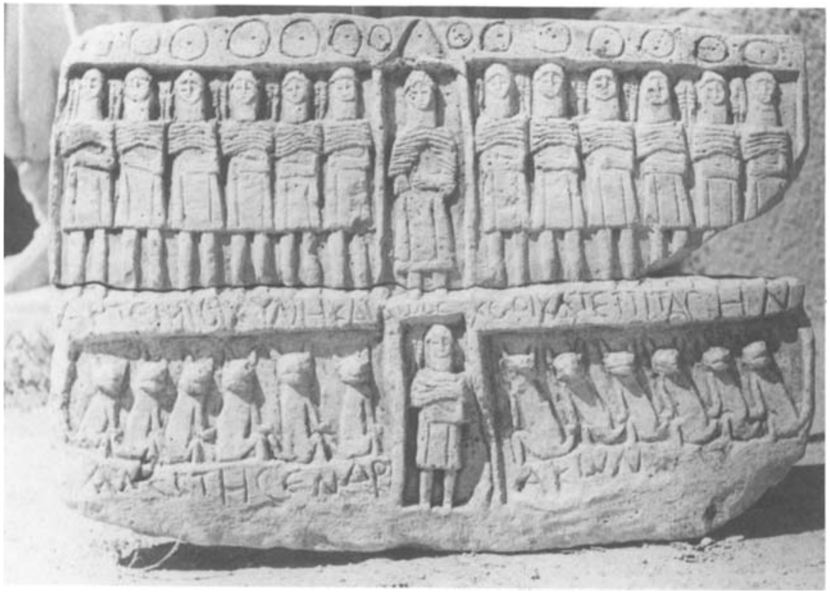


Fig. 59

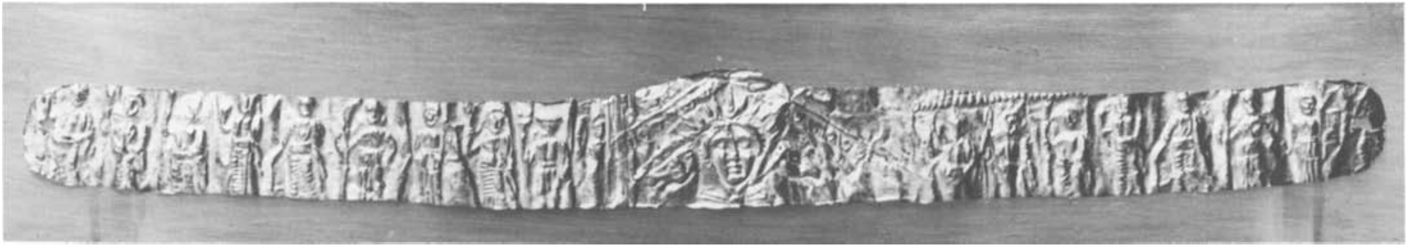
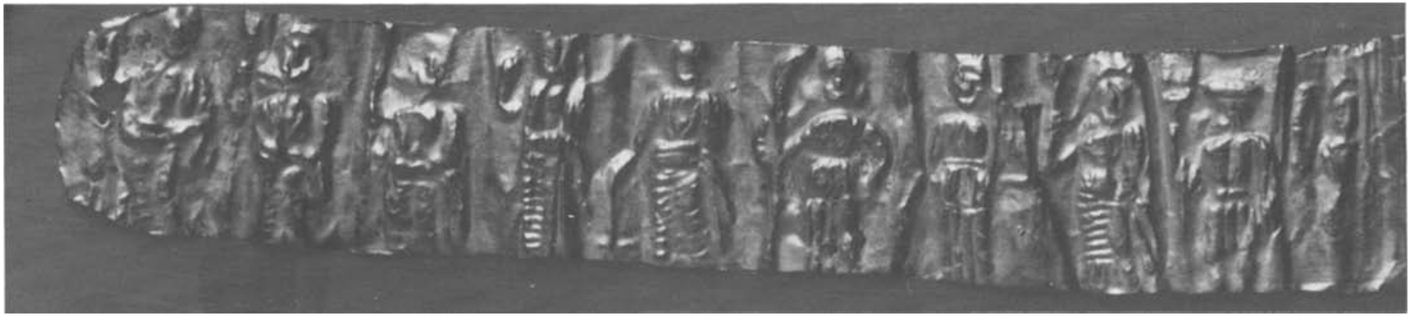


Fig. 60



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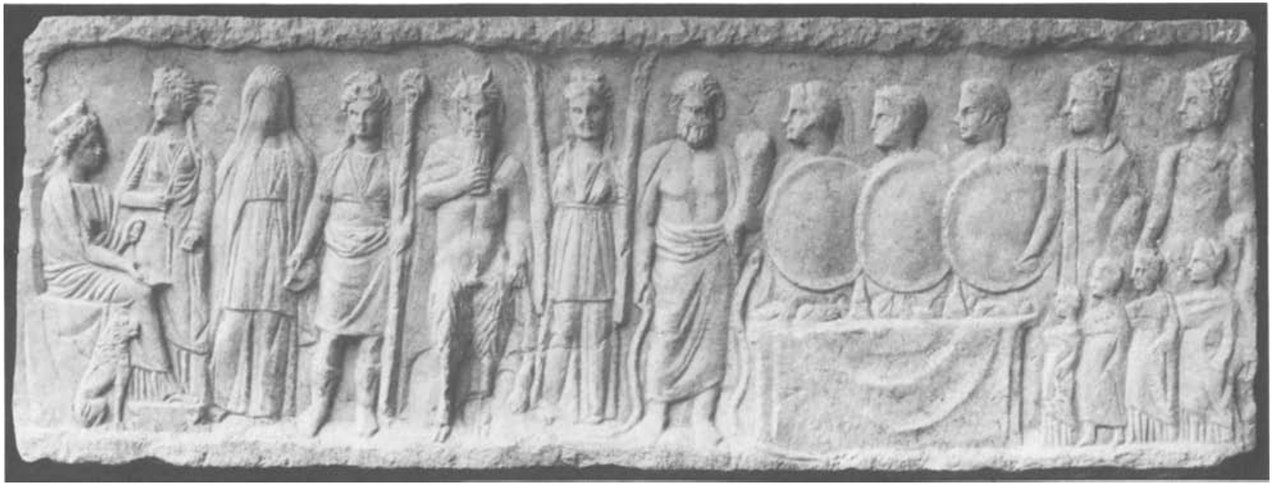
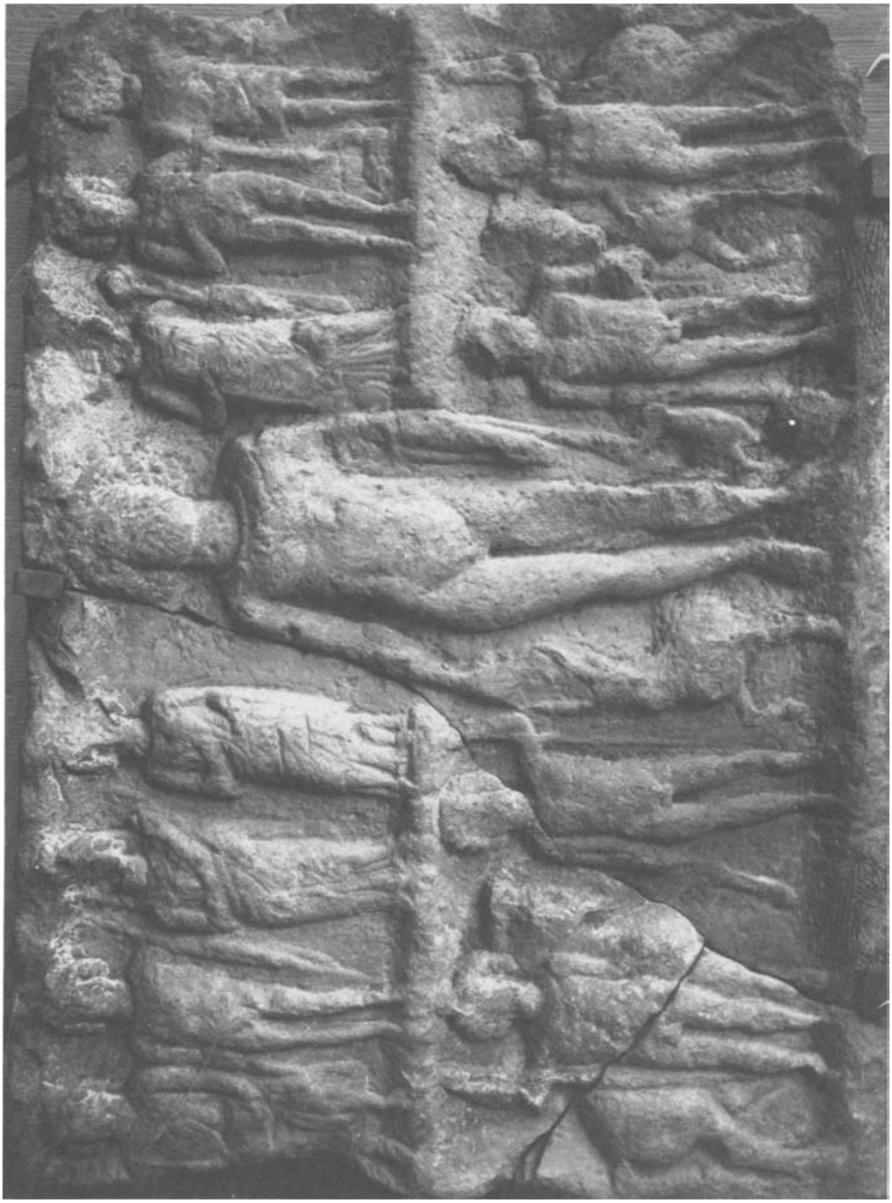


Fig. 62

PLATE XXXIV



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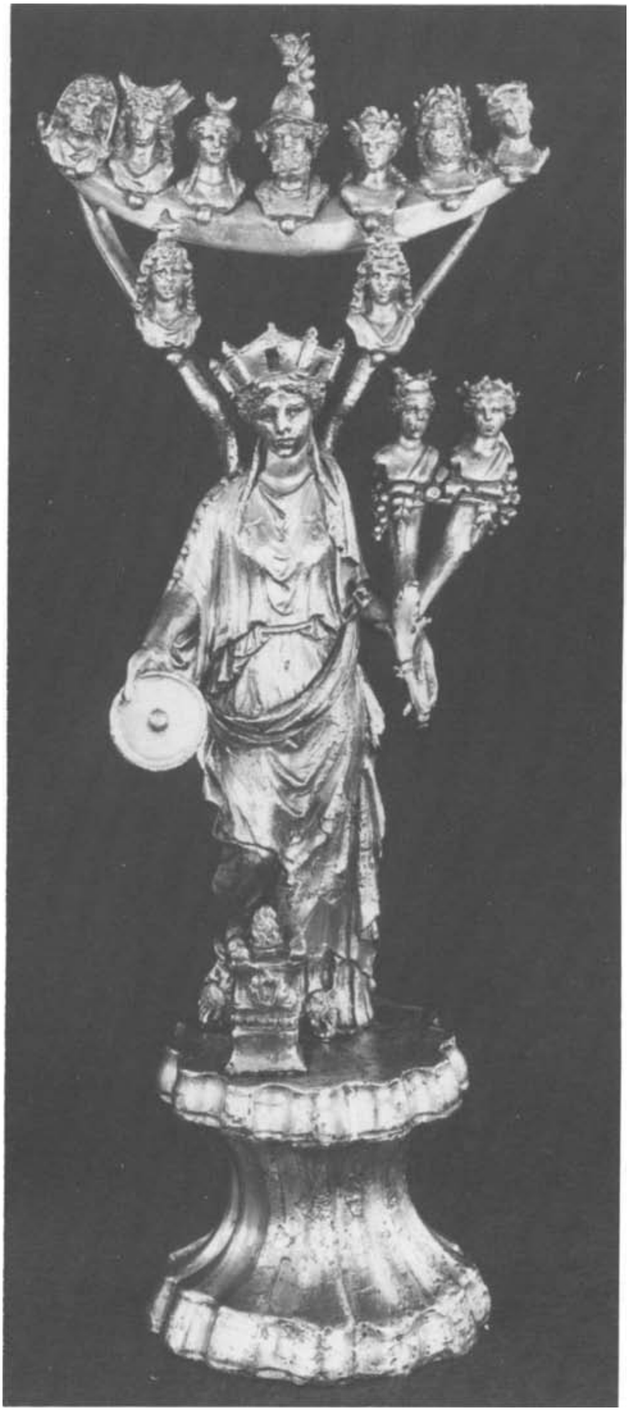
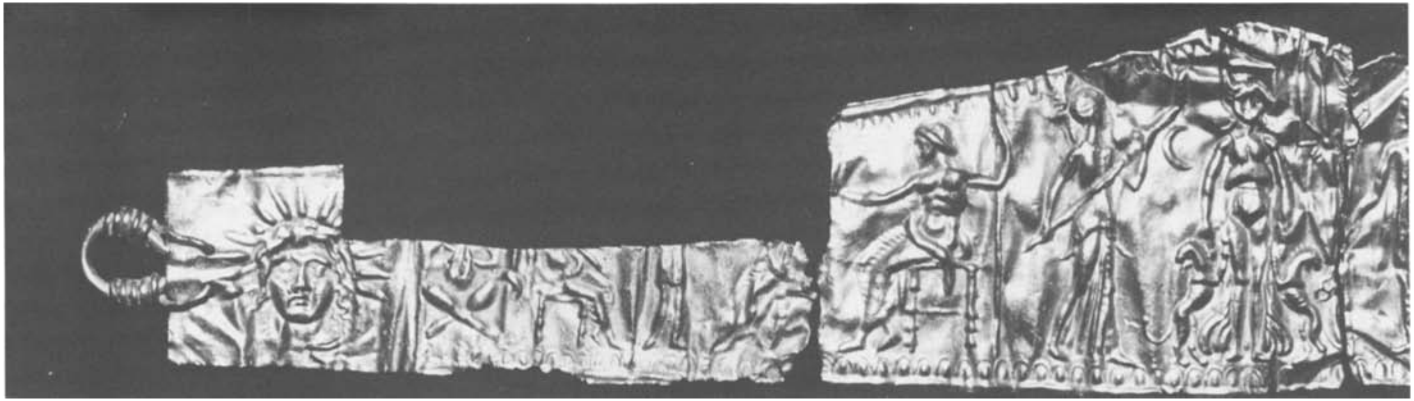


Fig. 64

PLATE XXXVI



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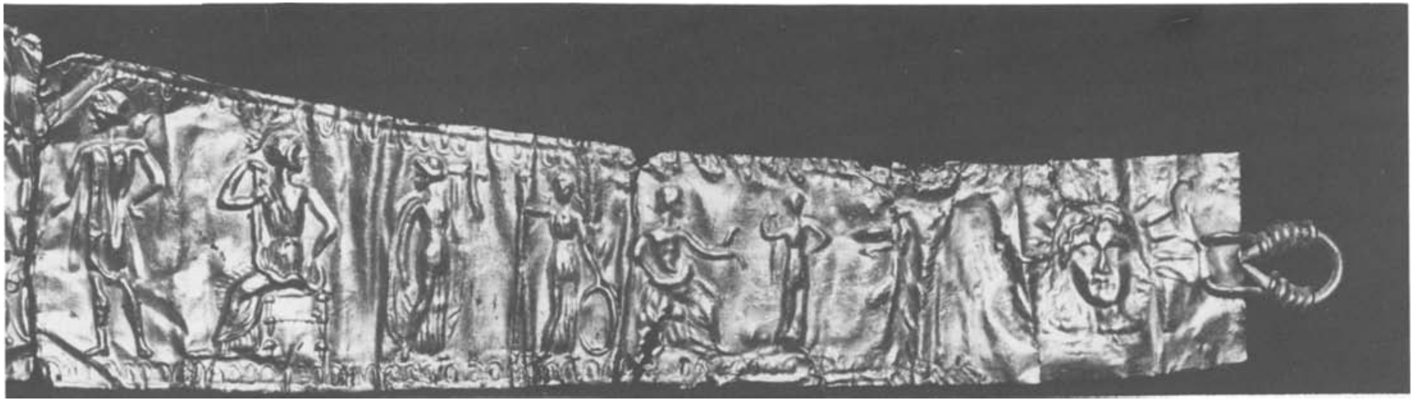

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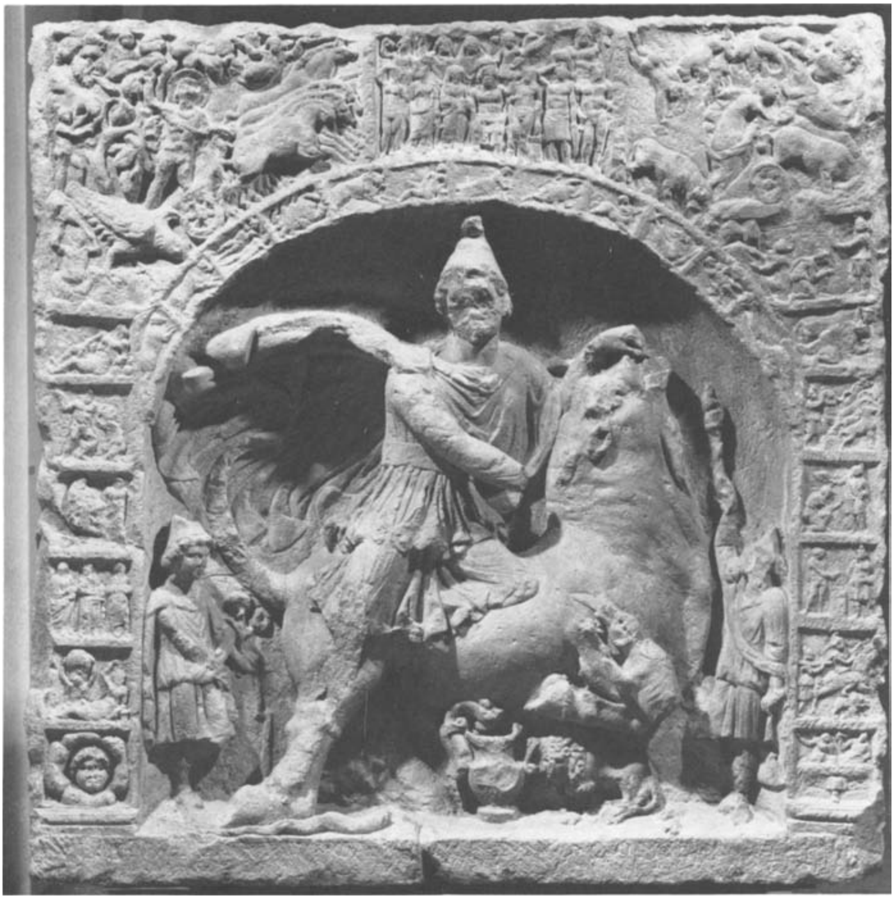

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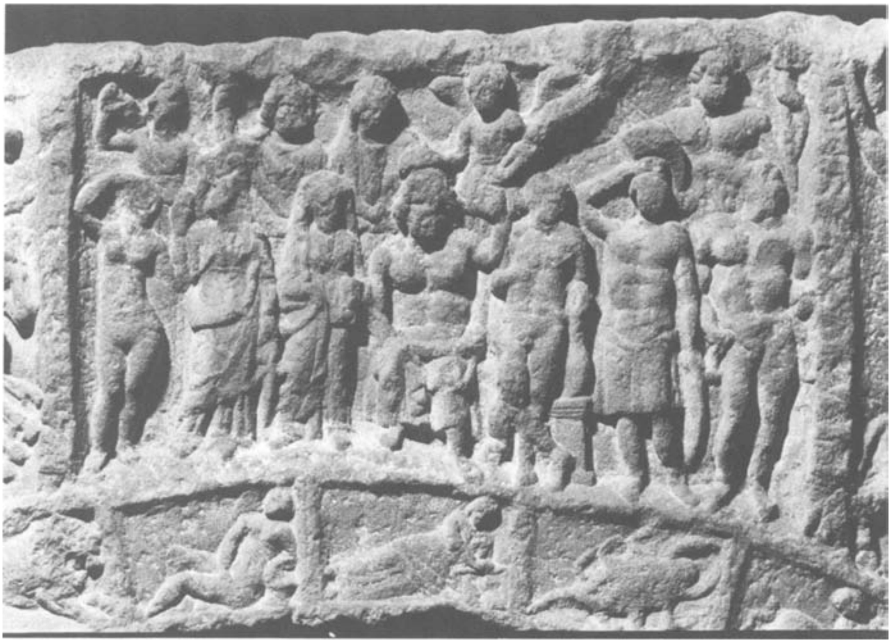

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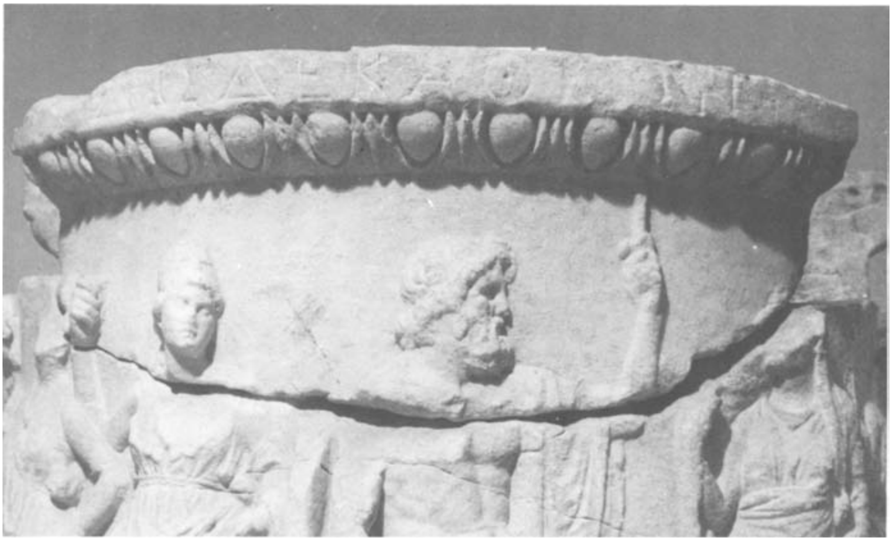
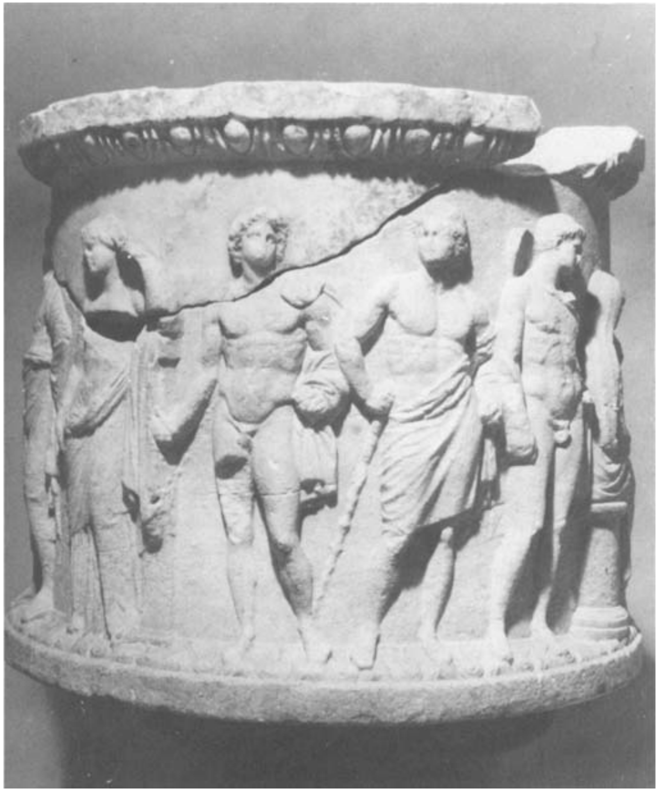


Fig. 69

PLATE XXXIX



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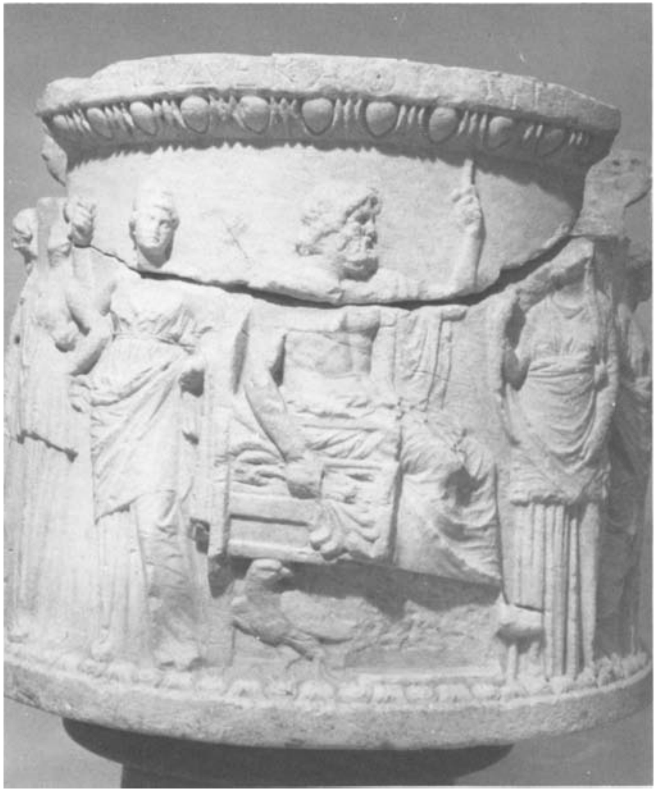
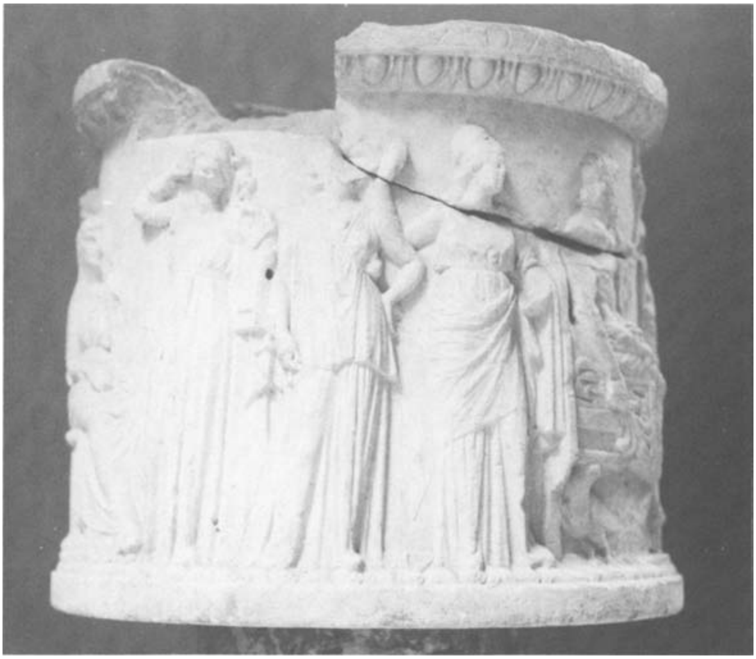


Fig. 72

Plate XL



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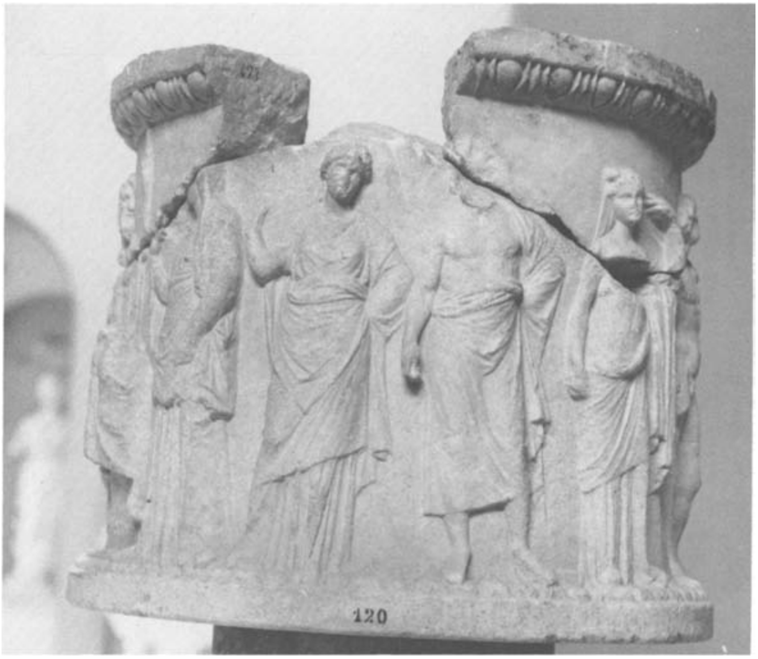

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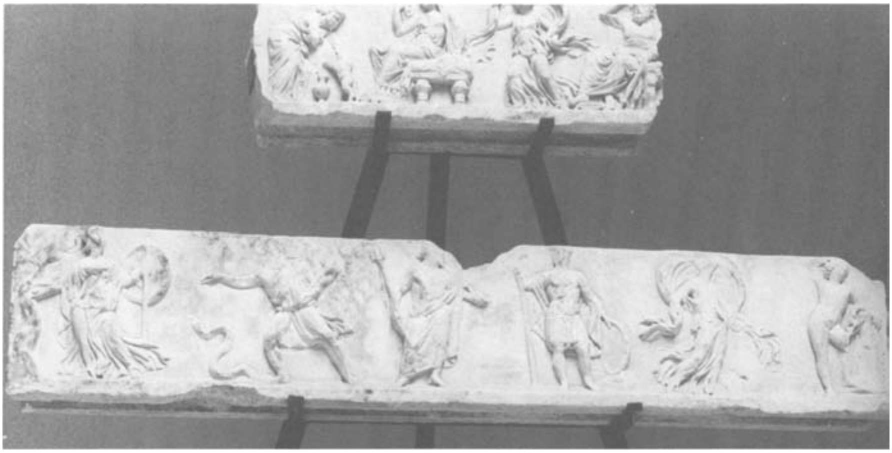

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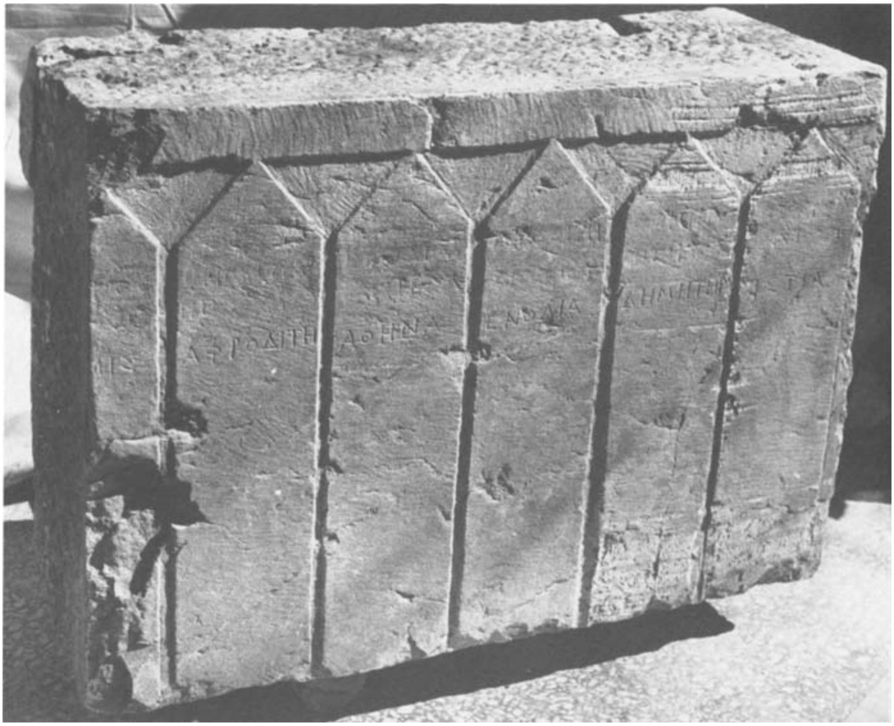
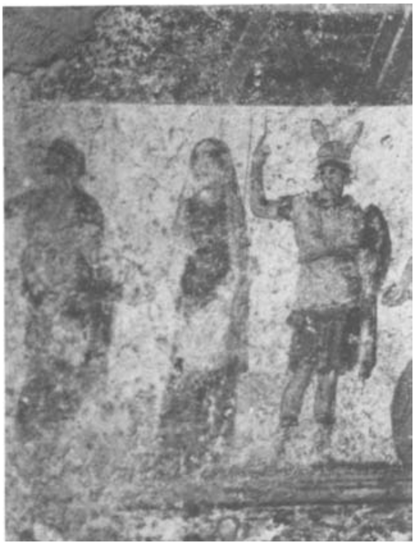

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ
ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΕΝΟΔΙΑ
ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ

Fig. 75



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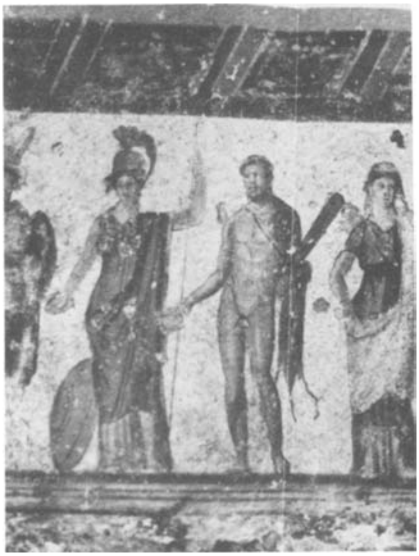

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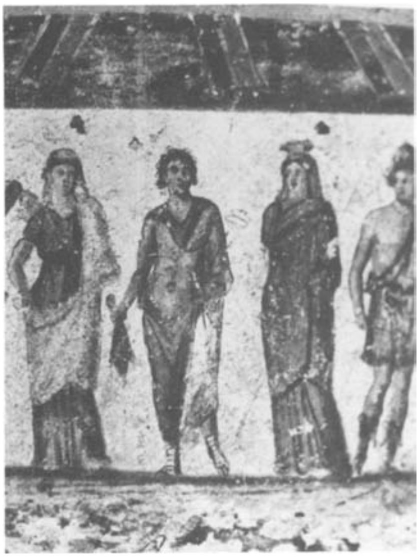

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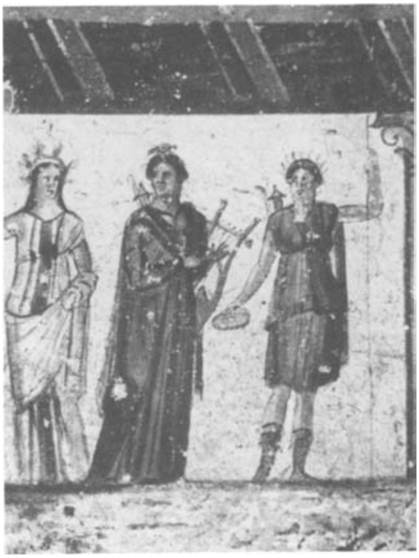


Fig. 79

PLATE XLIII

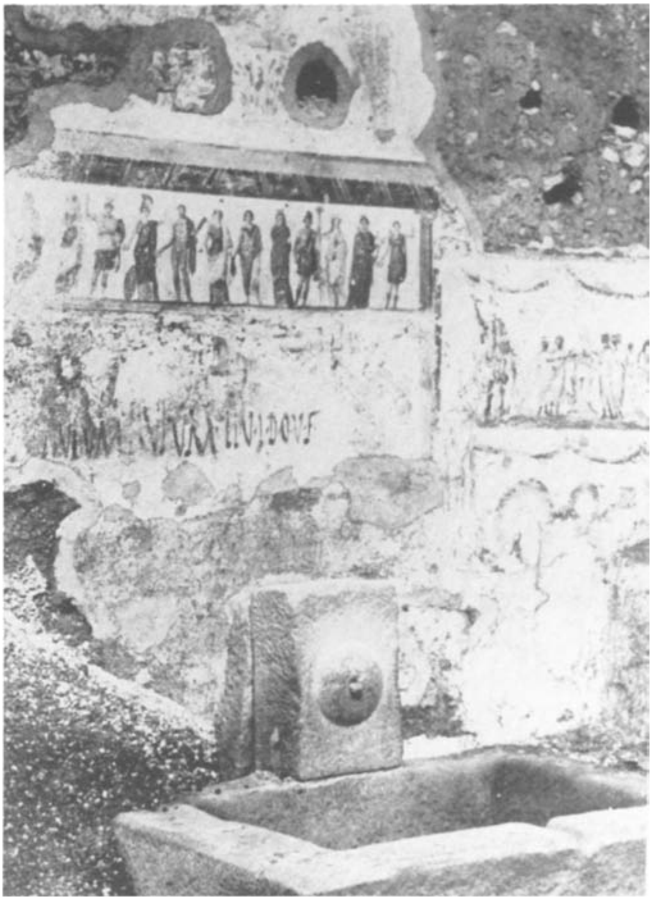
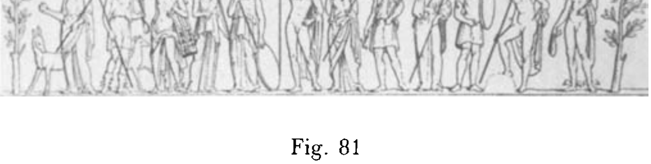


Fig. 80



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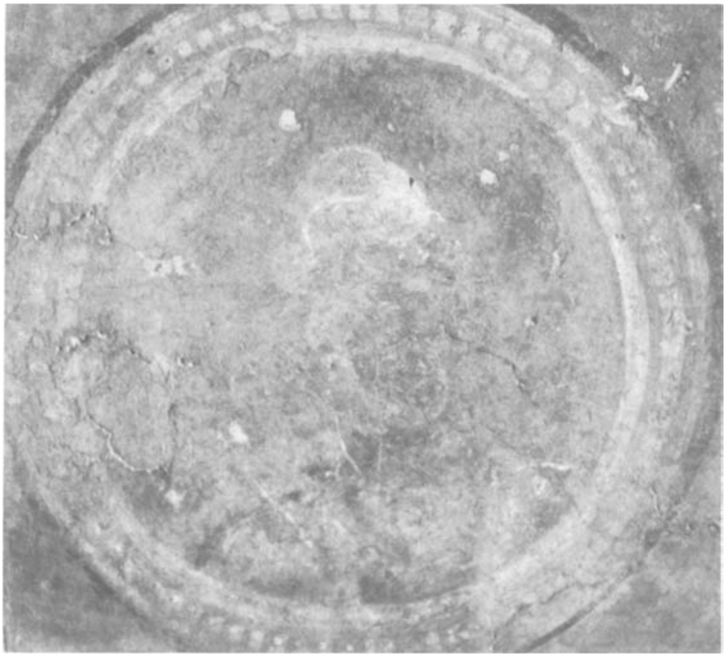

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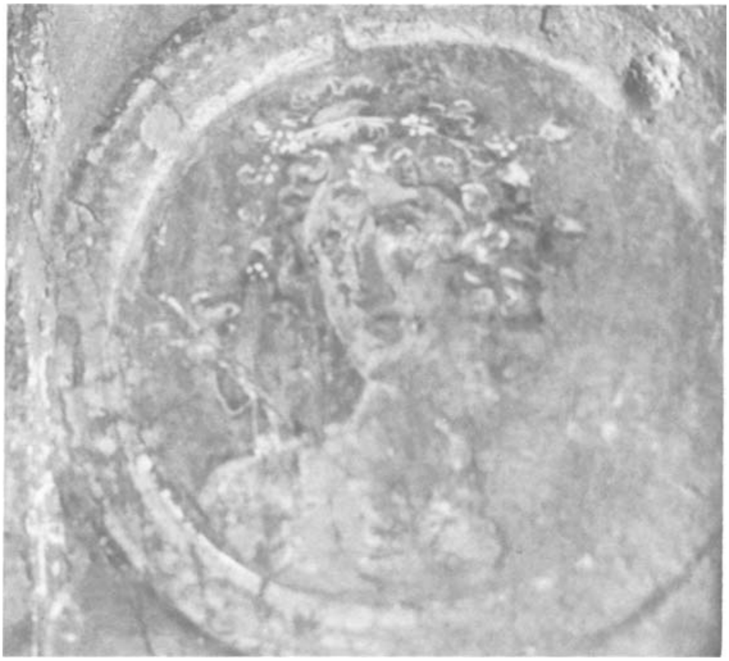

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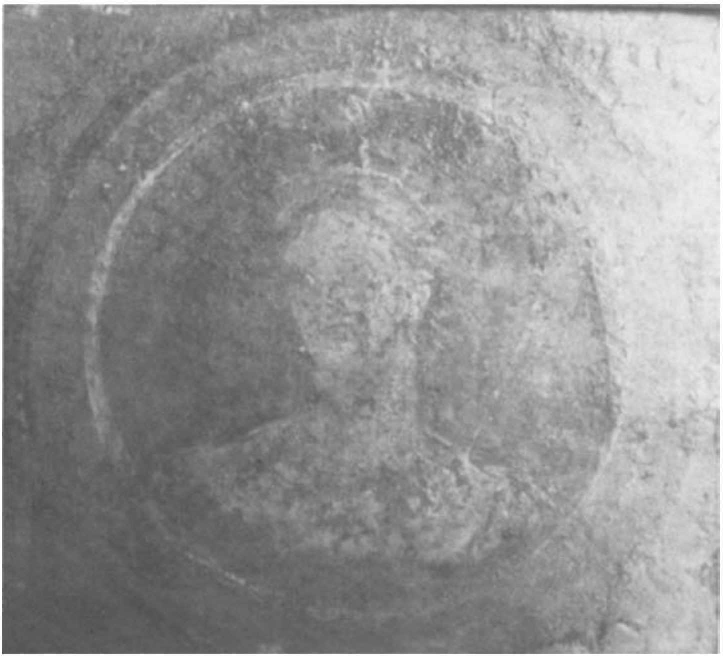

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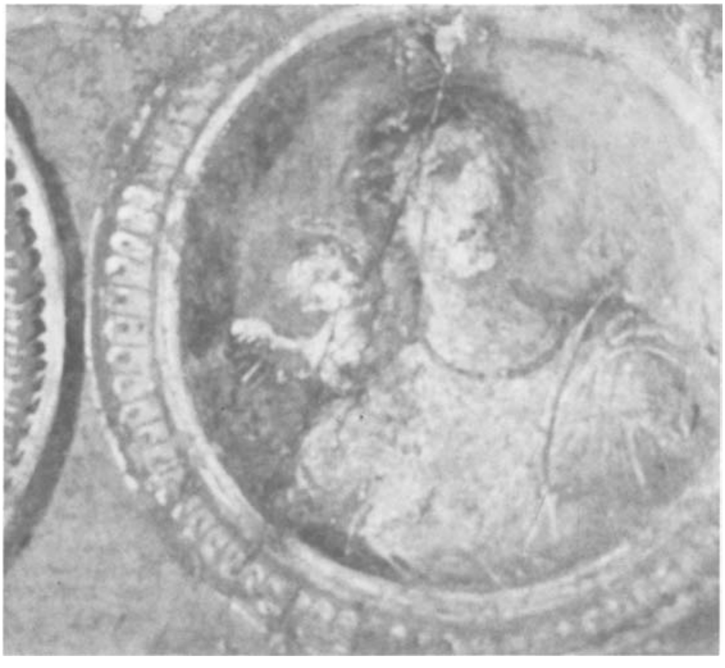
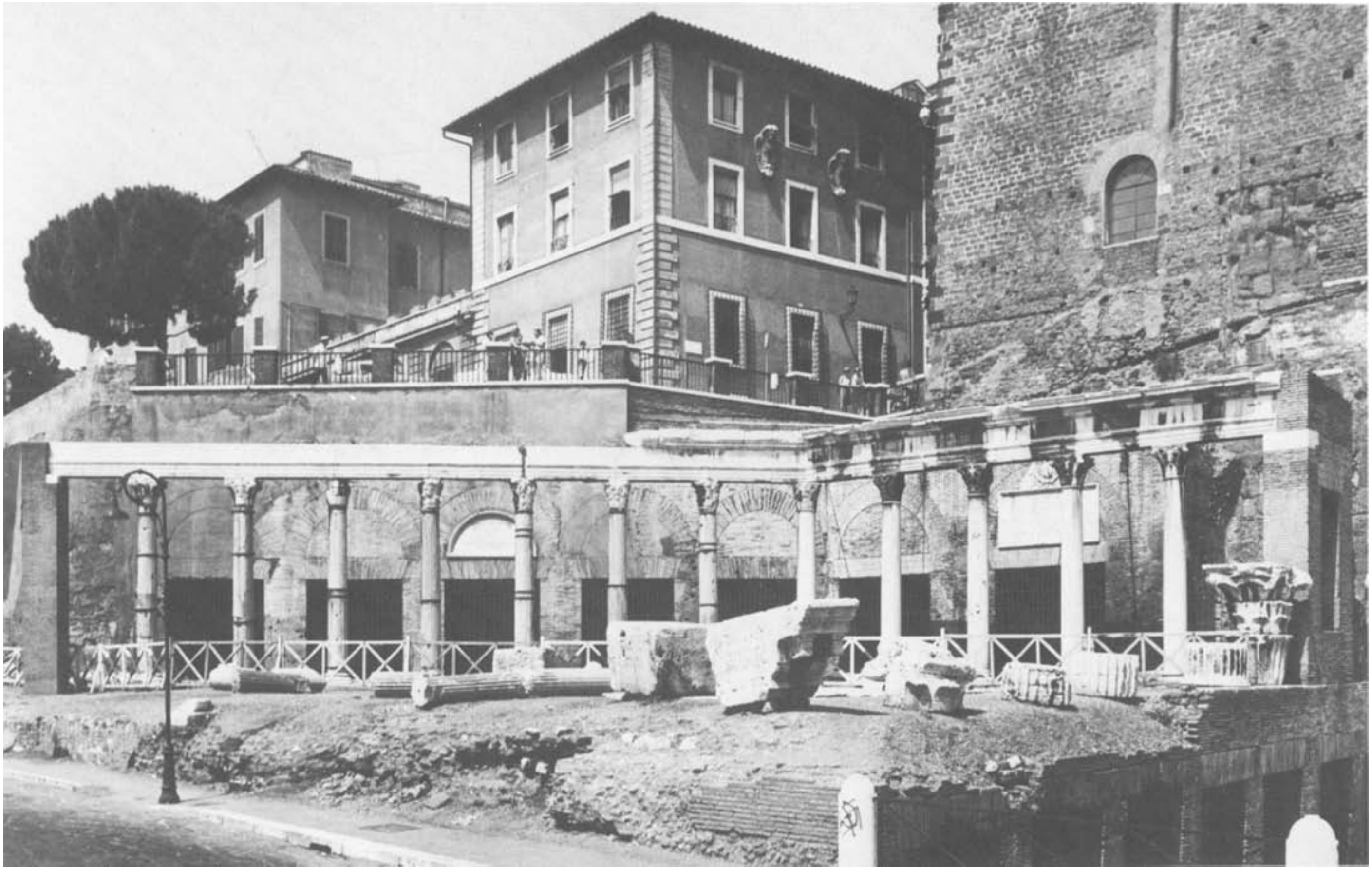


Fig. 85

PLATE XLVI



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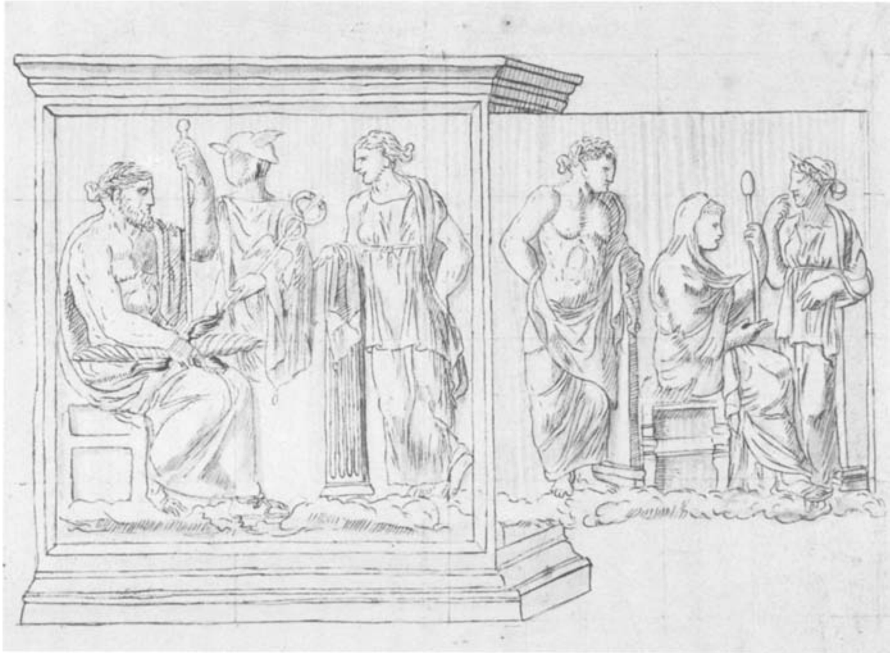

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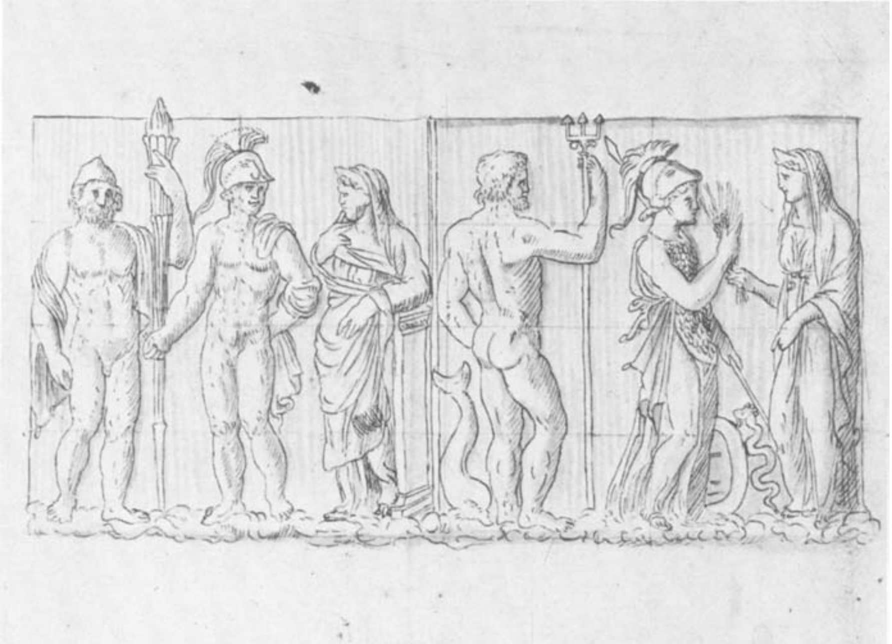
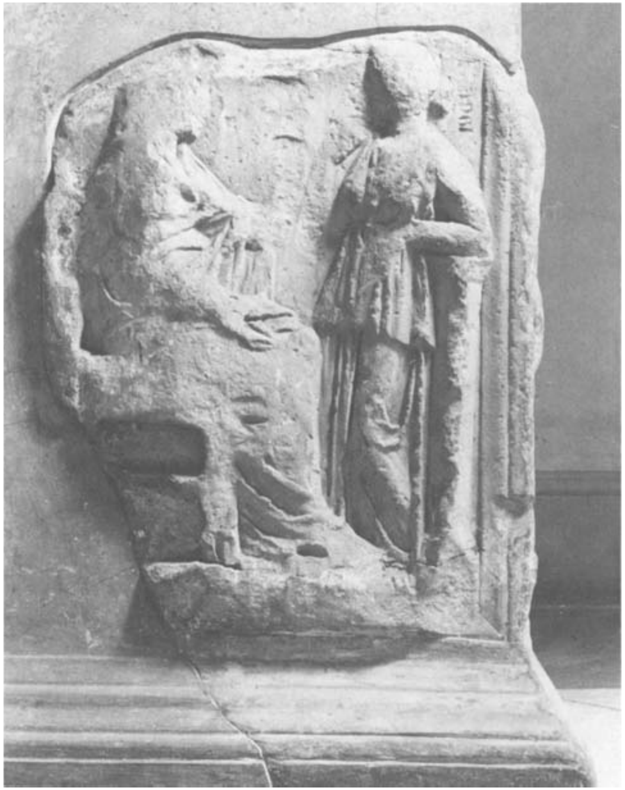


Fig. 88

PLATE XLVIII



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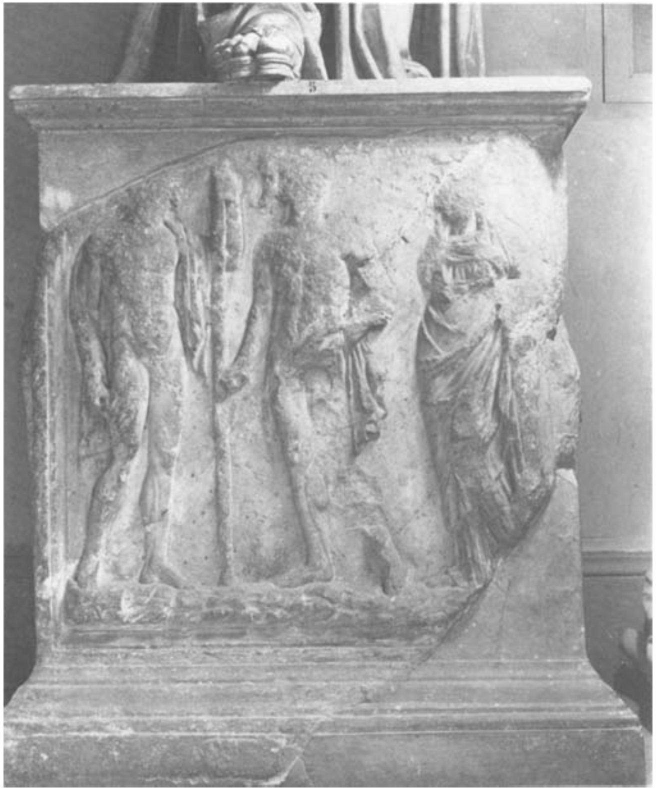

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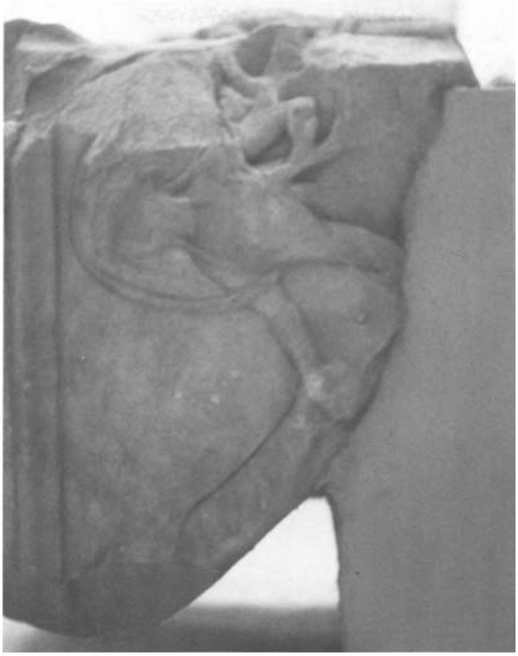

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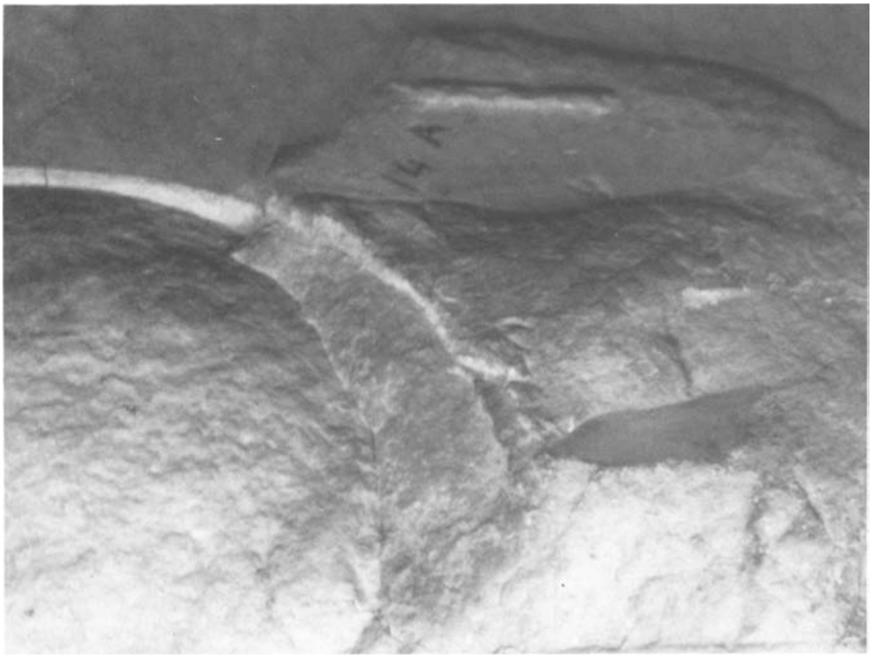

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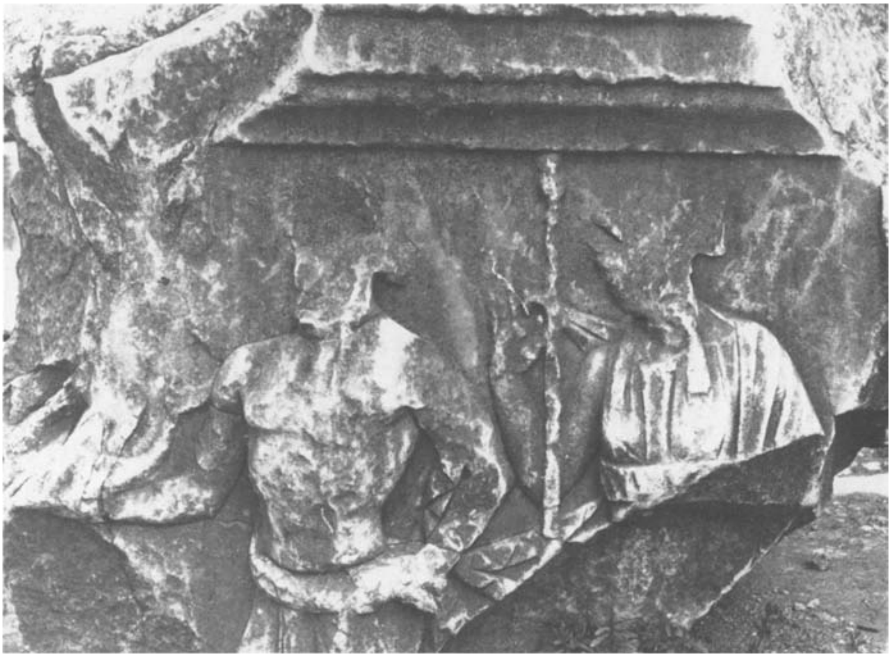

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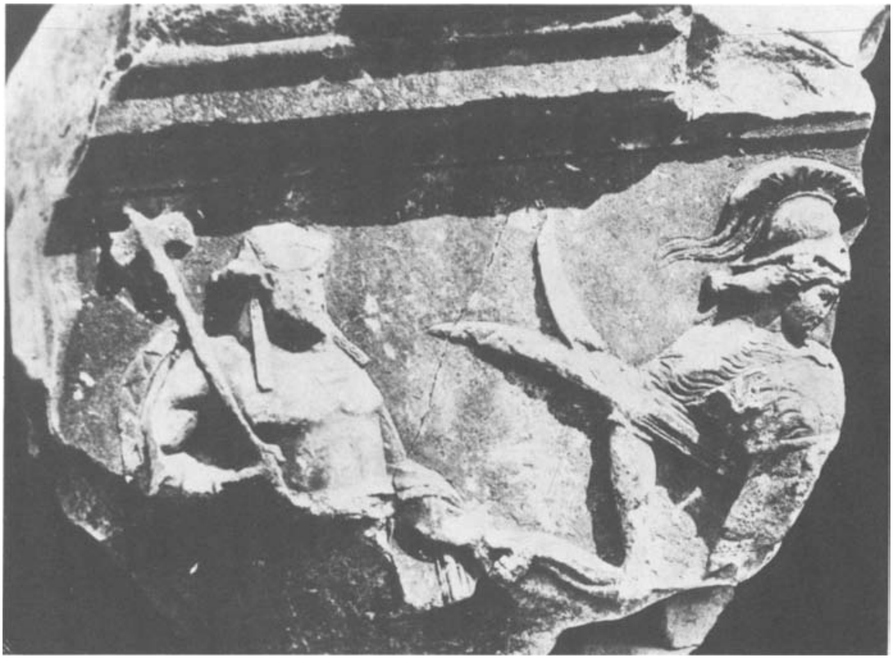
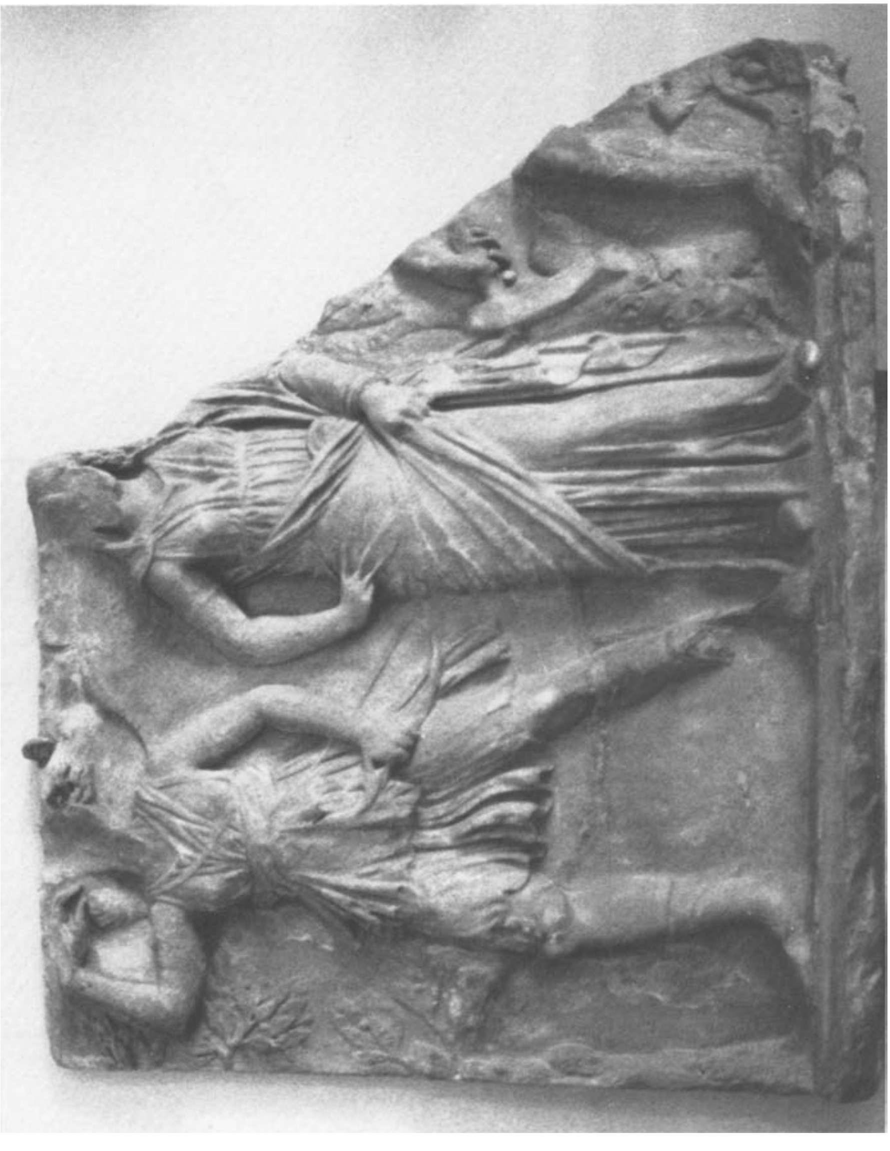


Fig. 94

PLATE LI



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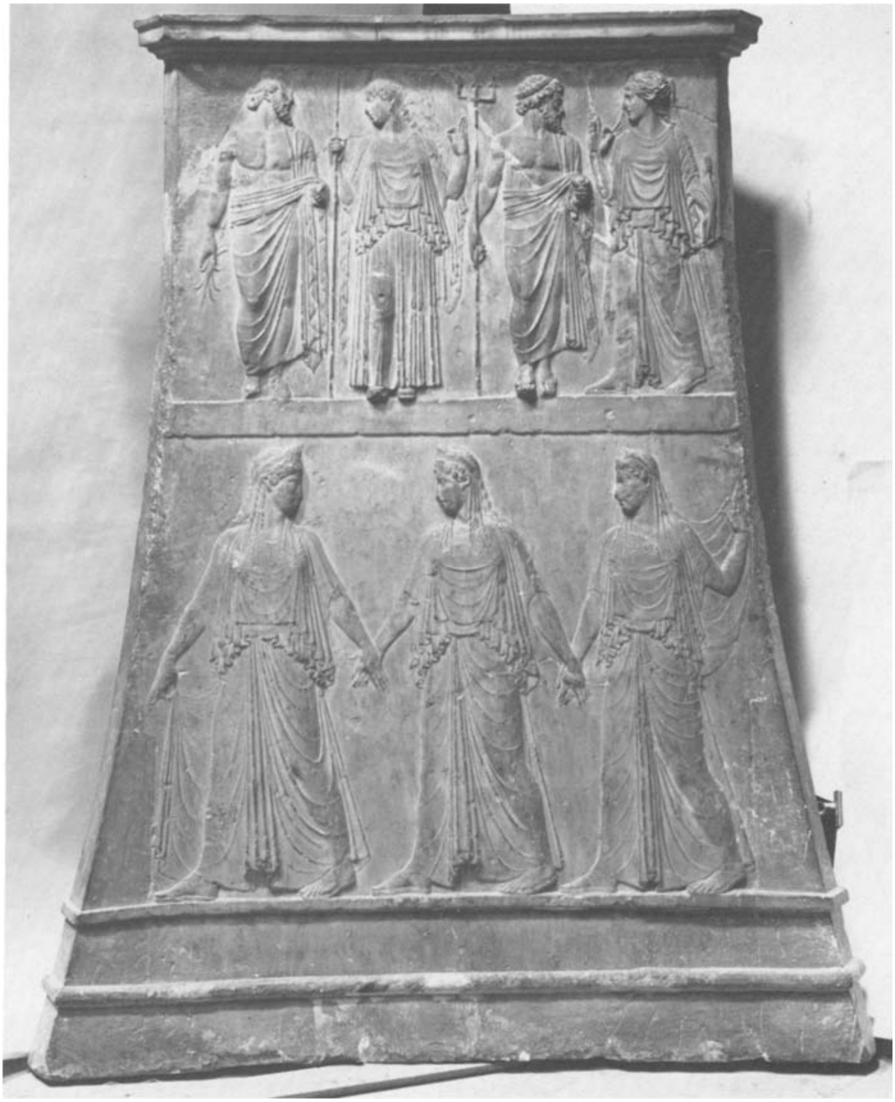

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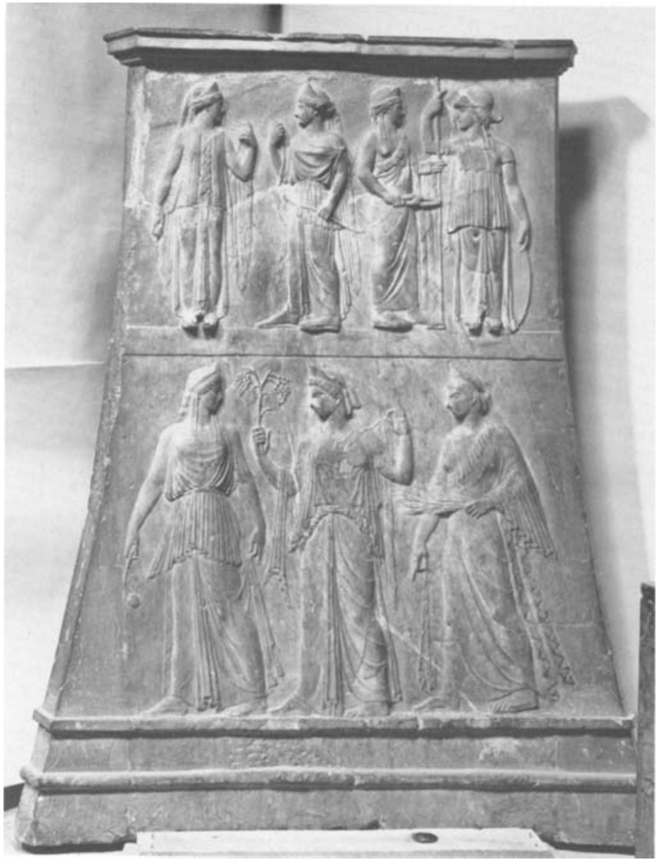
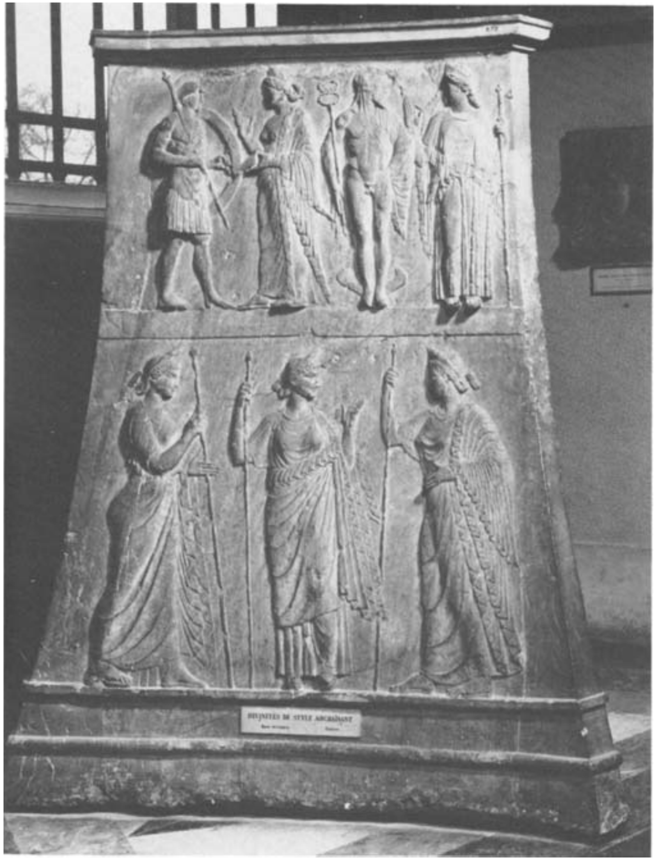


Fig. 97



DIVINITÉS DE STYLE ARCHAÏSANT

Fig. 98

PLATE LIV

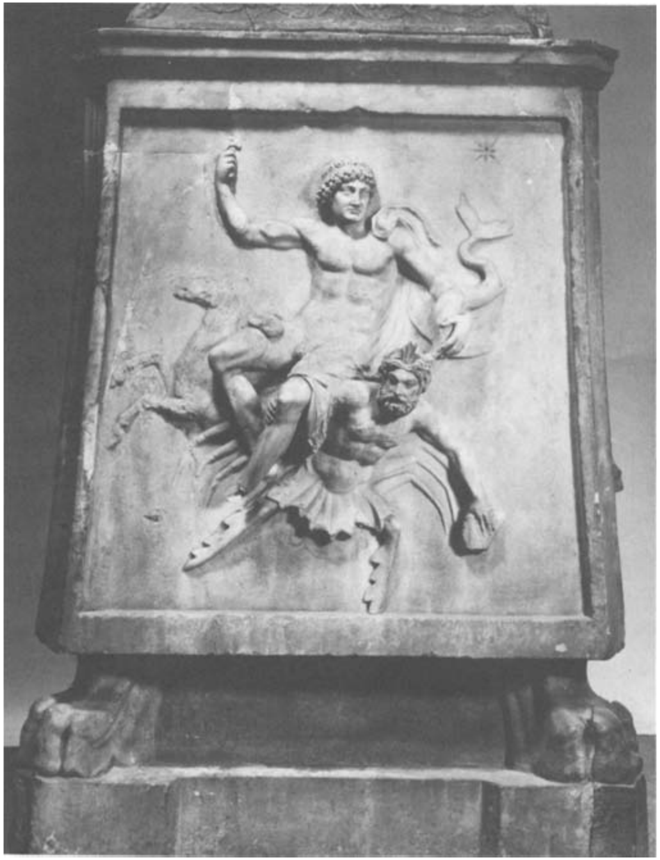


Fig. 99

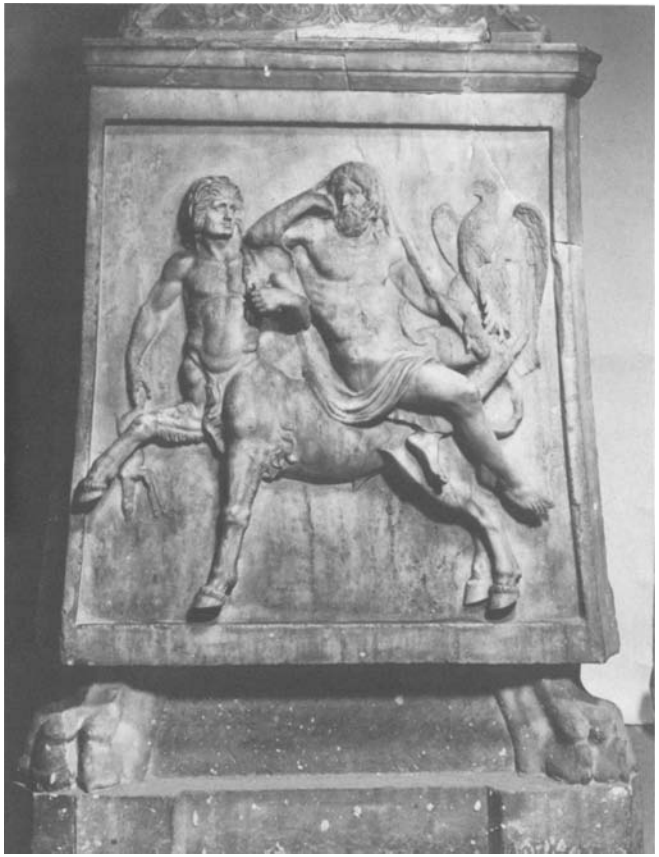


Fig. 100

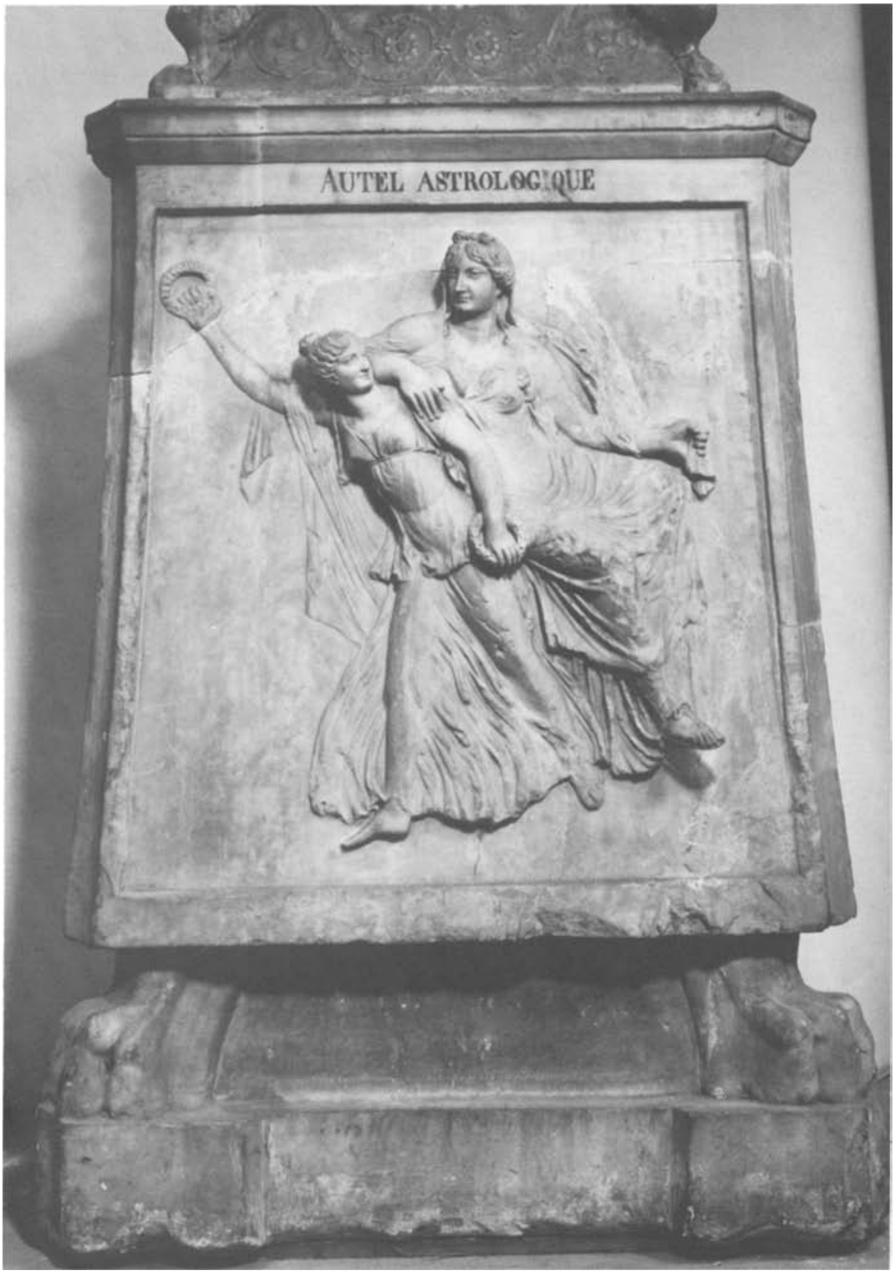

AUTEL ASTROLOGIQUE

Fig. 101

PLATE LVI

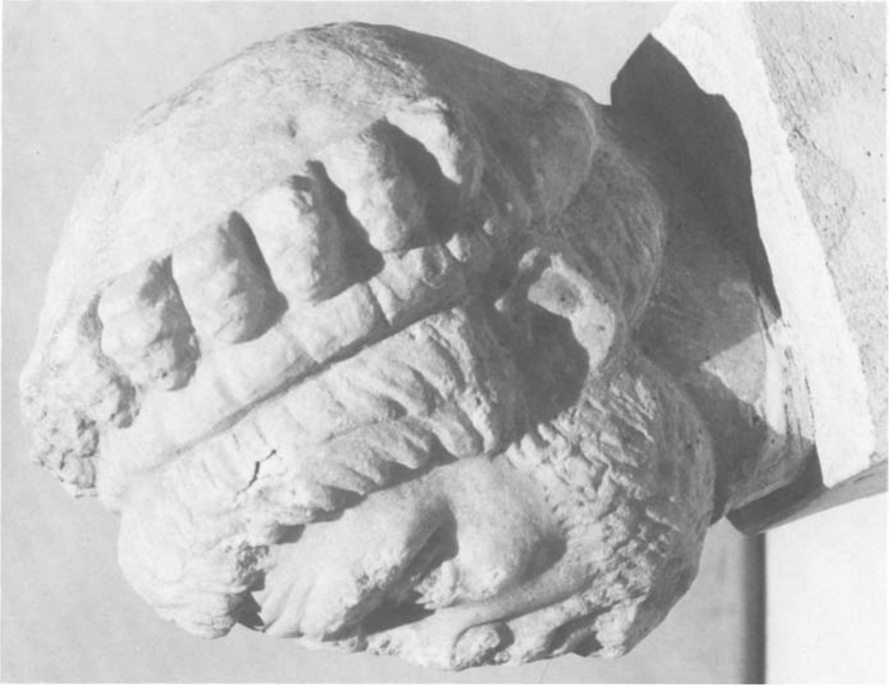


Fig. 103

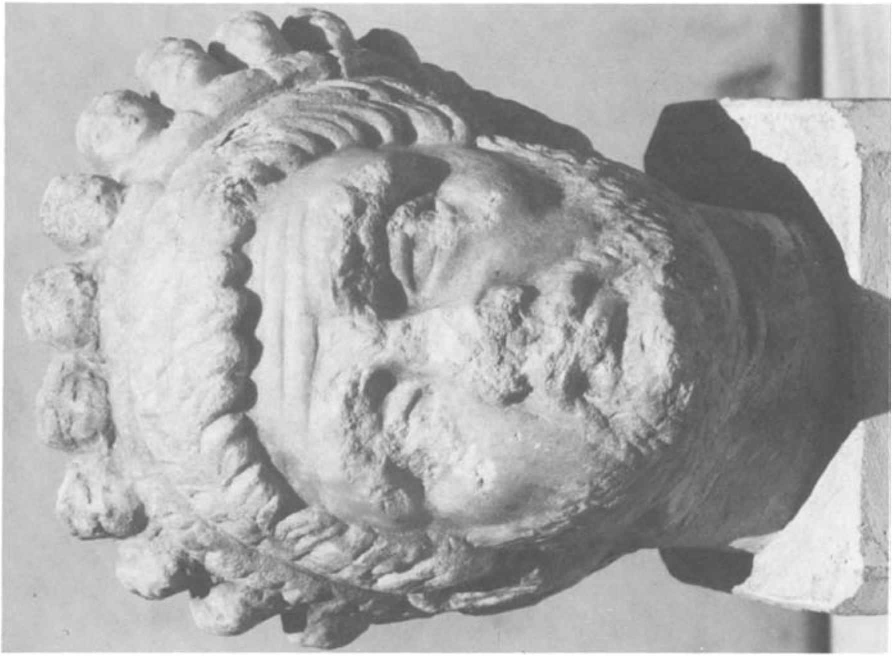


Fig. 102

PLATE LVII

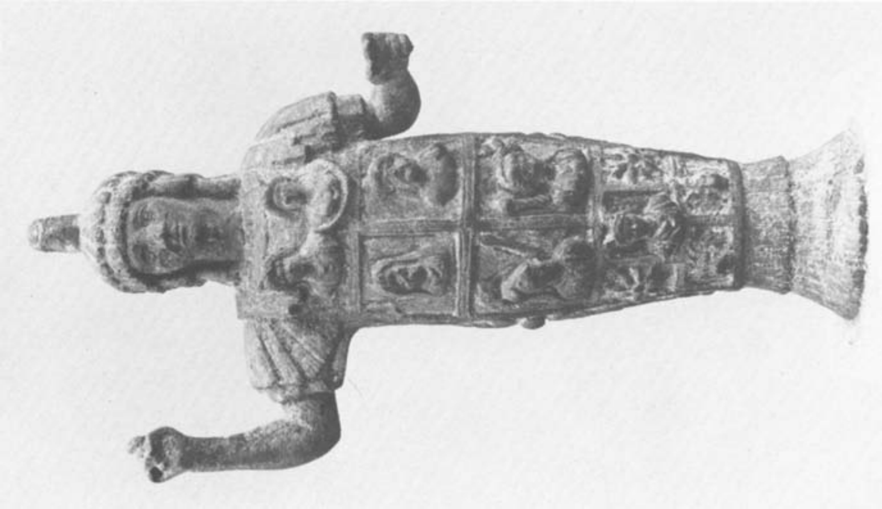


Fig. 104

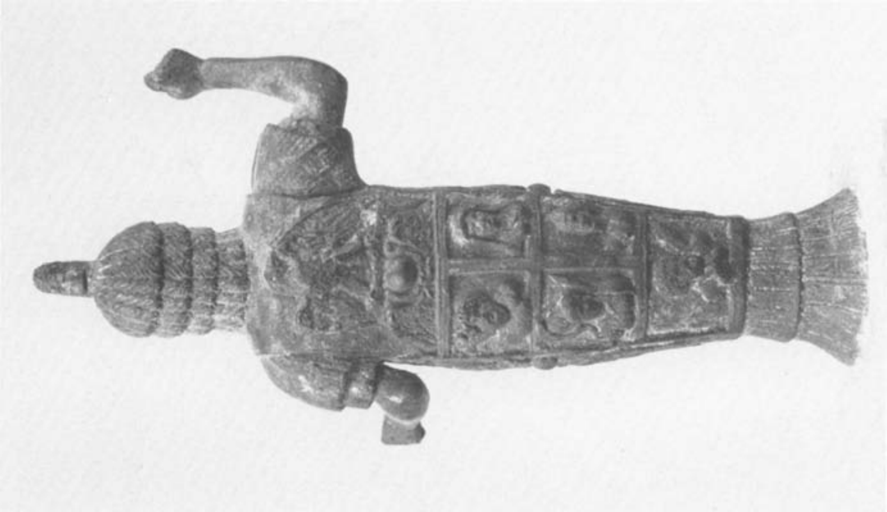


Fig. 105

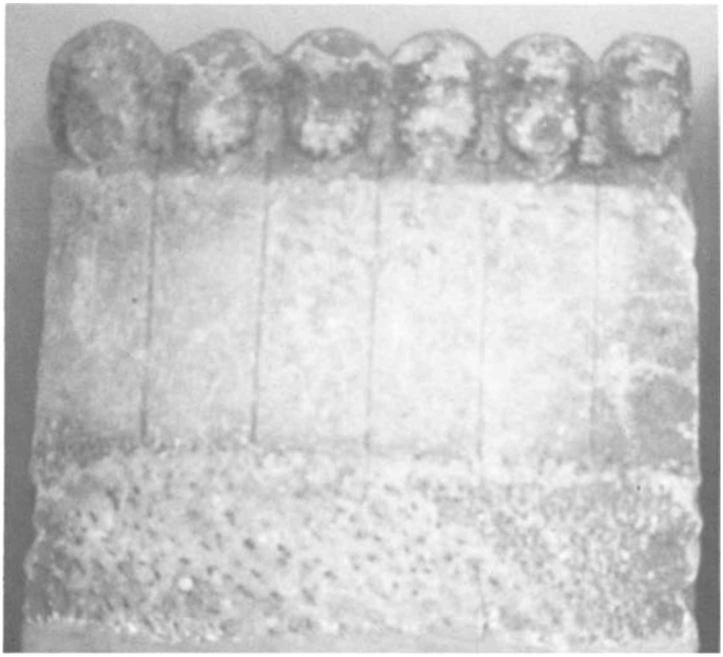


Fig. 106

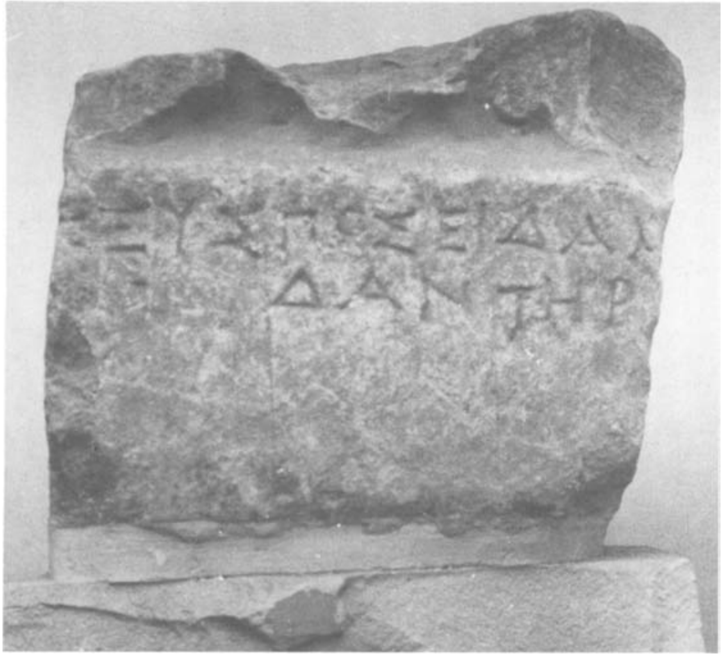


Fig. 107

PLATE LIX

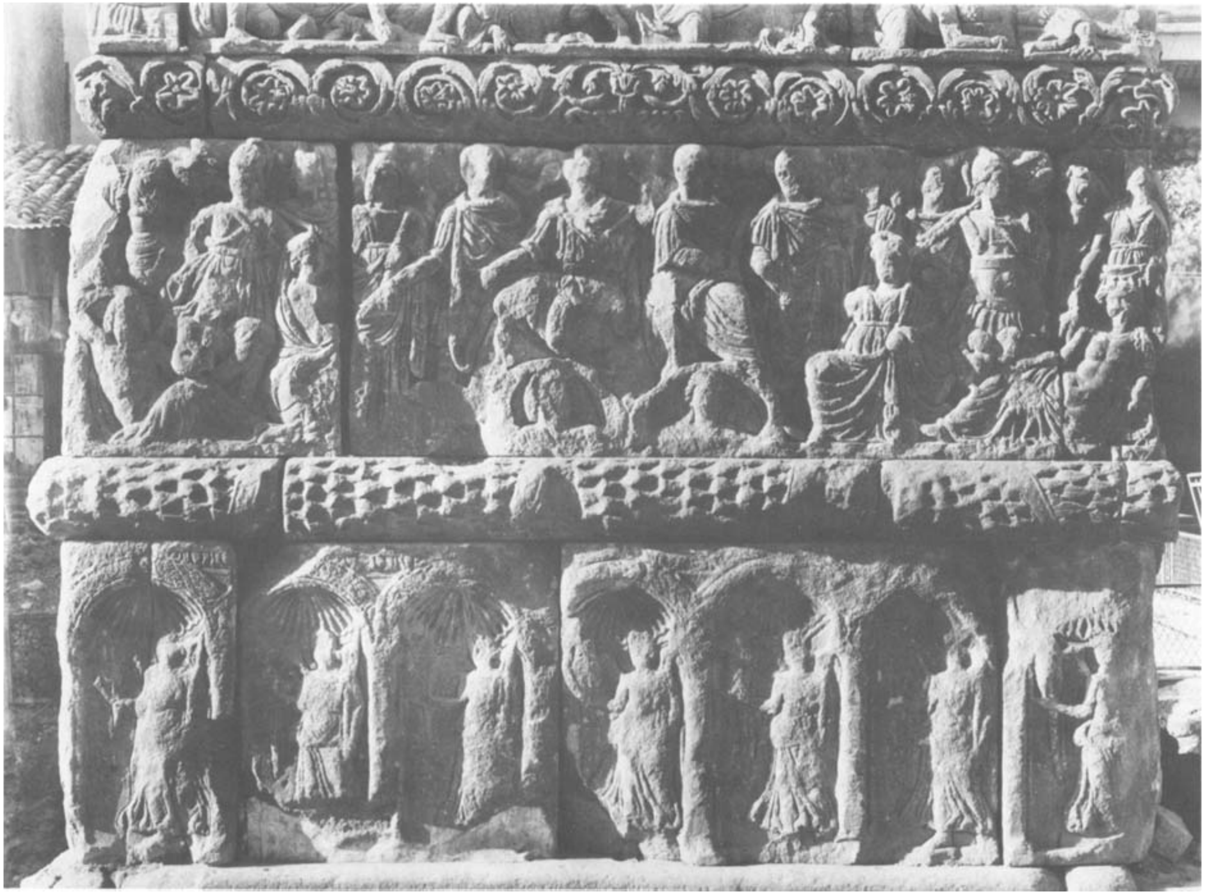


Fig. 108

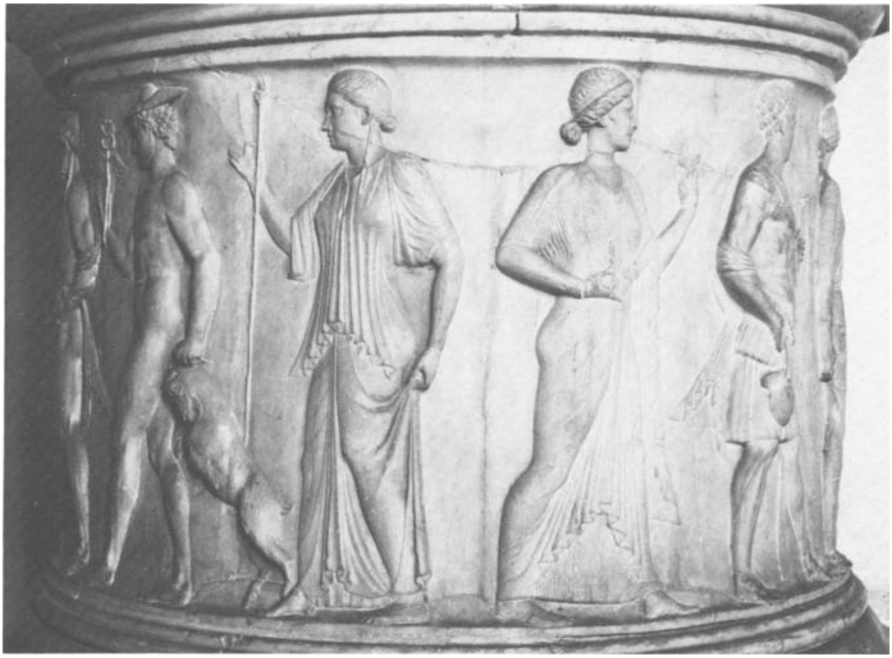
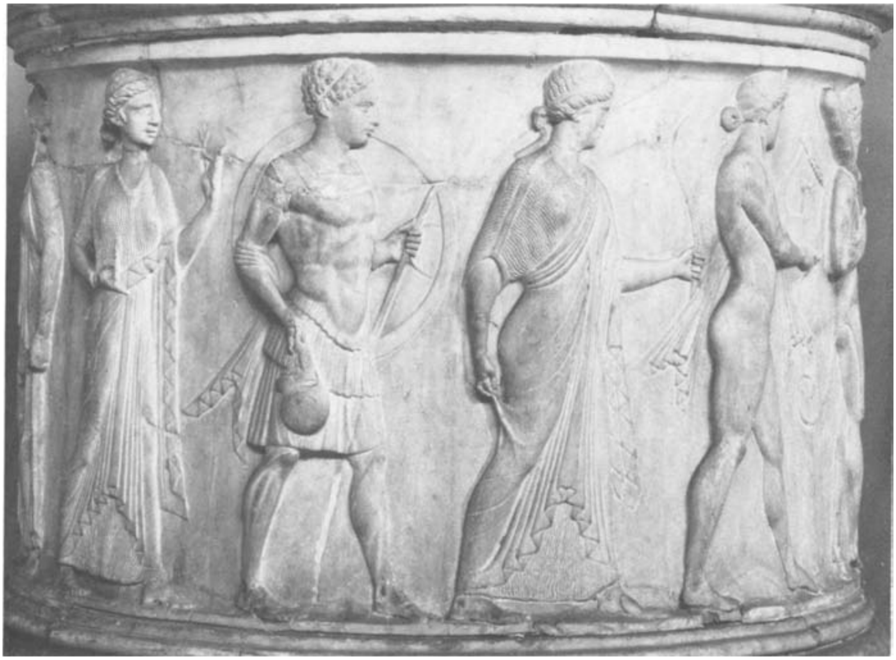


Fig. 109



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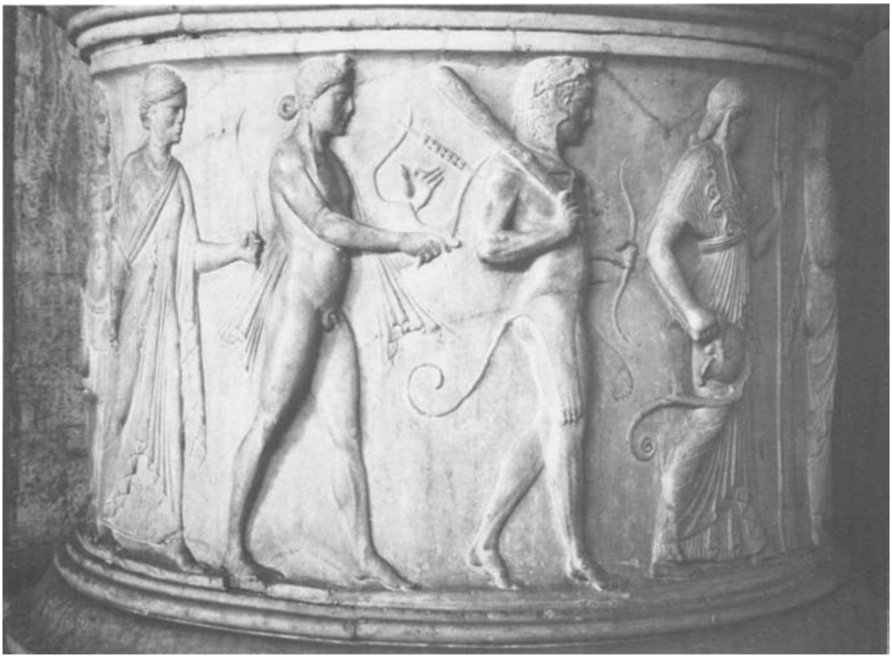

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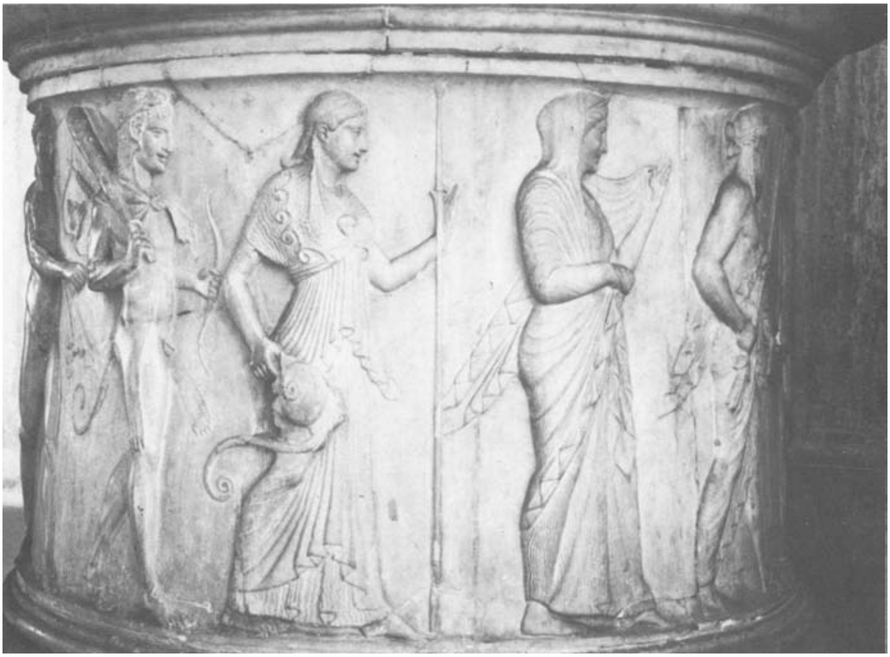

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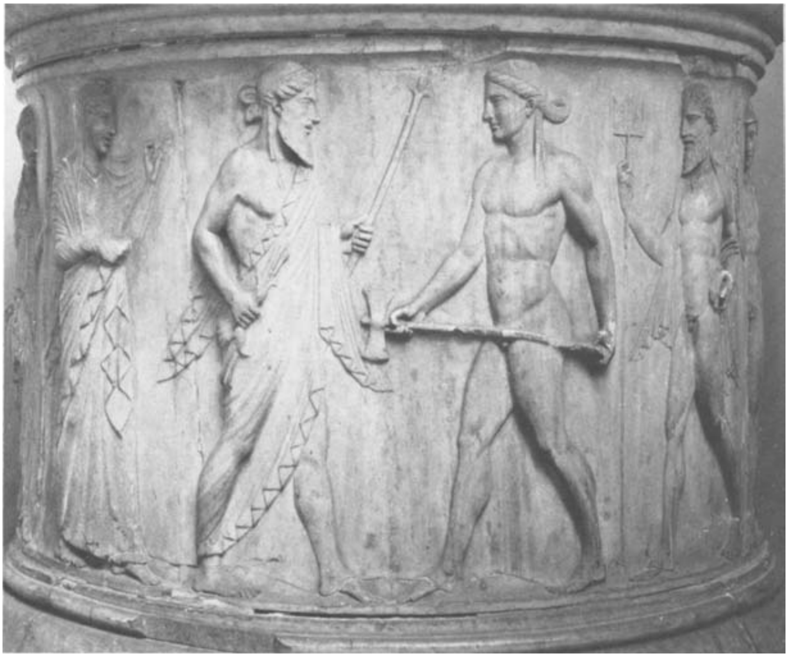

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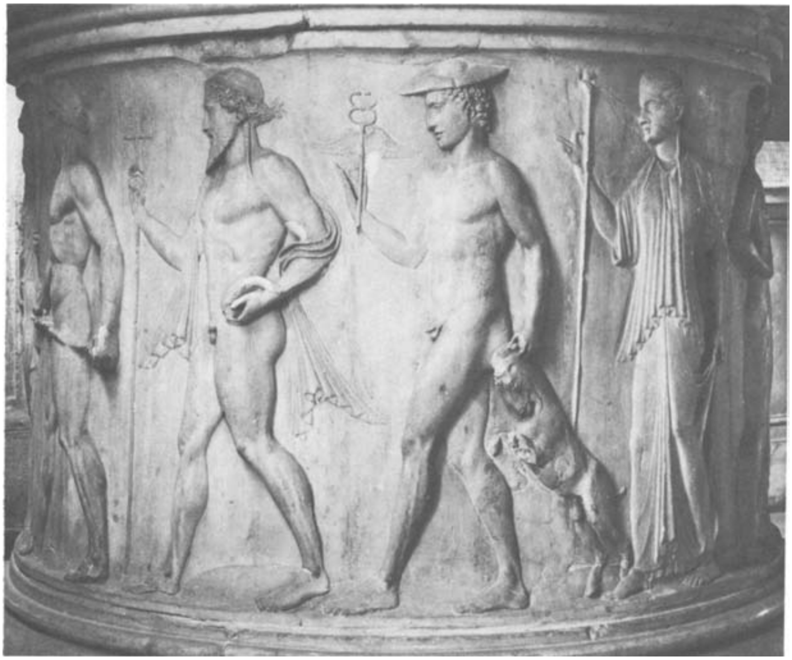


Fig. 114

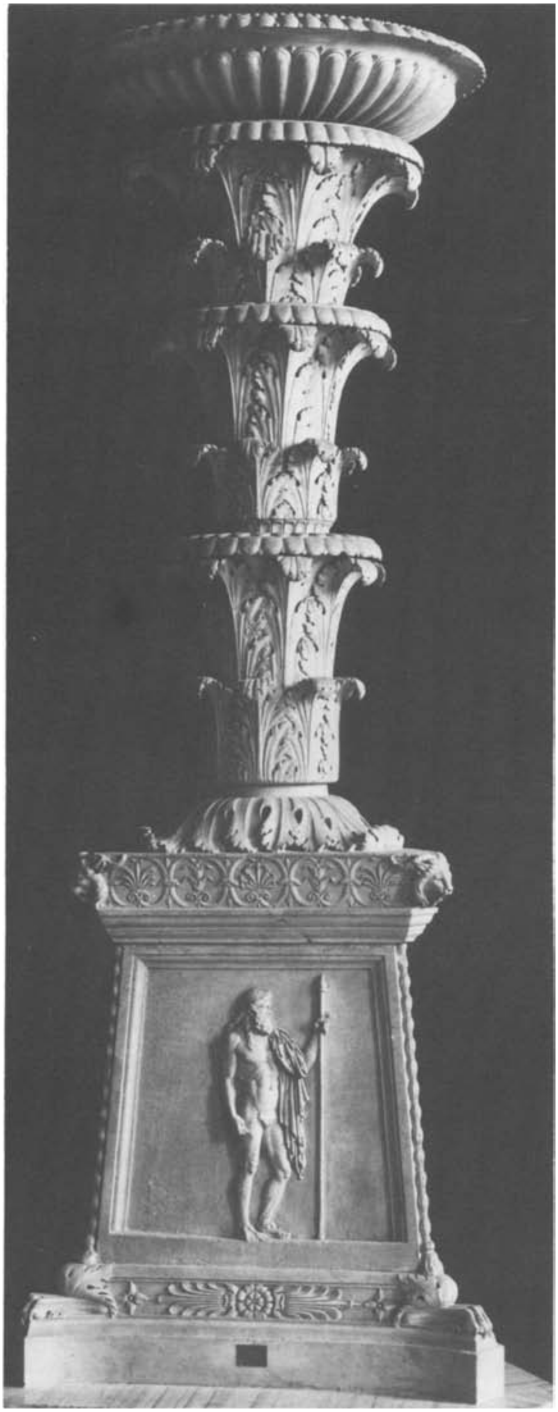
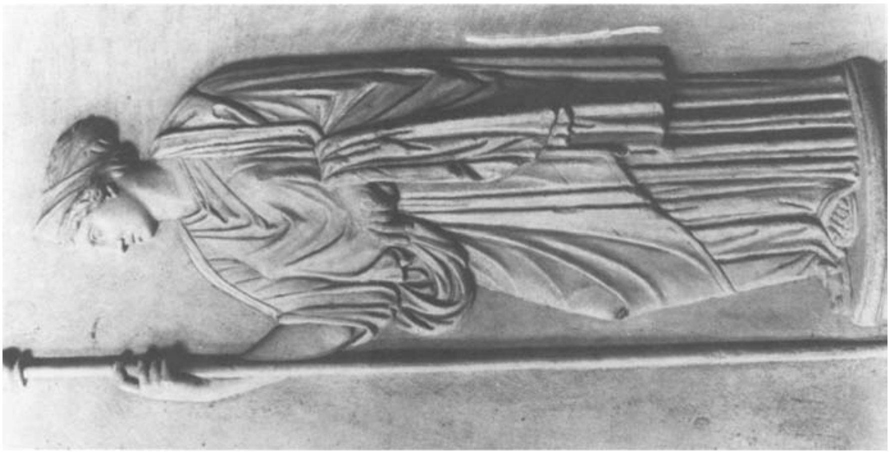


Fig. 115

PLATE LXIV



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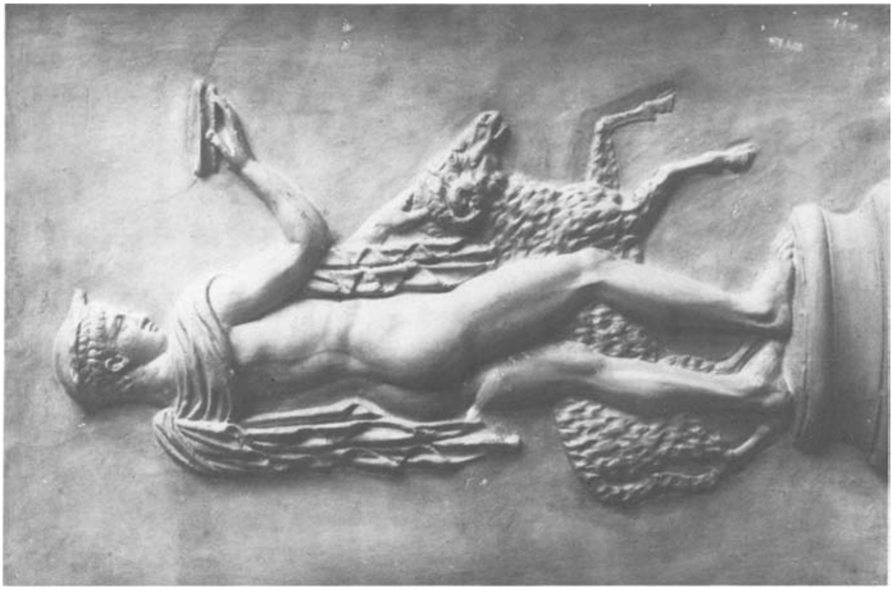
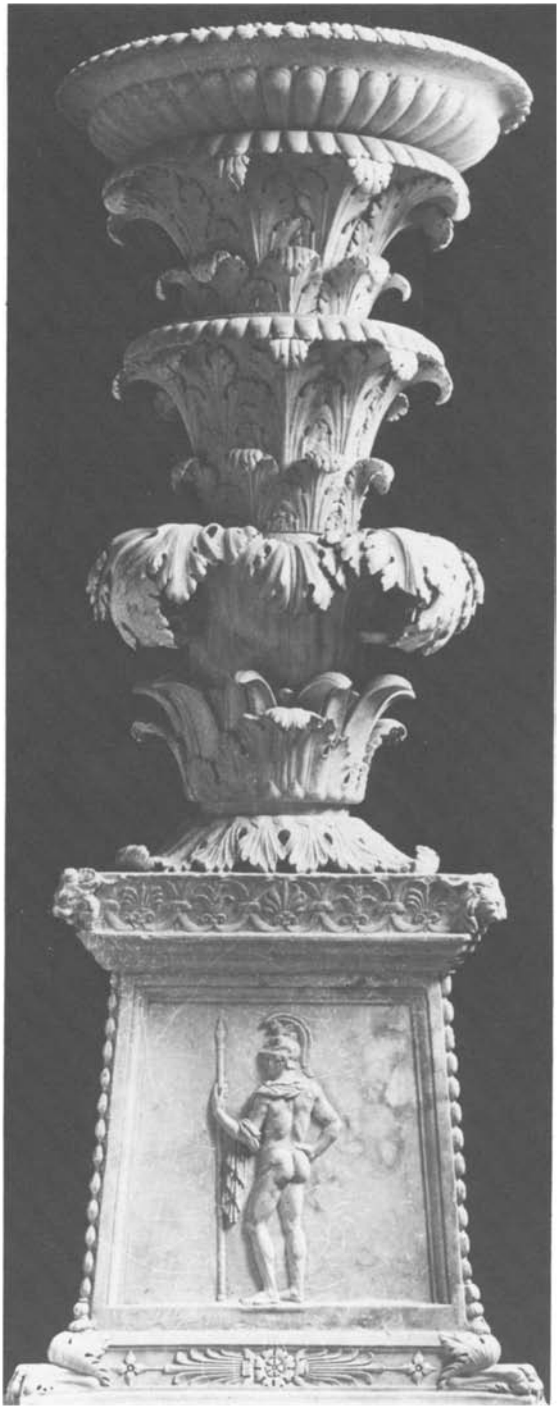


Fig. 117



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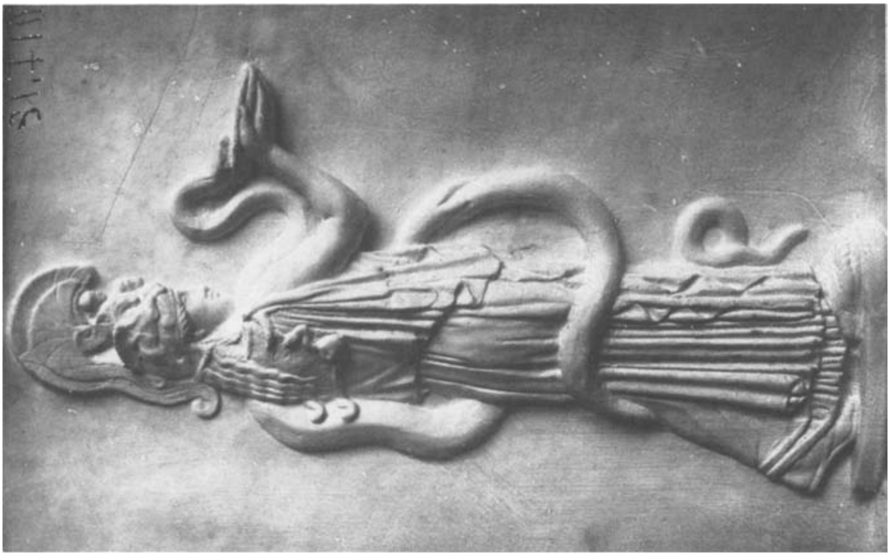

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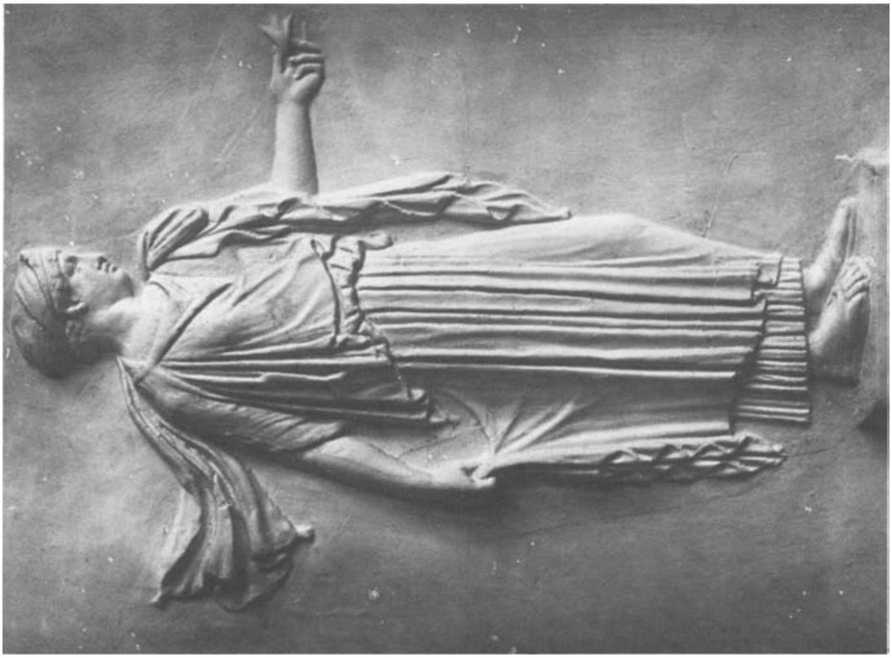

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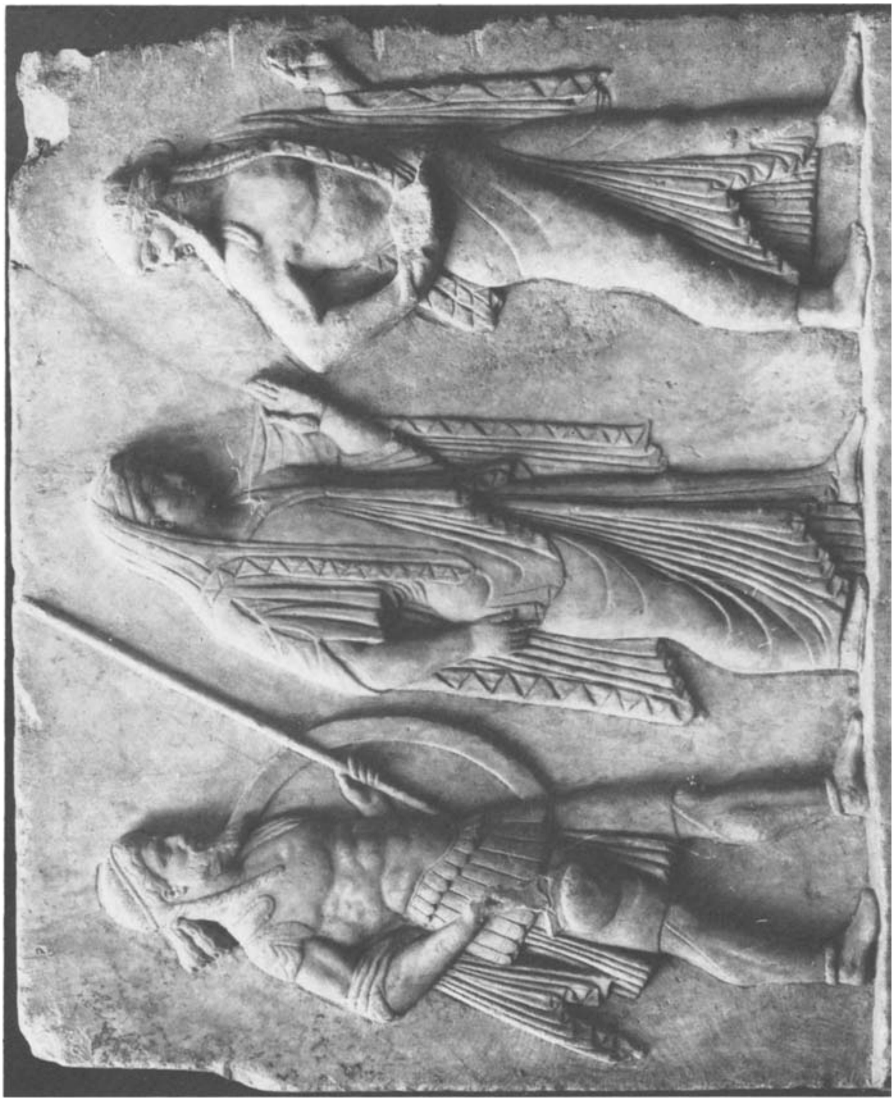

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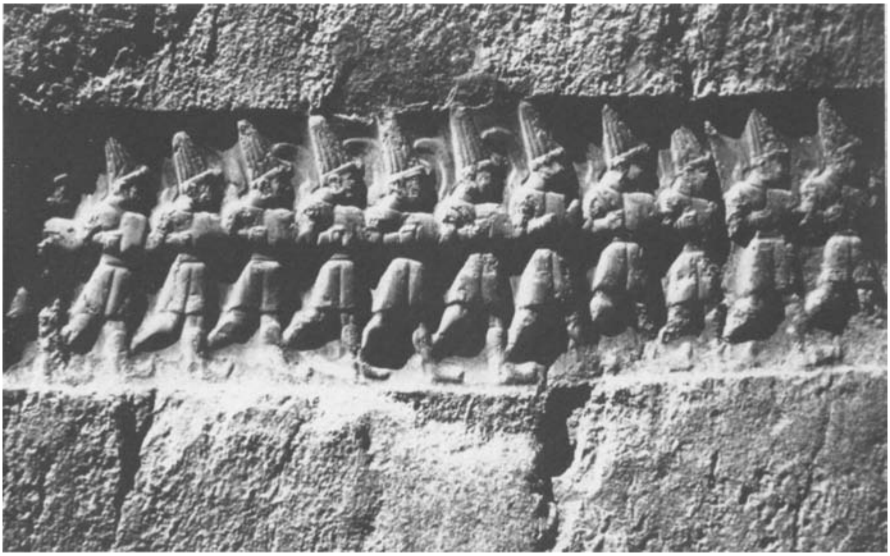


Fig. 122

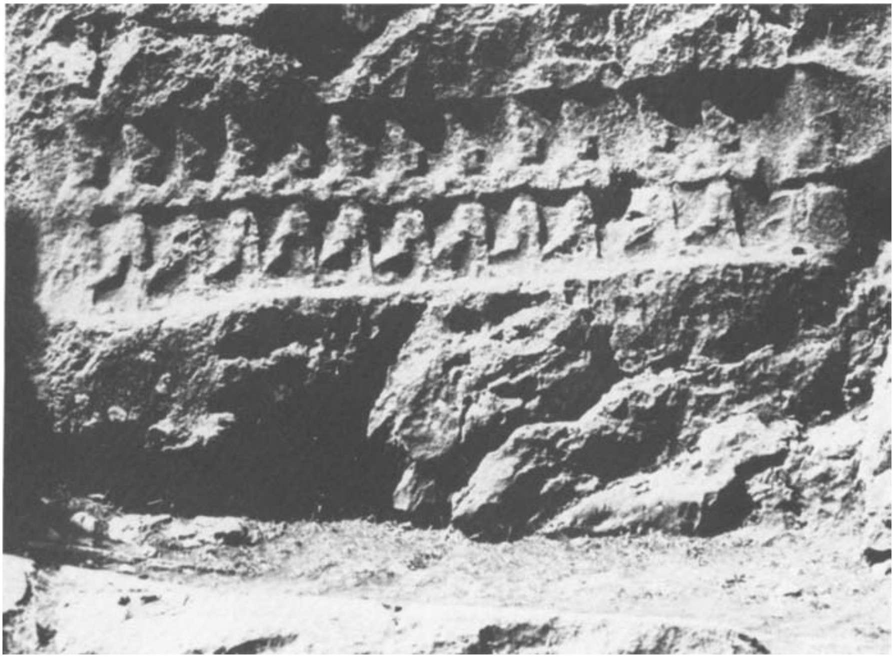


Fig. 123

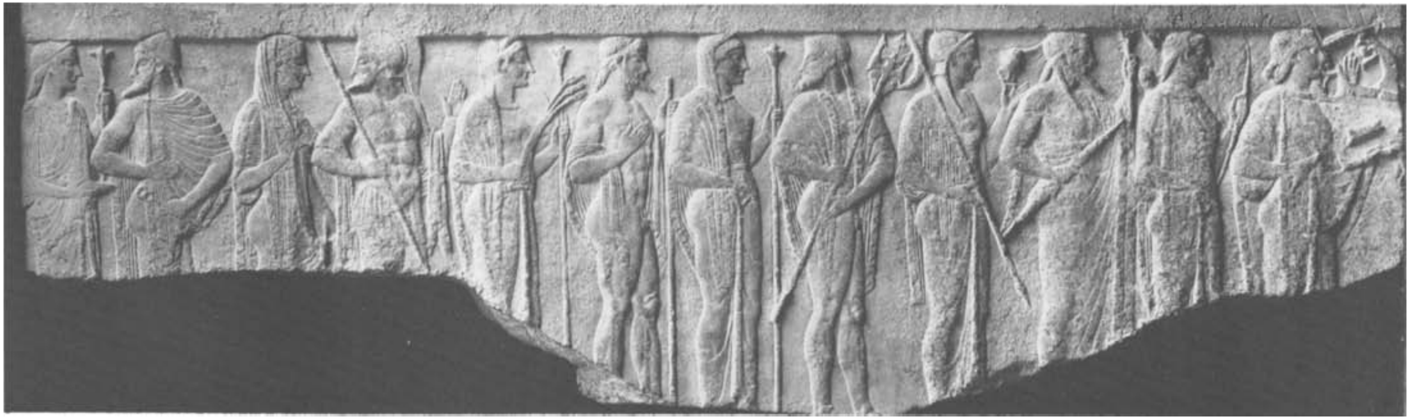


Fig. 124

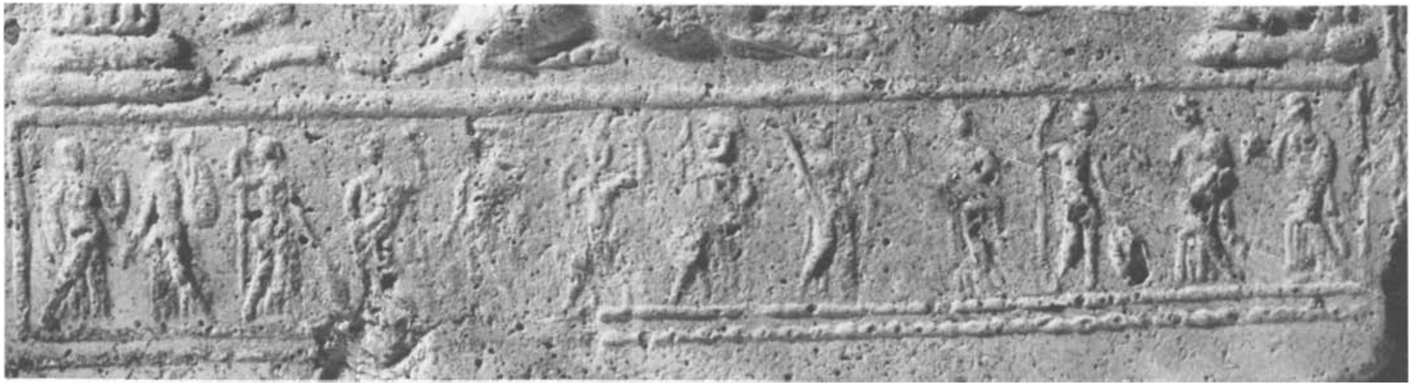
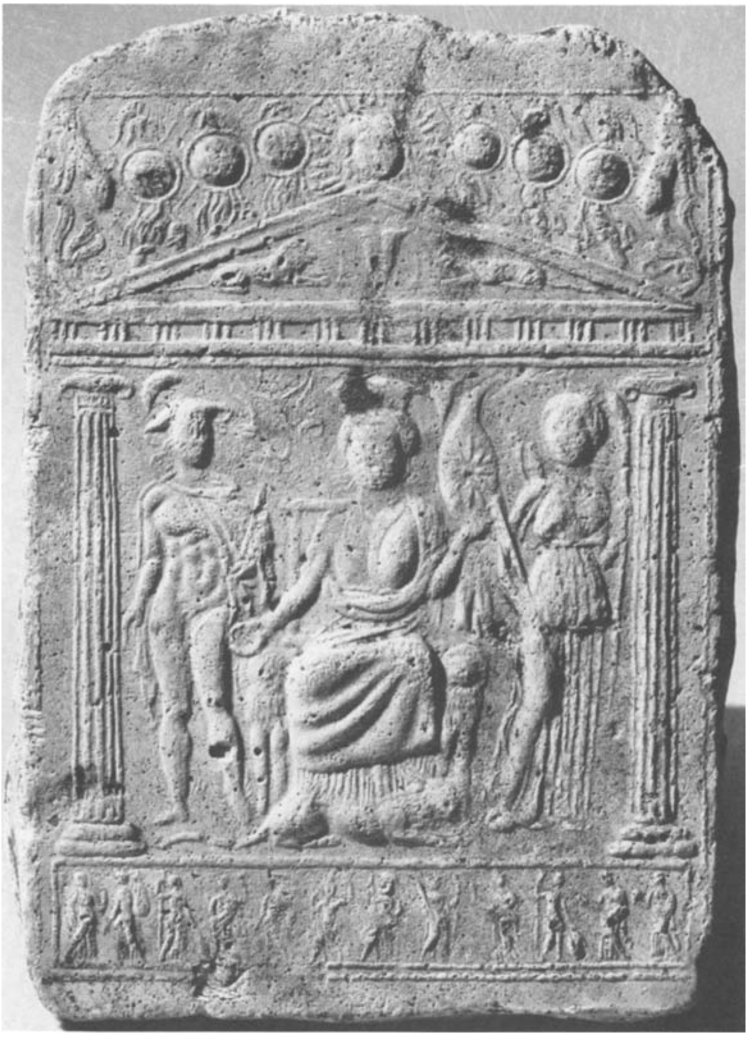


Fig. 126



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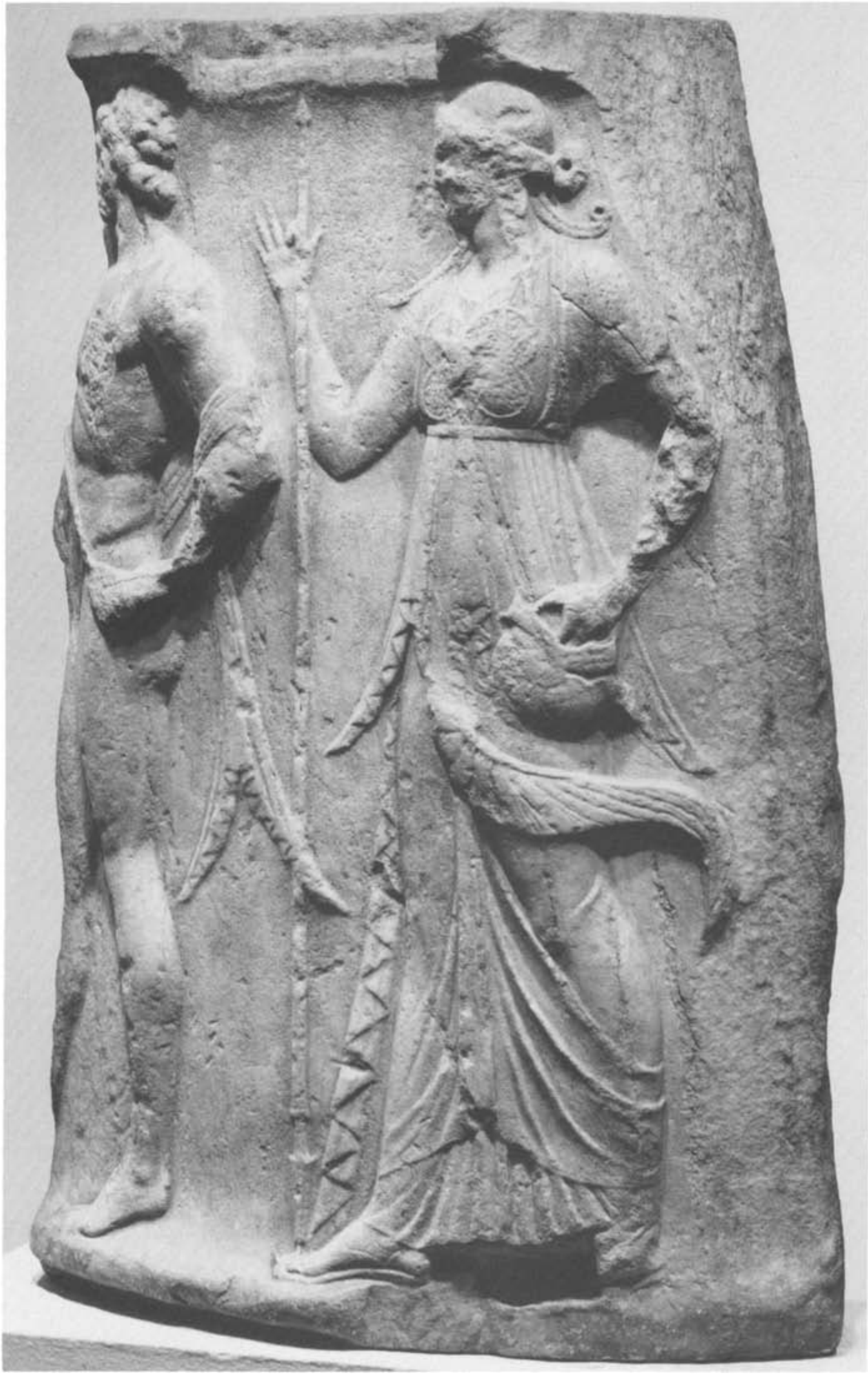

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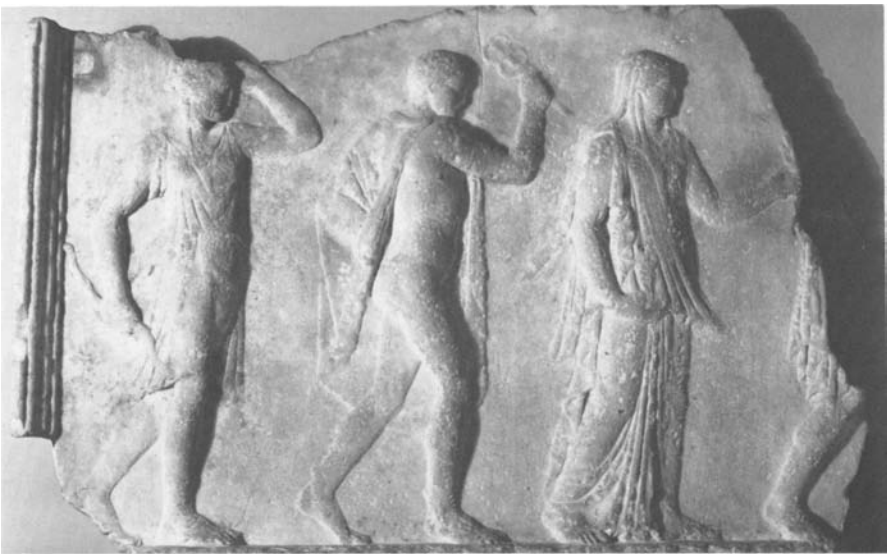

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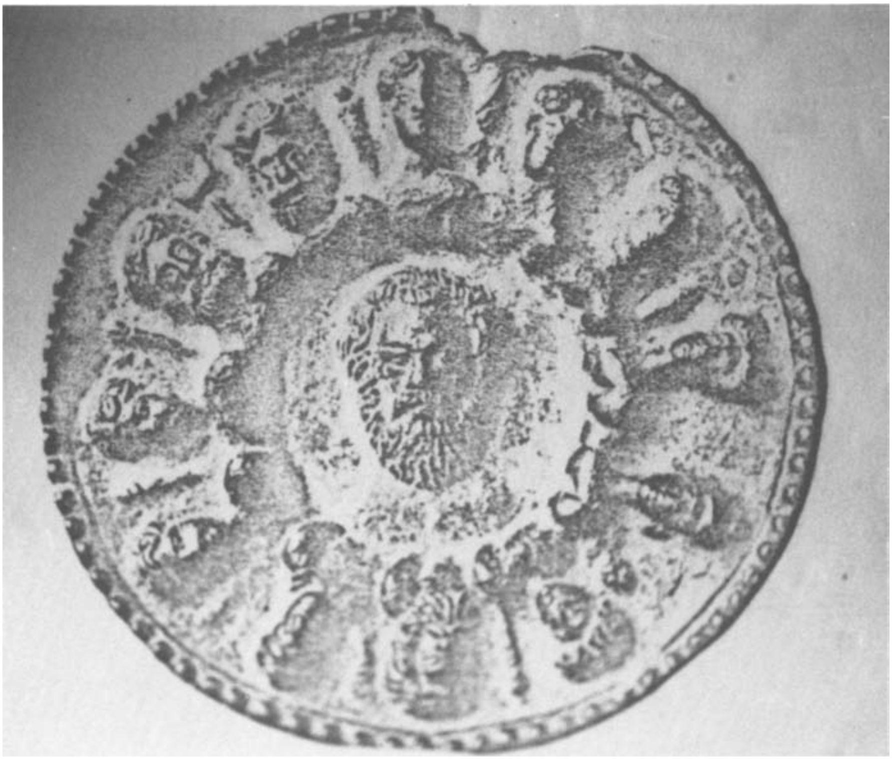

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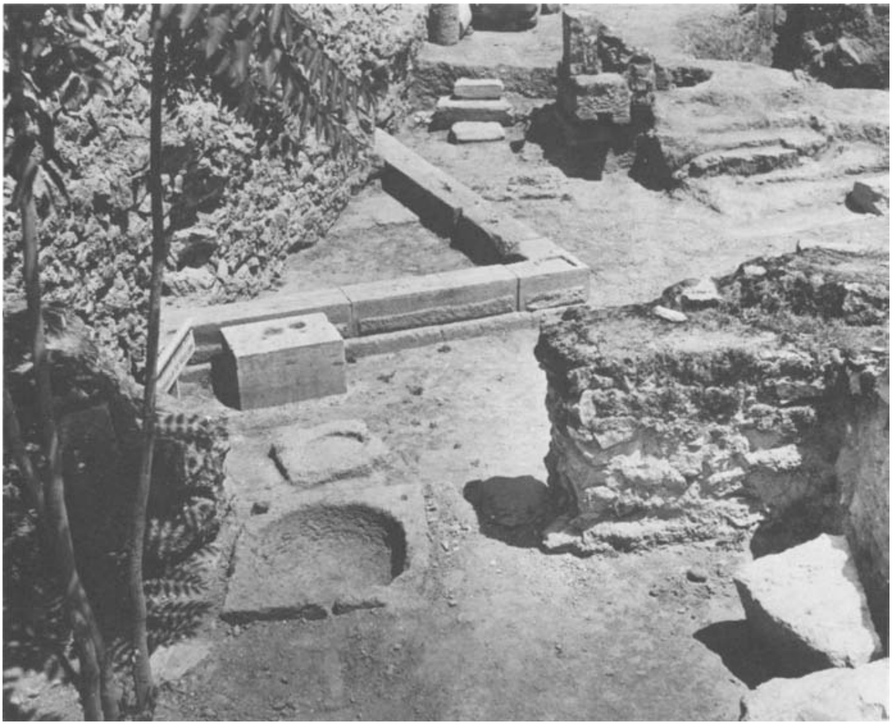


Fig. 130

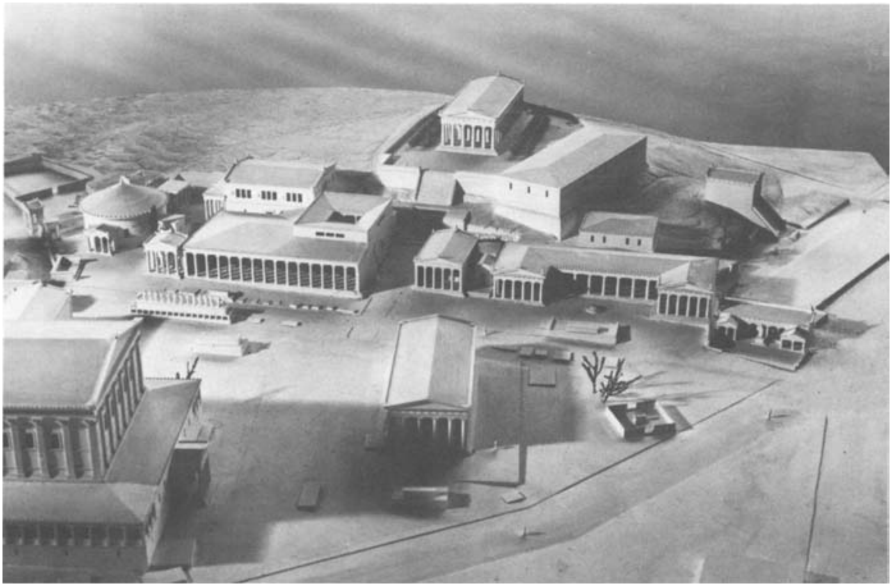


Fig. 131

PLATE LXXIV

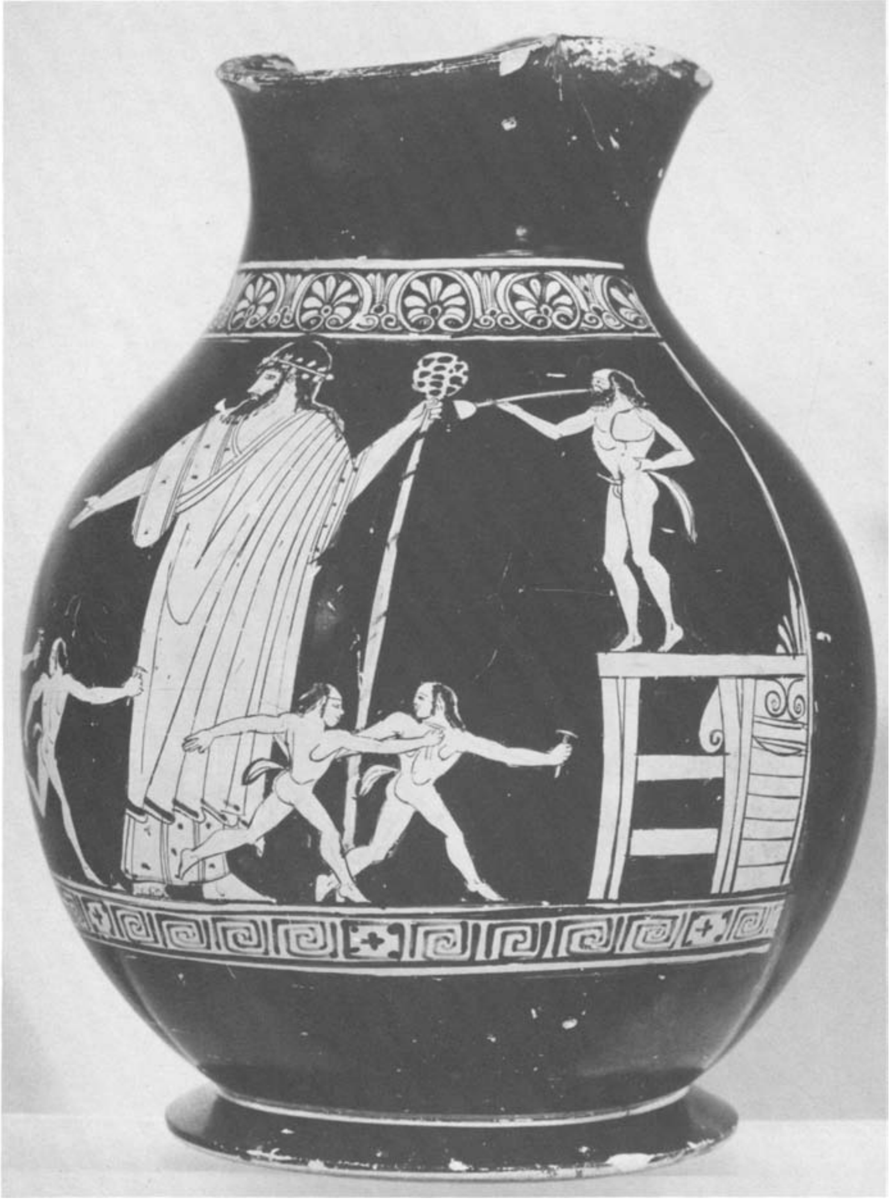


Fig. 132

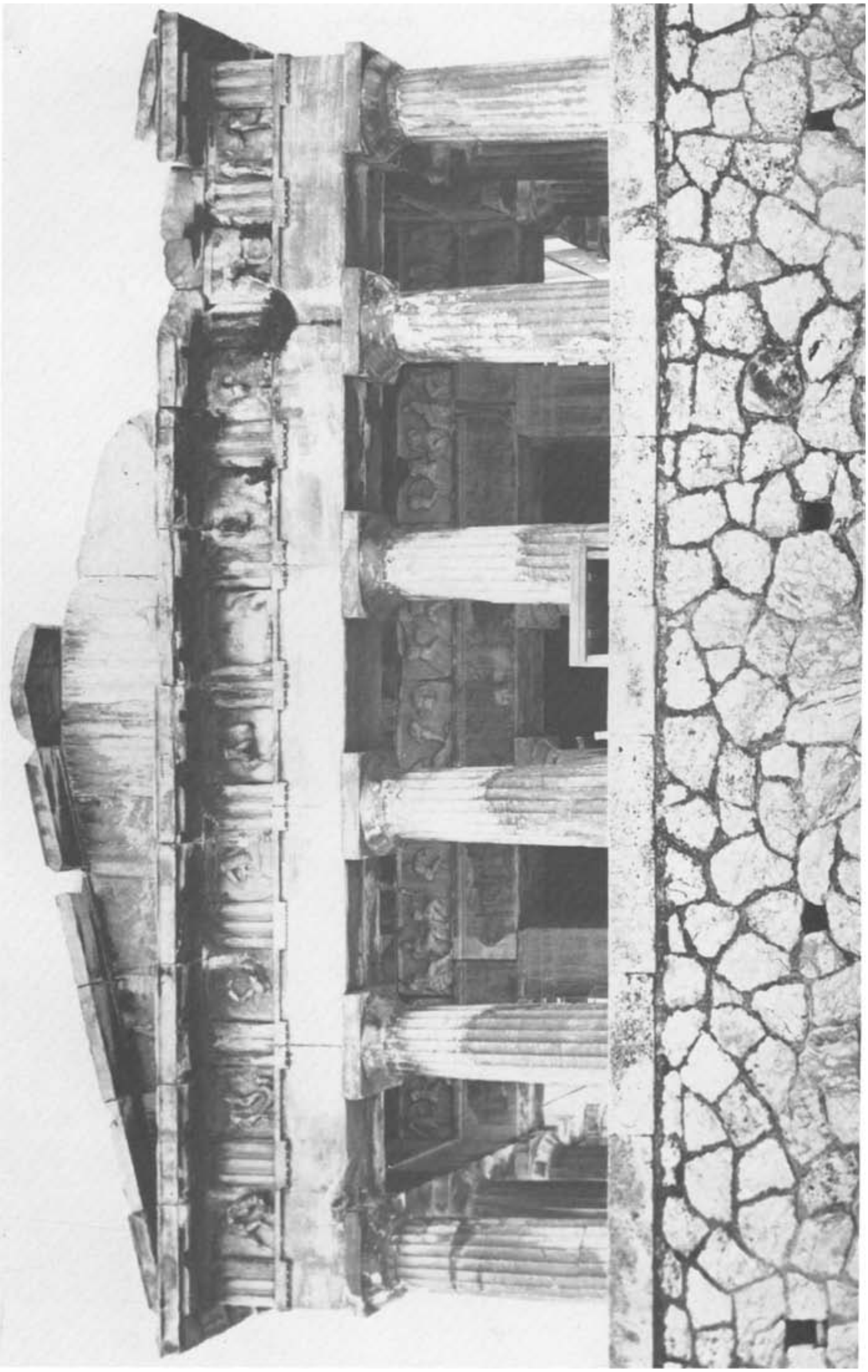


Fig. 133

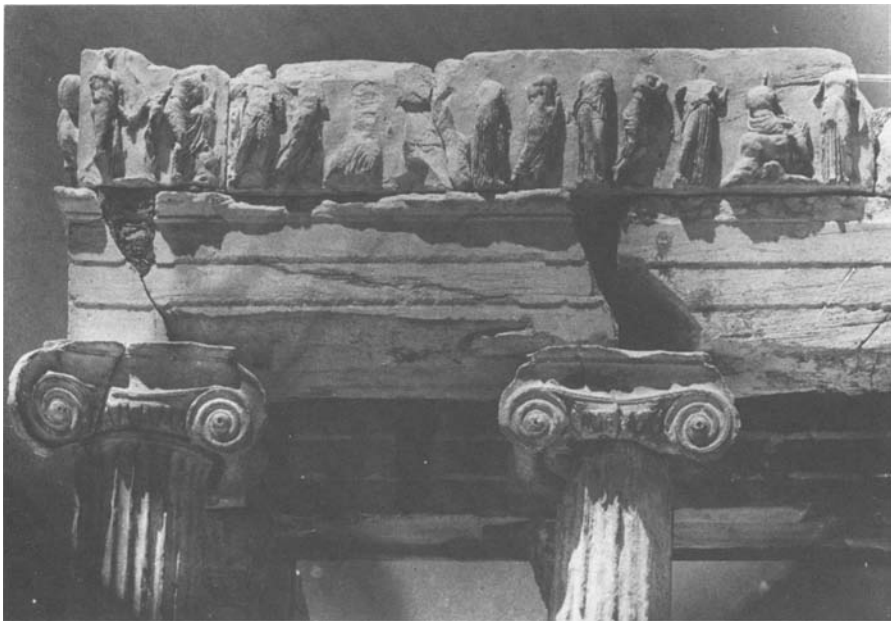
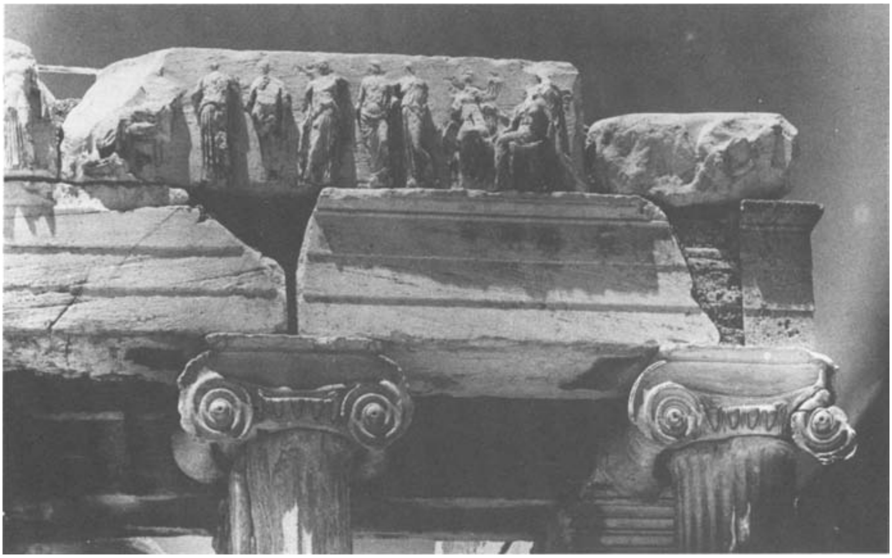


Fig. 134



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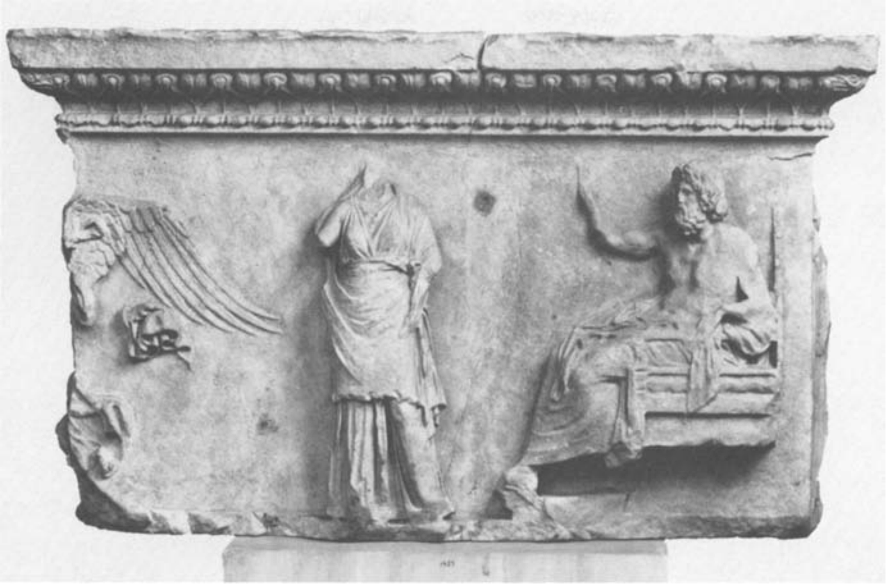
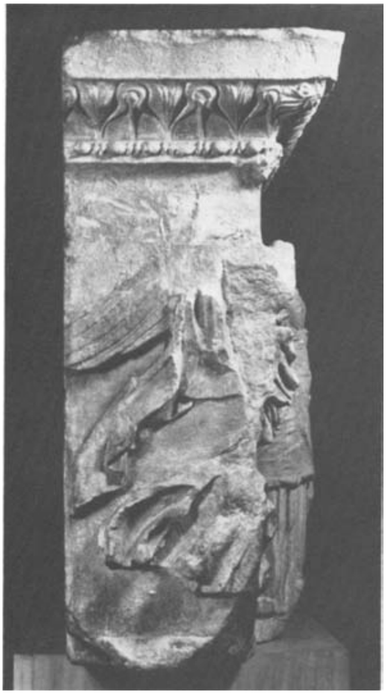


Fig. 137



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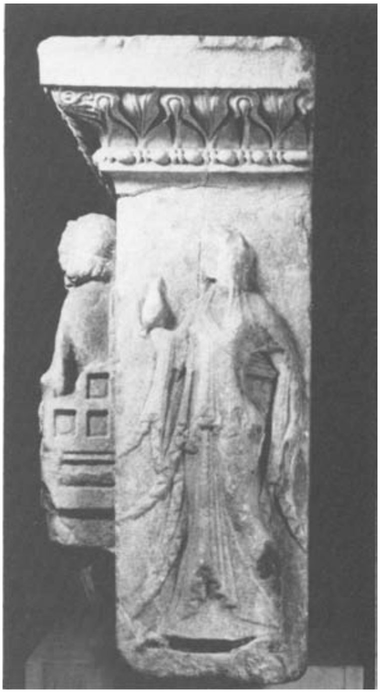

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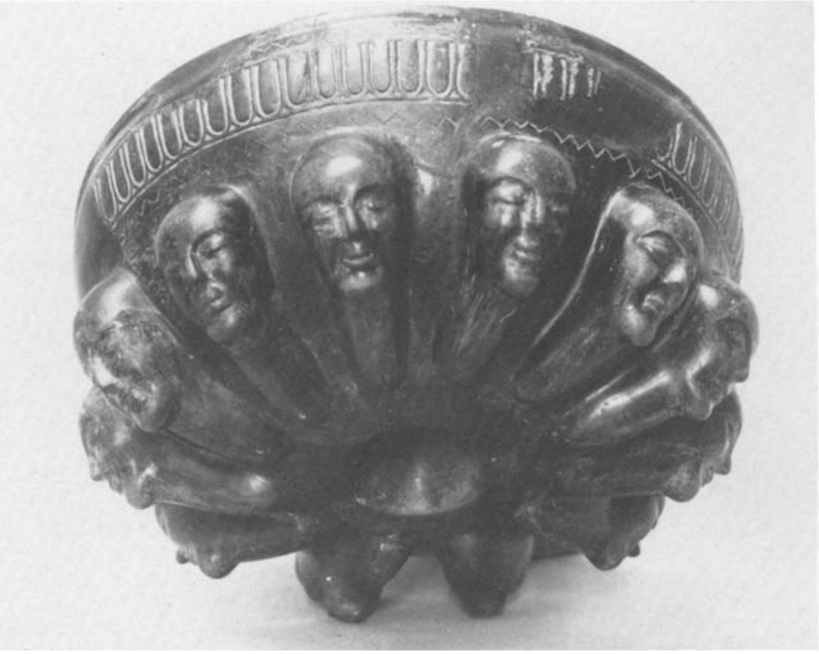

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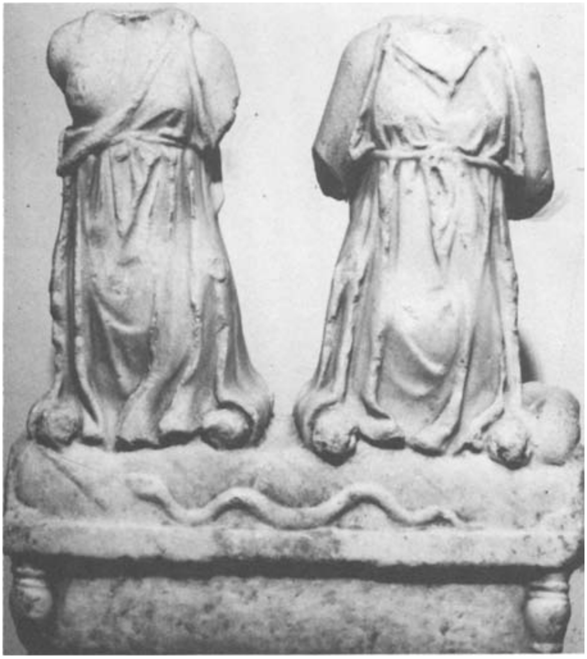


Fig. 140

PLATE LXXIX

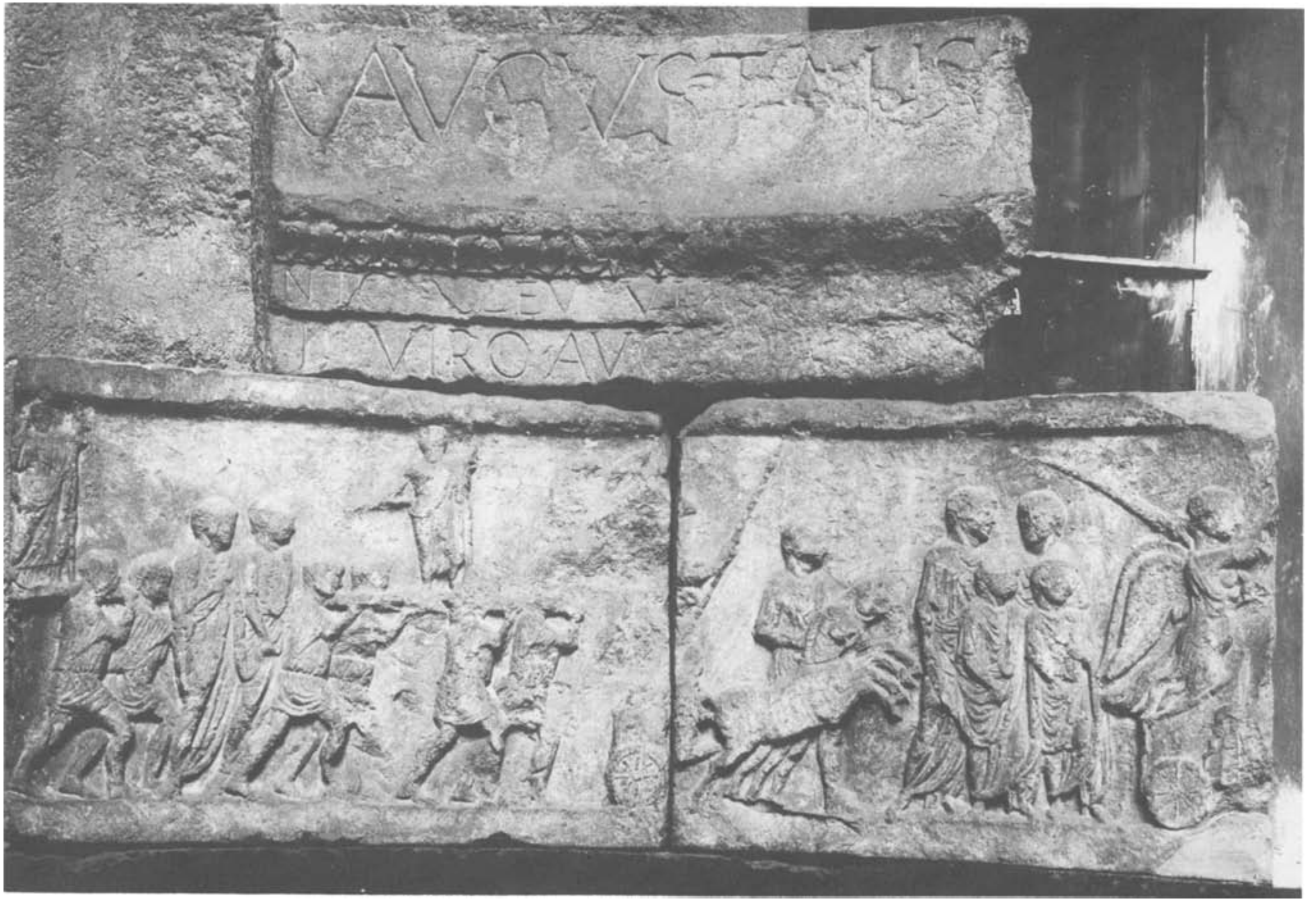

AVGVSTALIS
VIRO AV

Fig. 141

PLATE LXXX

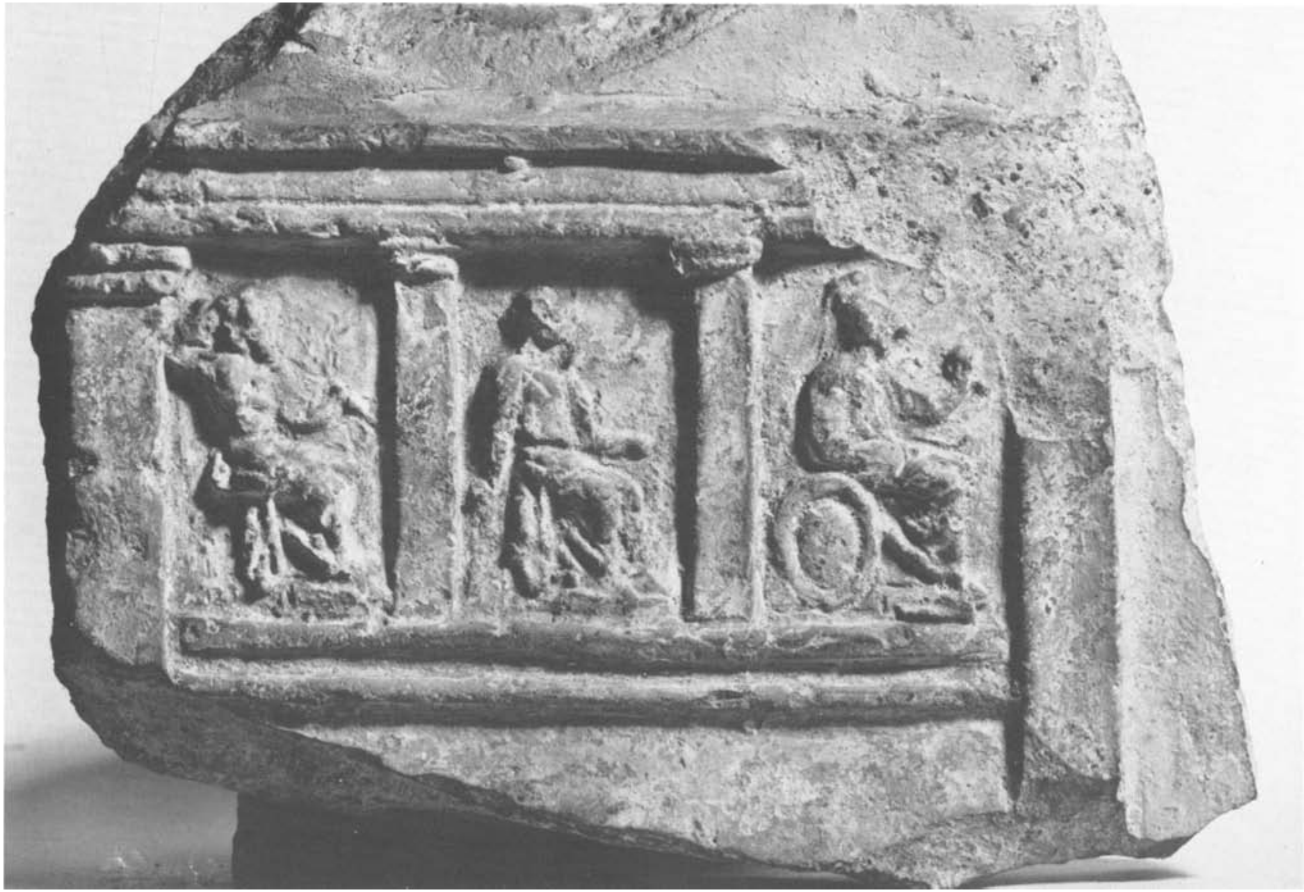


Fig. 142

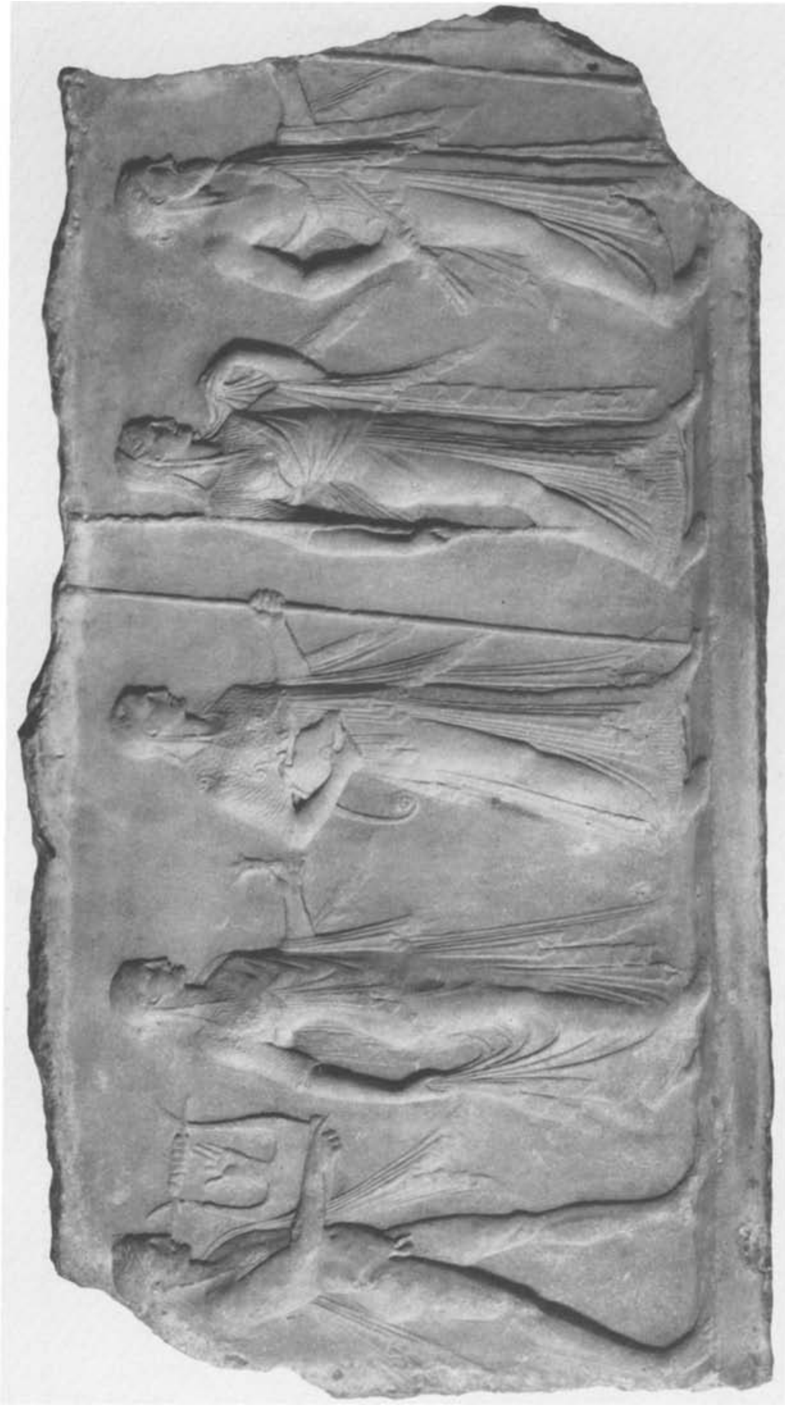


Fig. 143

PLATE LXXXII

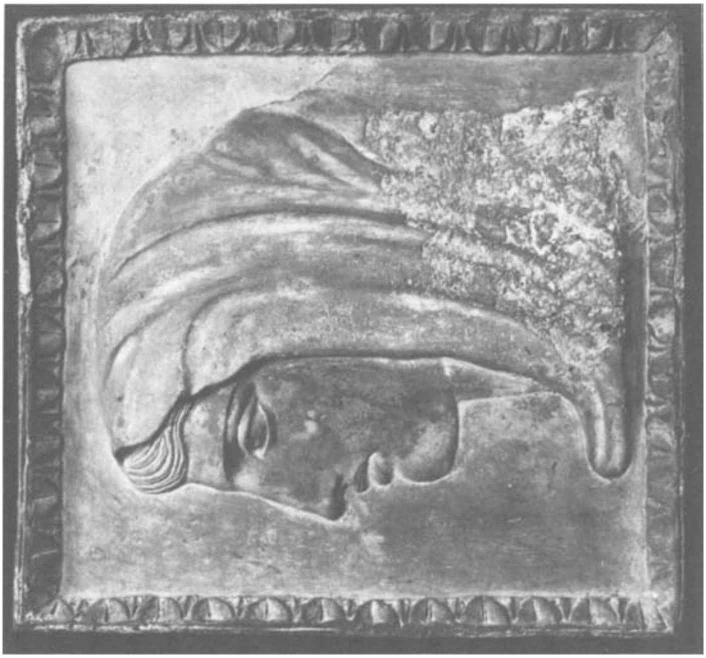


Fig. 145

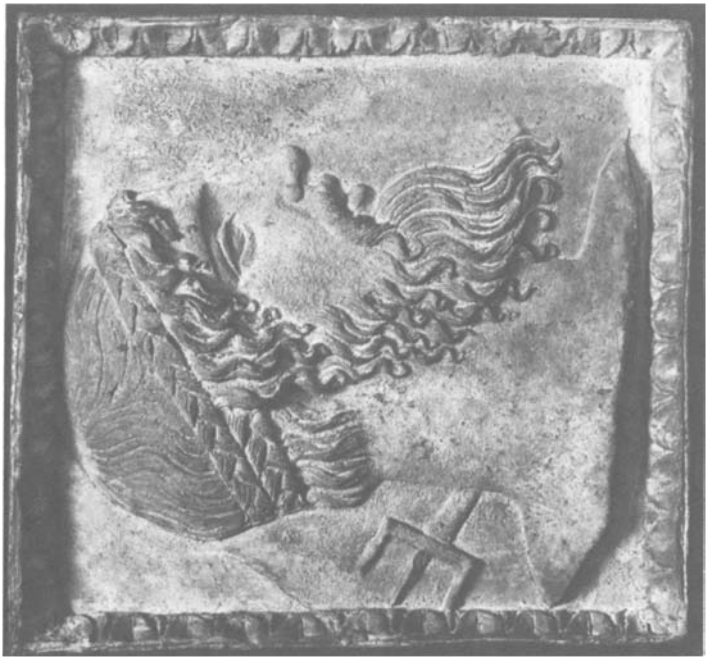


Fig. 144

PLATE LXXXIII

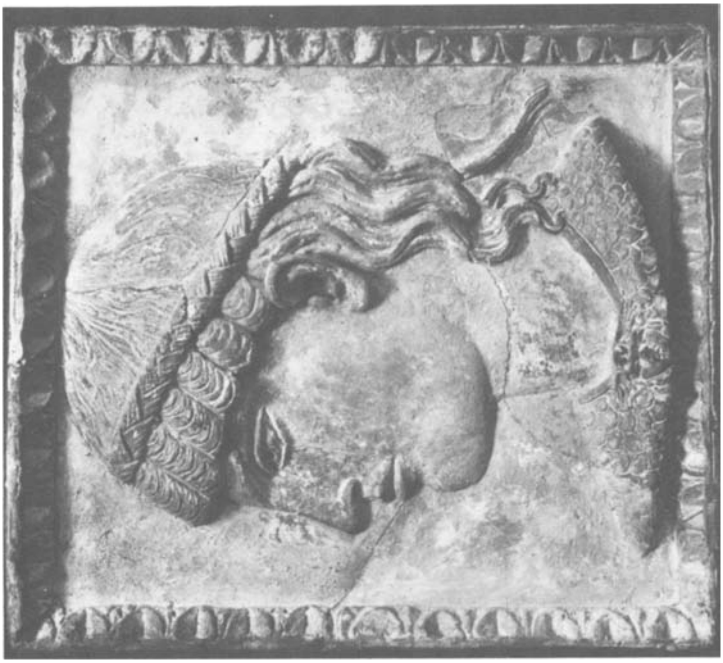
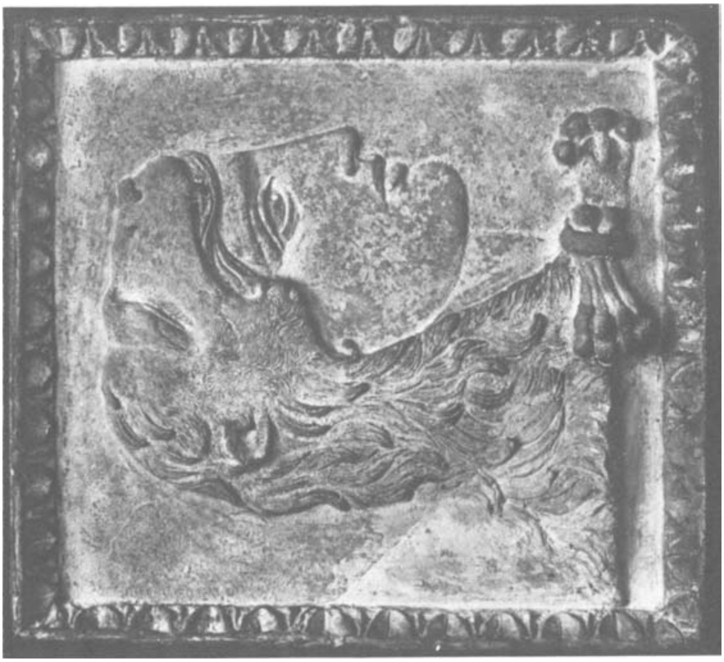


Fig. 147



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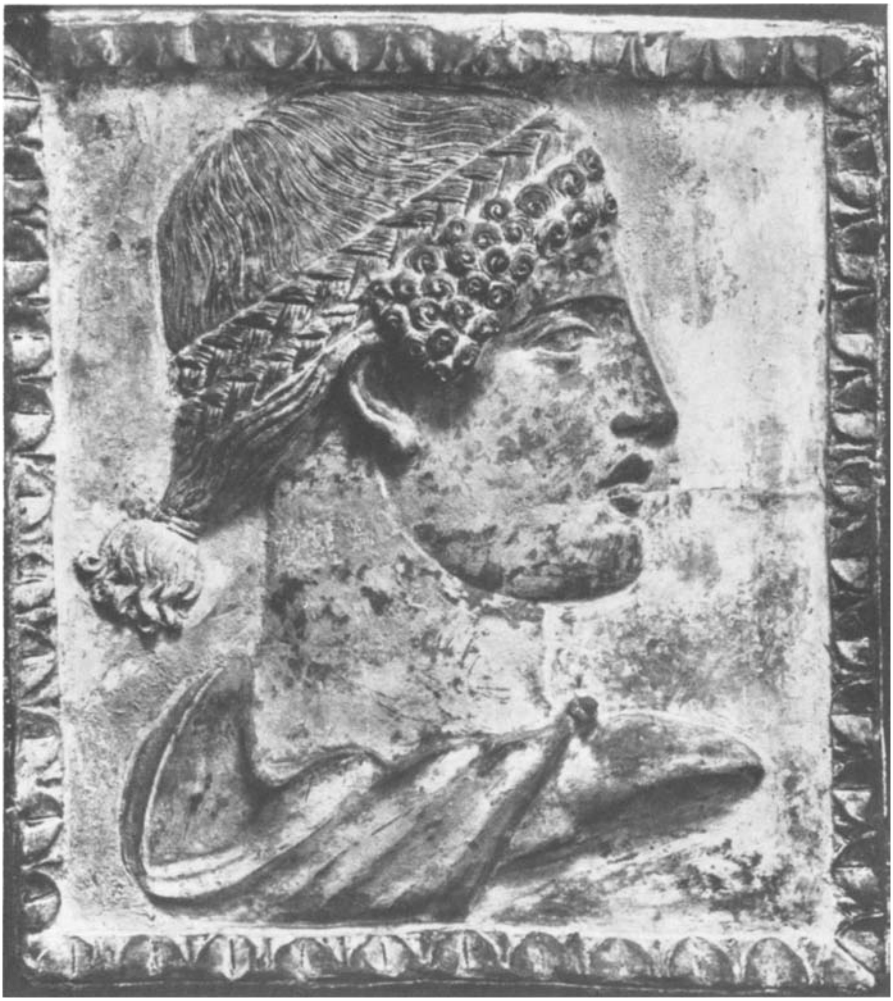
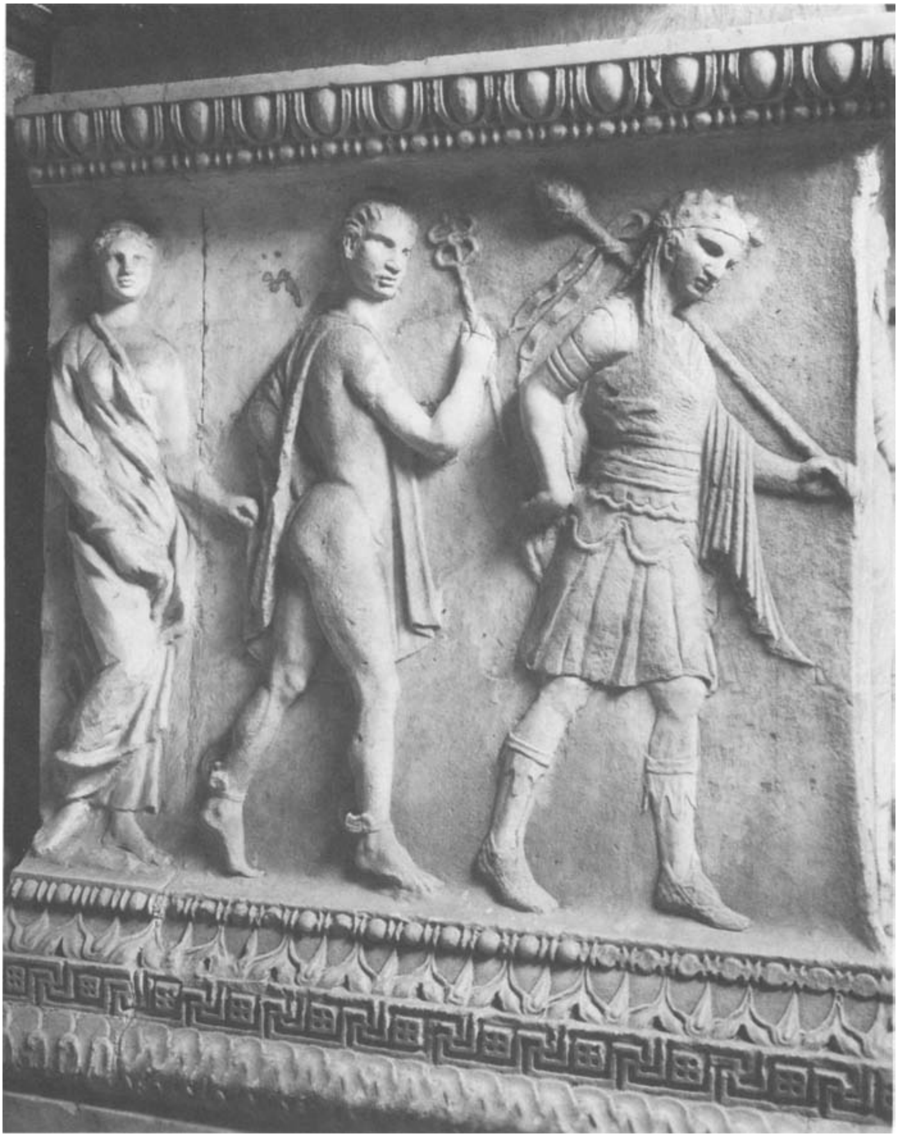


Fig. 148



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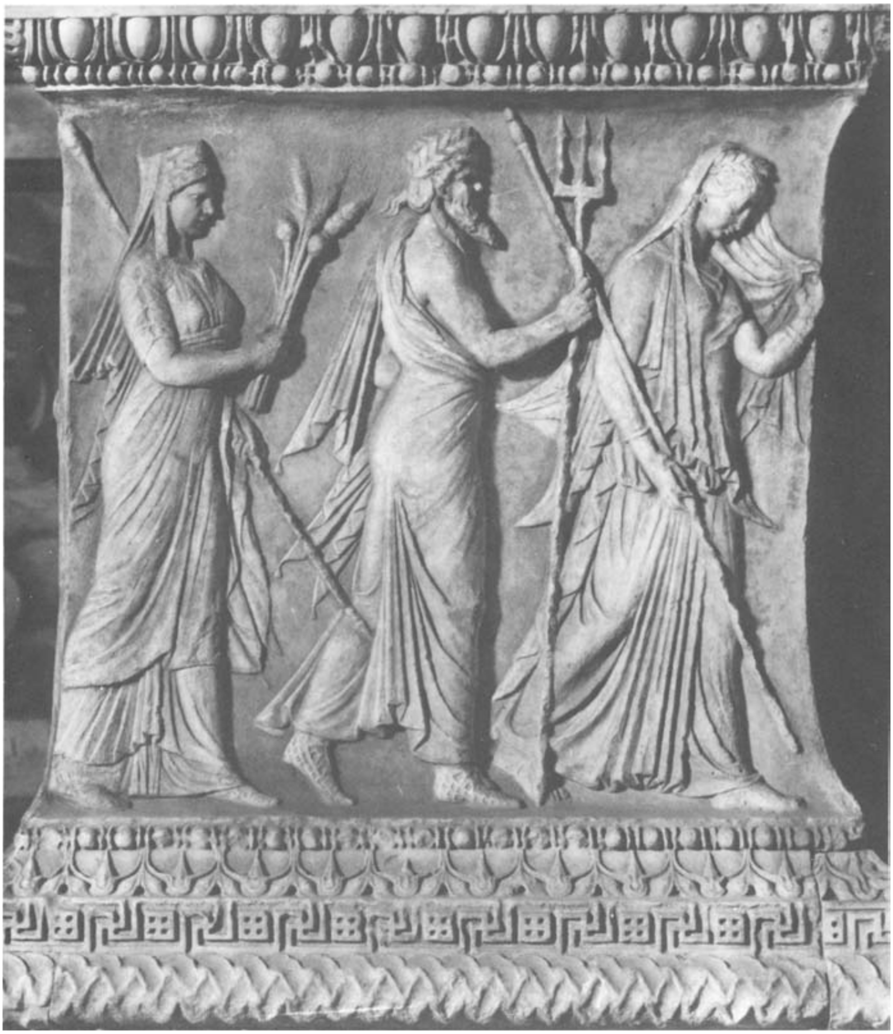


Fig. 150

PLATE LXXXVII

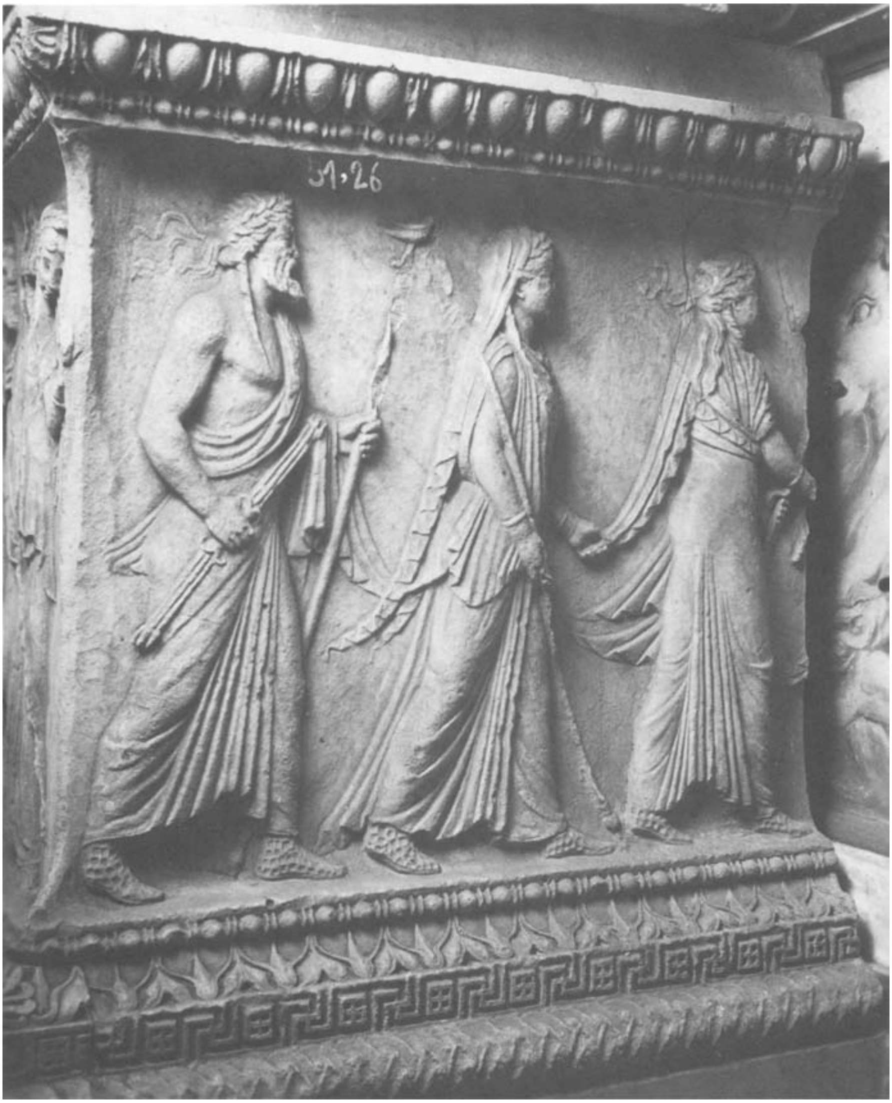


Fig. 151

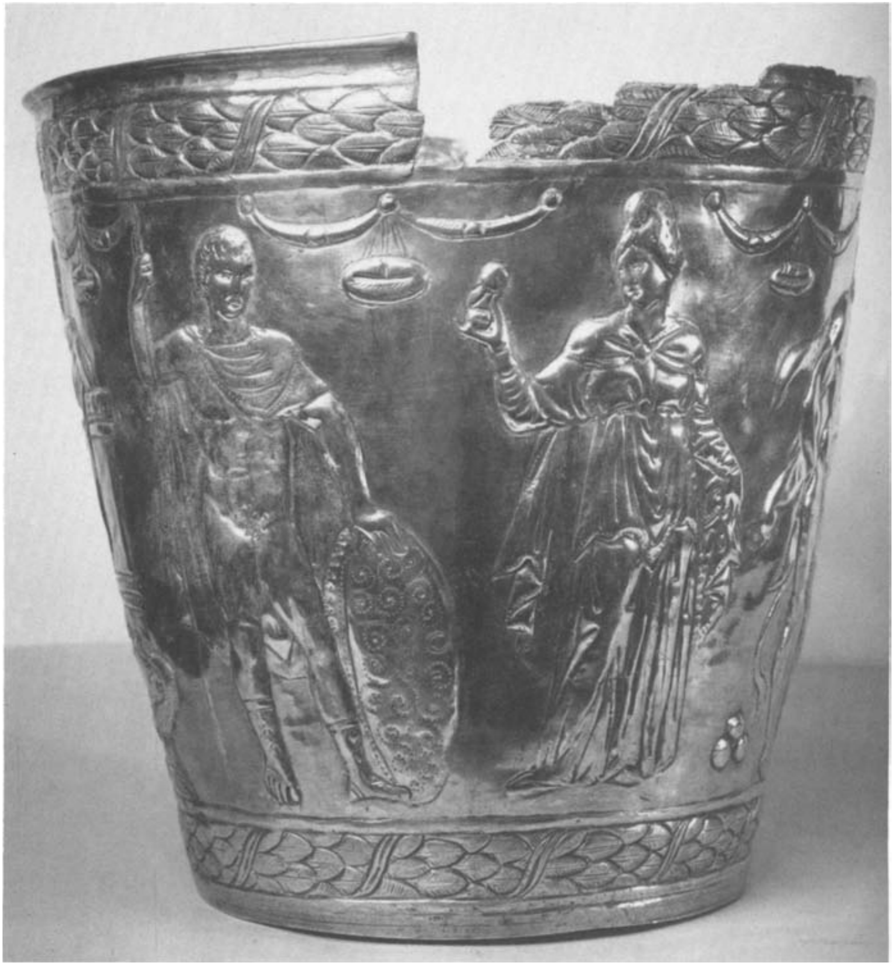


Fig. 152

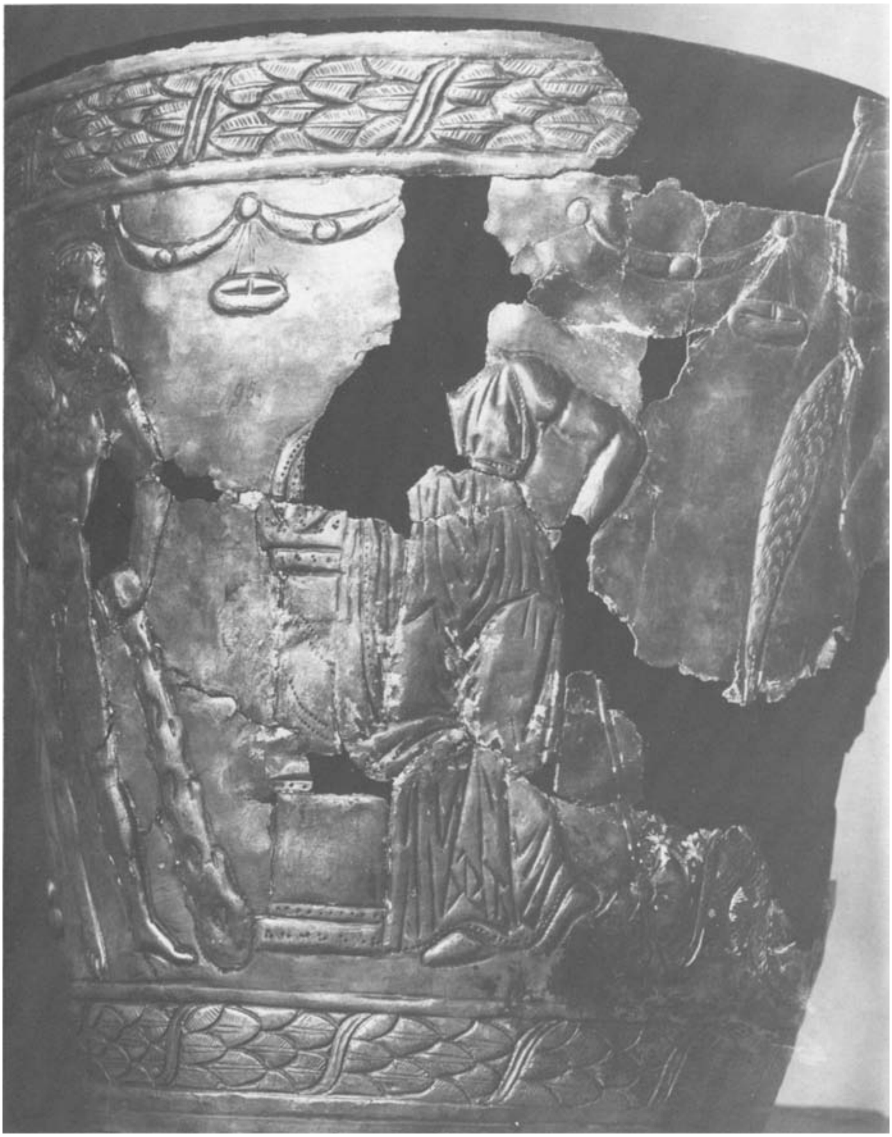
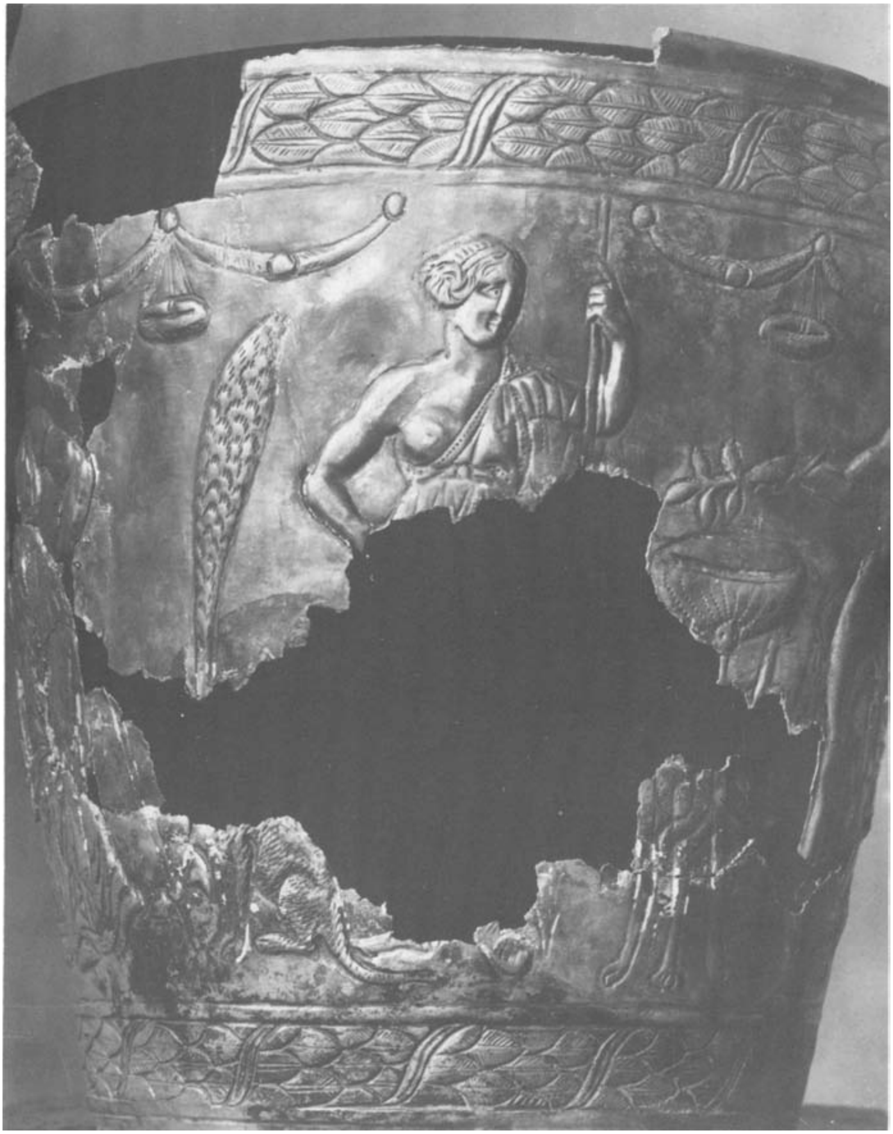


Fig. 153



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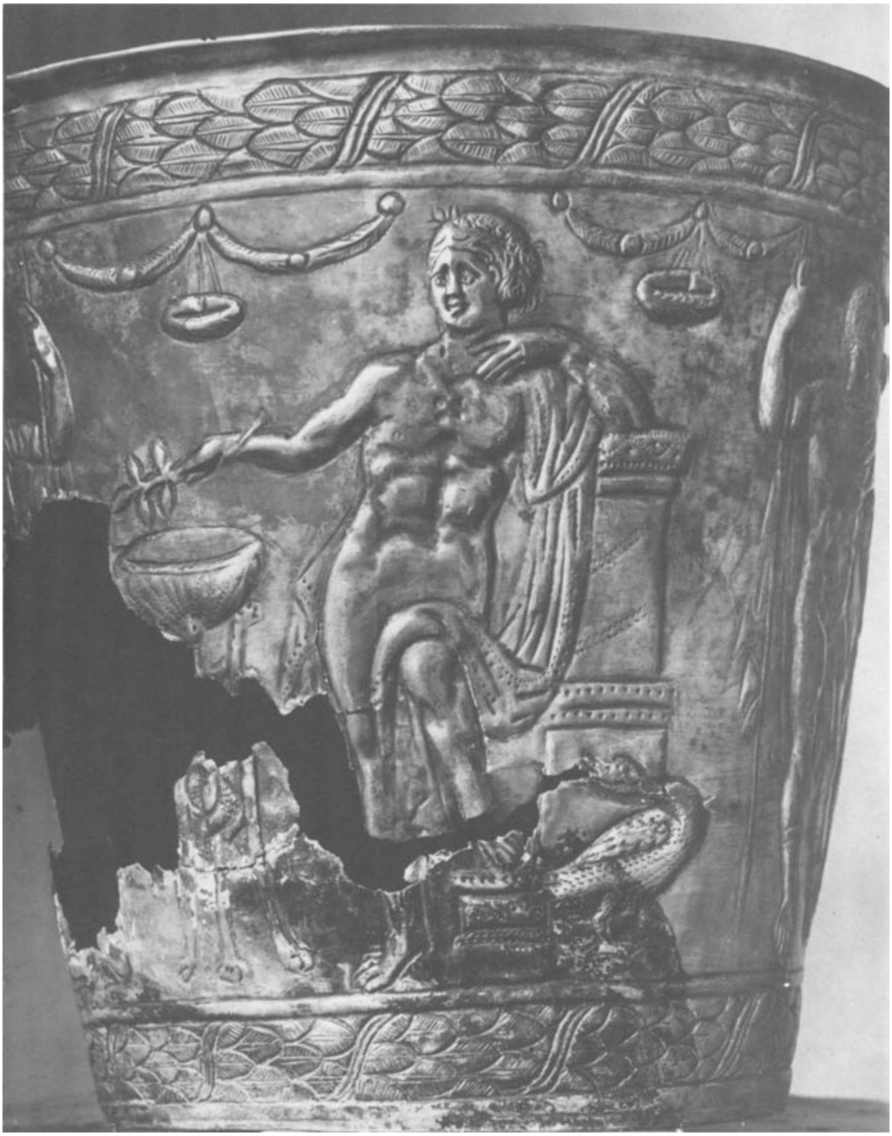

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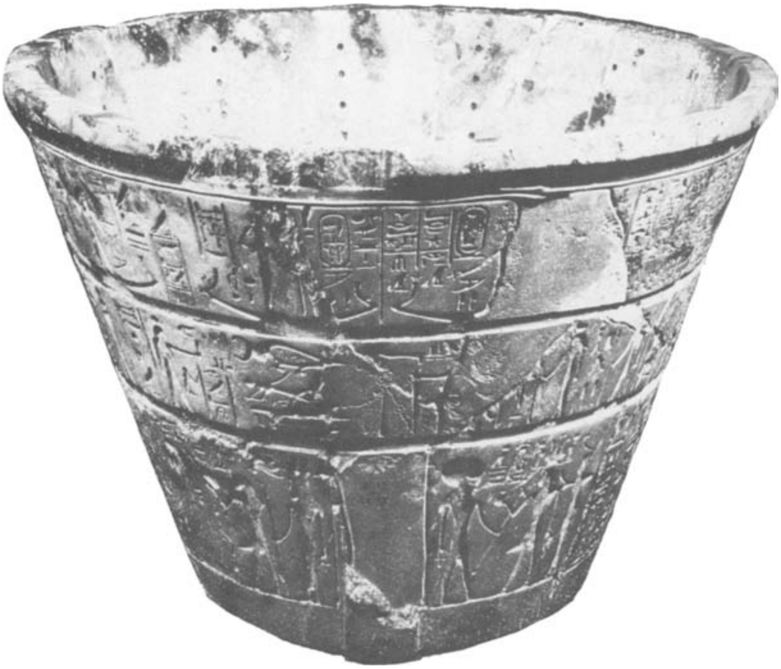

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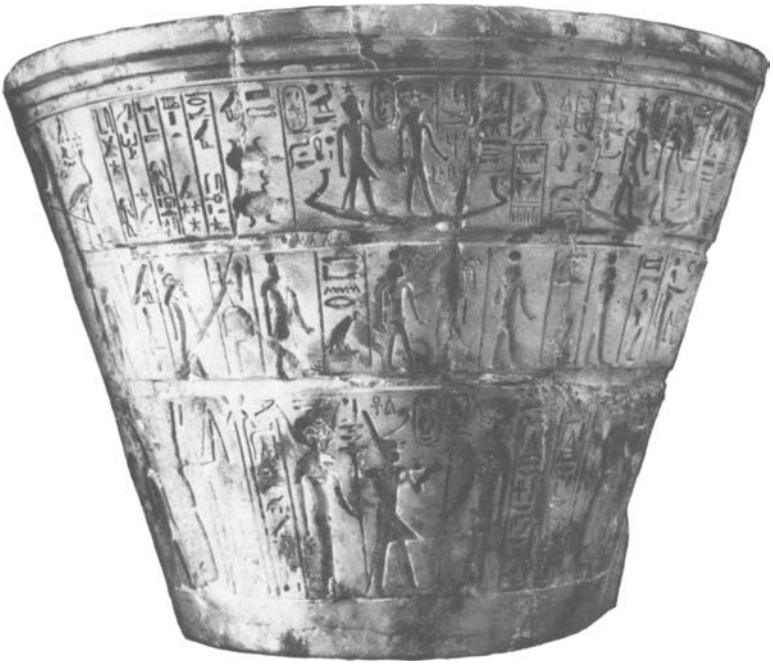

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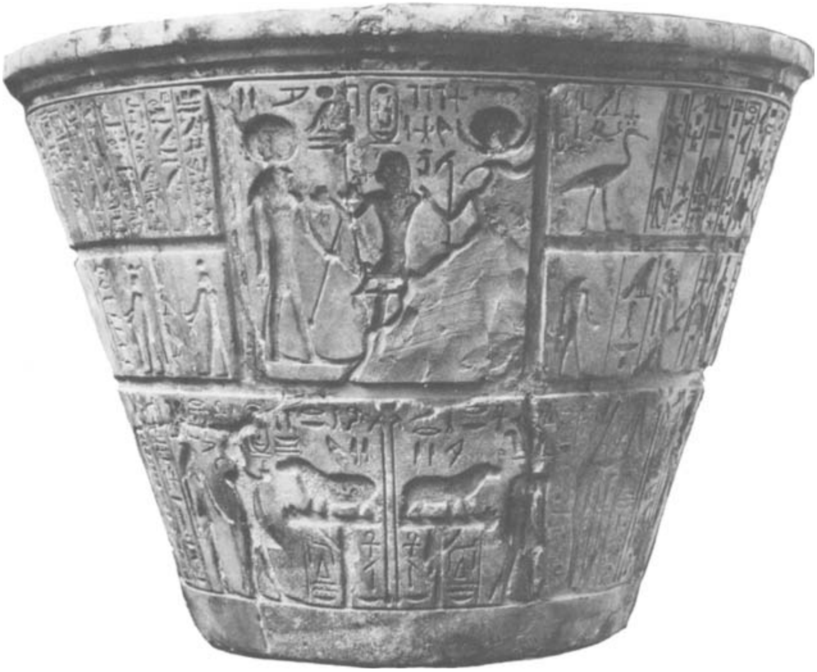

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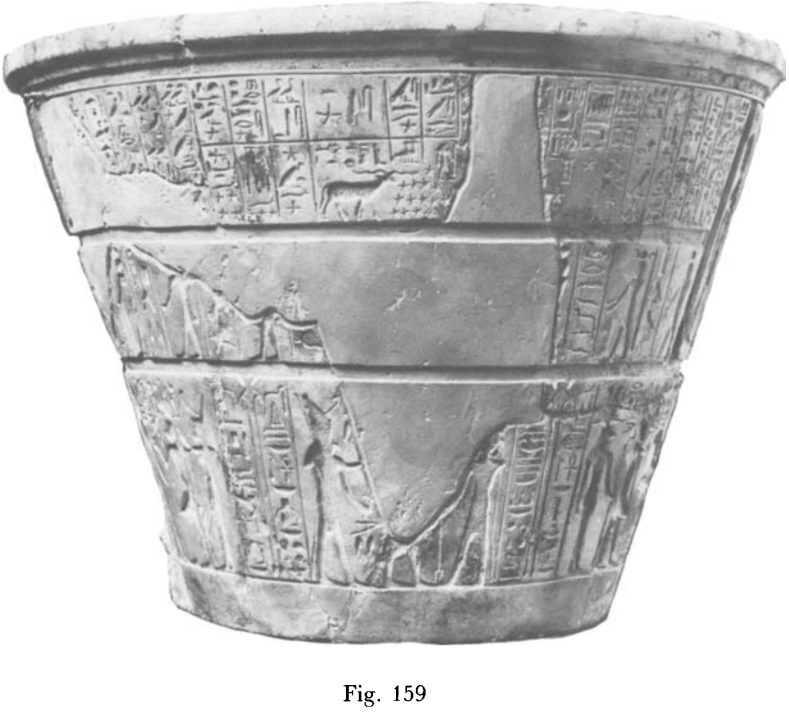


Fig. 159

PLATE XCIV

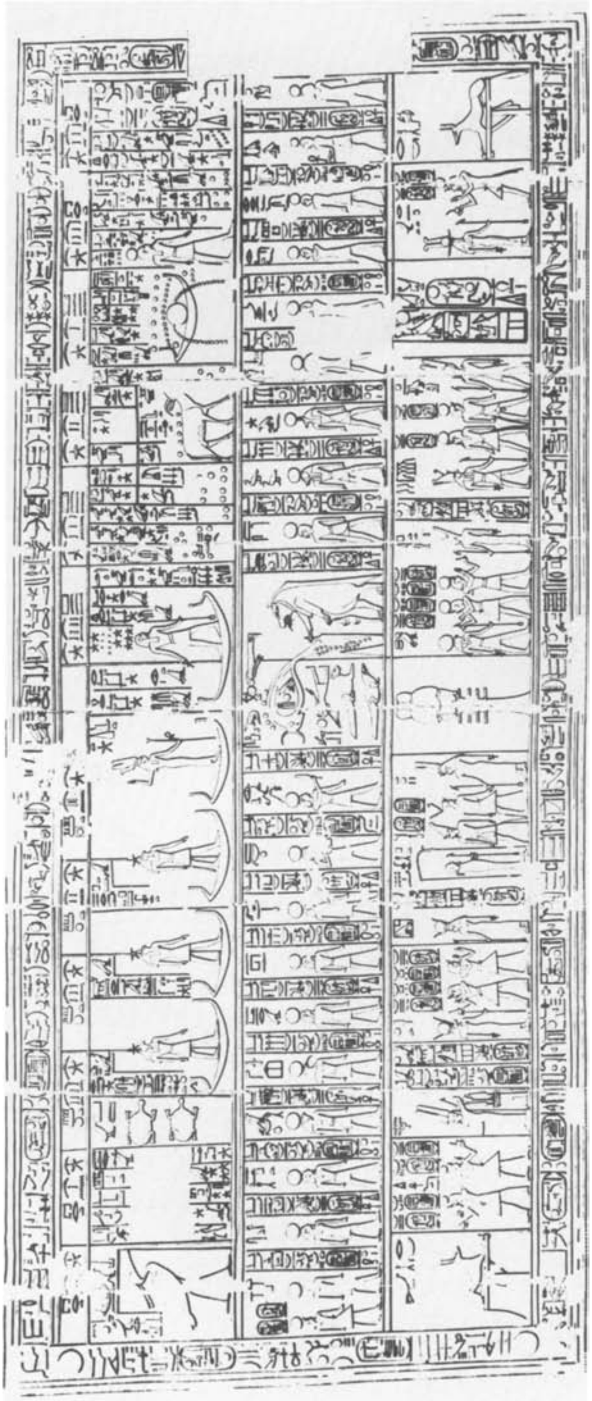
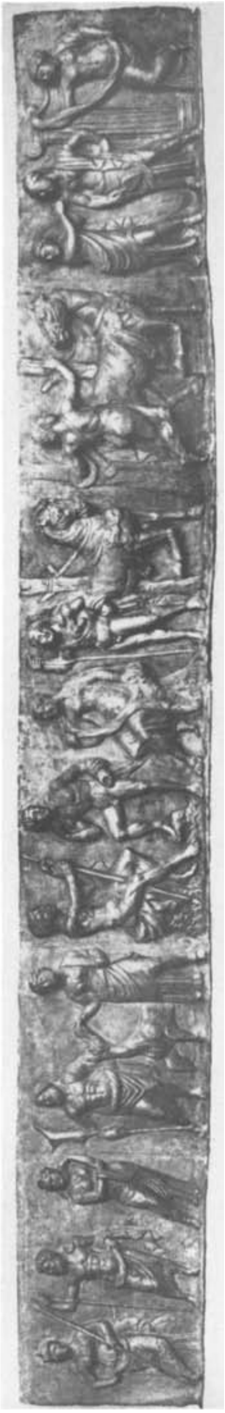


Fig. 160



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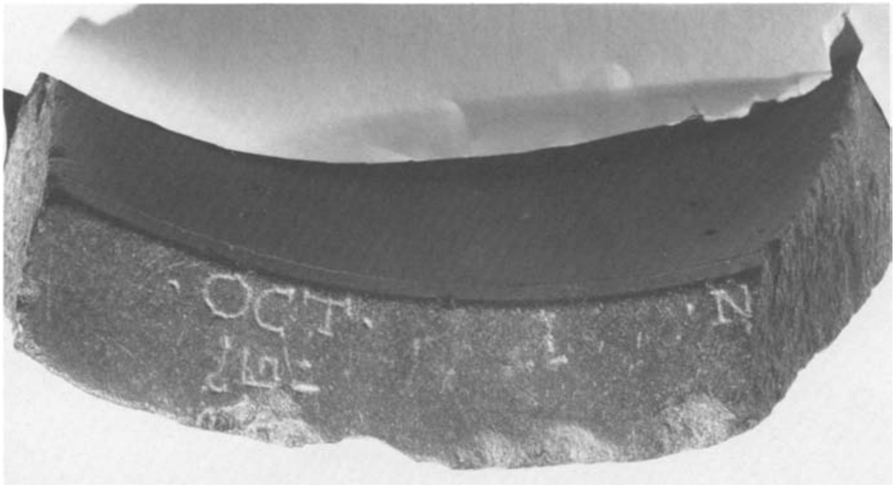

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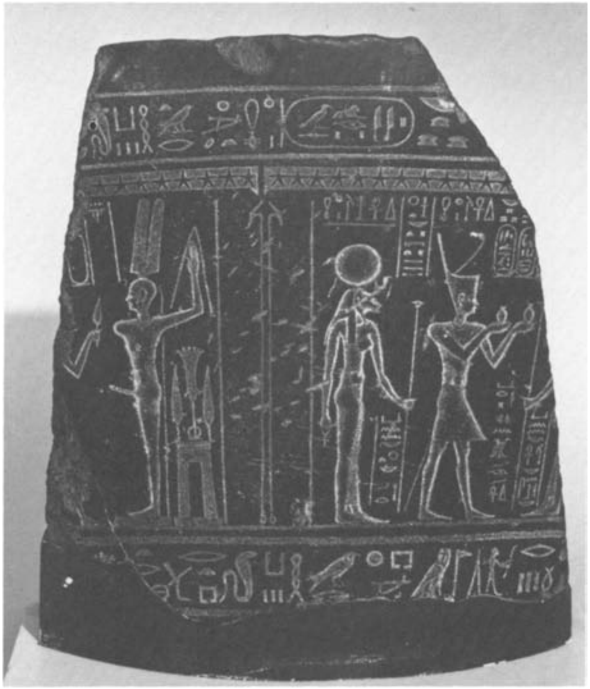


Fig. 162

Plate XCVI

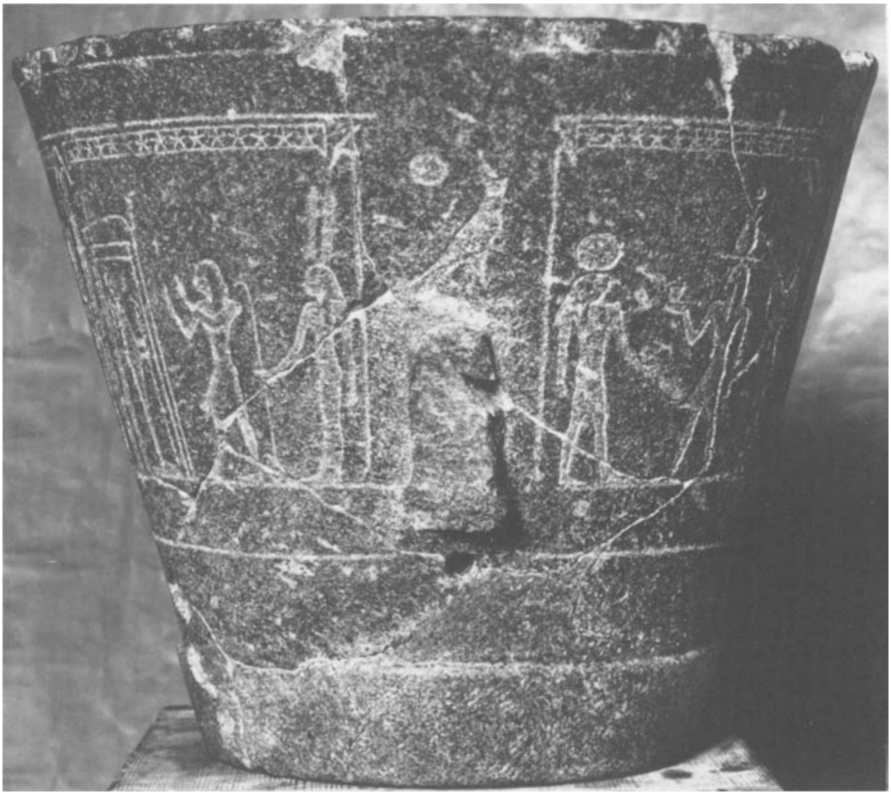
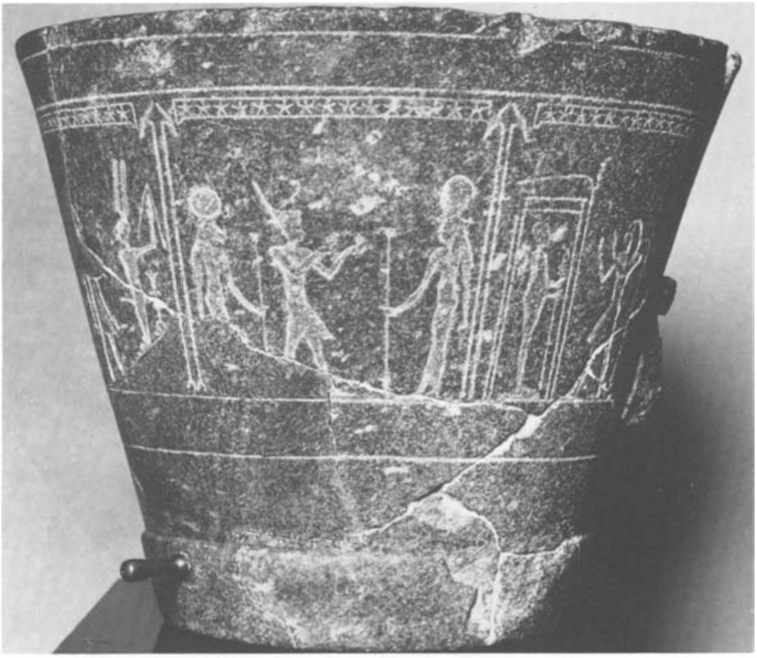


Fig. 163

PLATE XCVII



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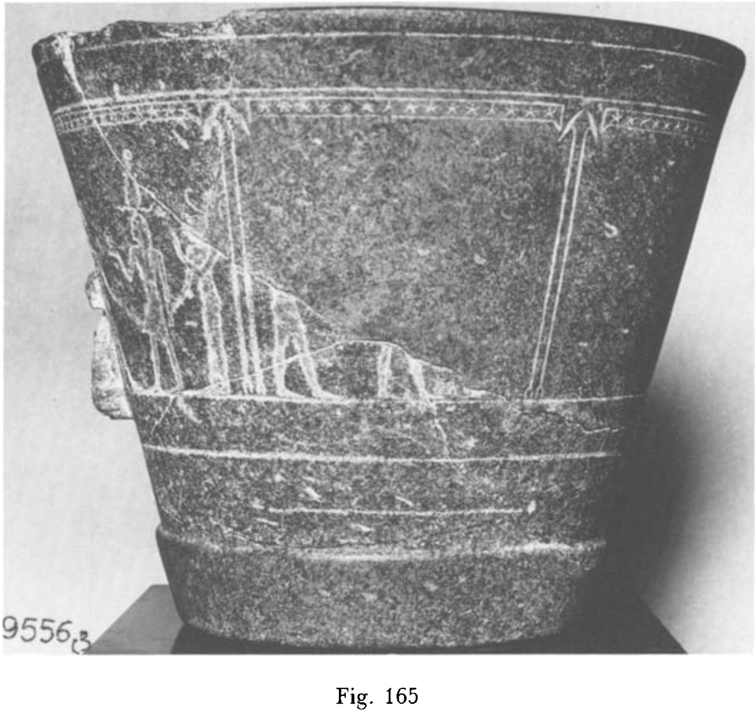


Fig. 165

PLATE XCVIII

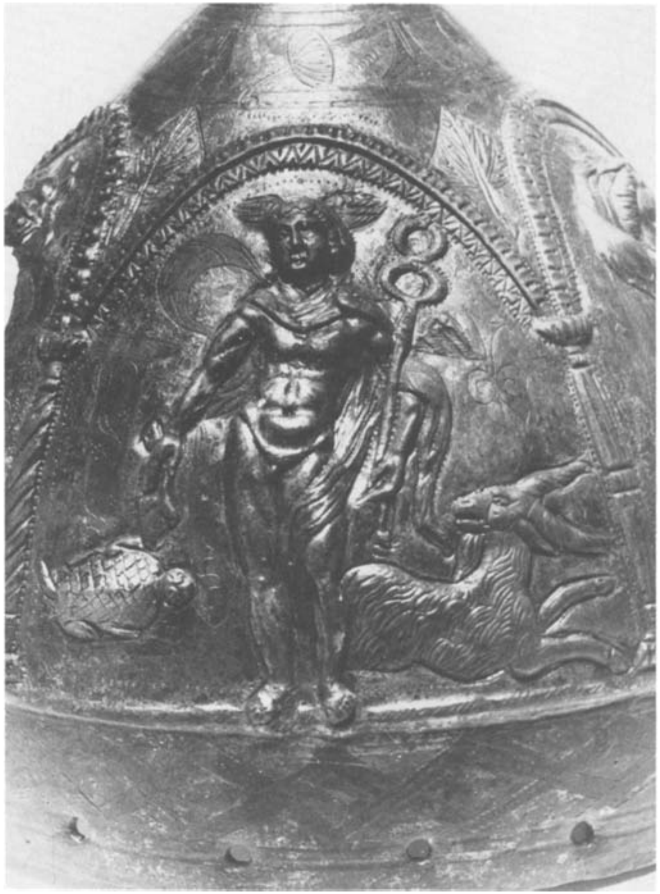


Fig. 167

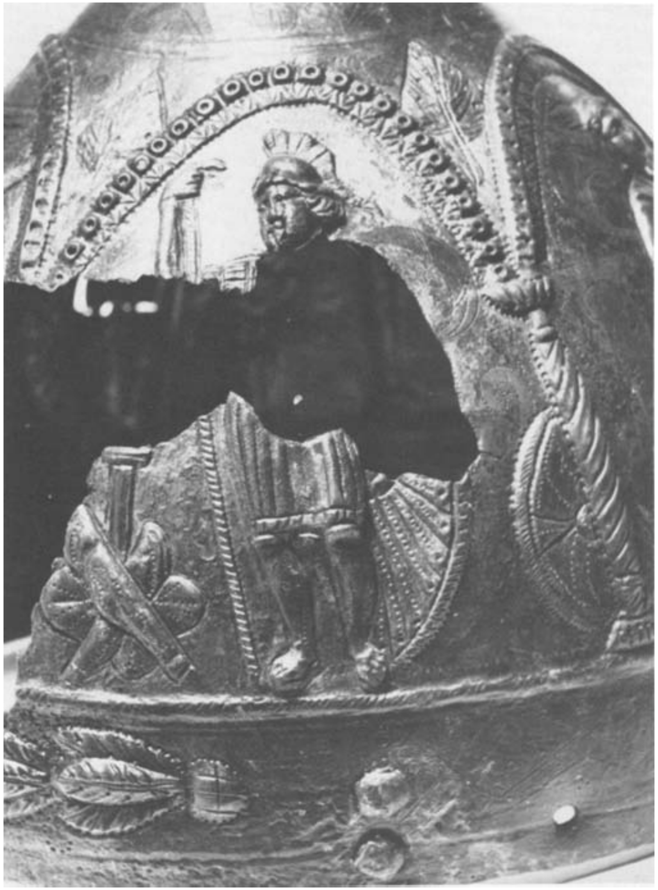


Fig. 168

PLATE XCIX

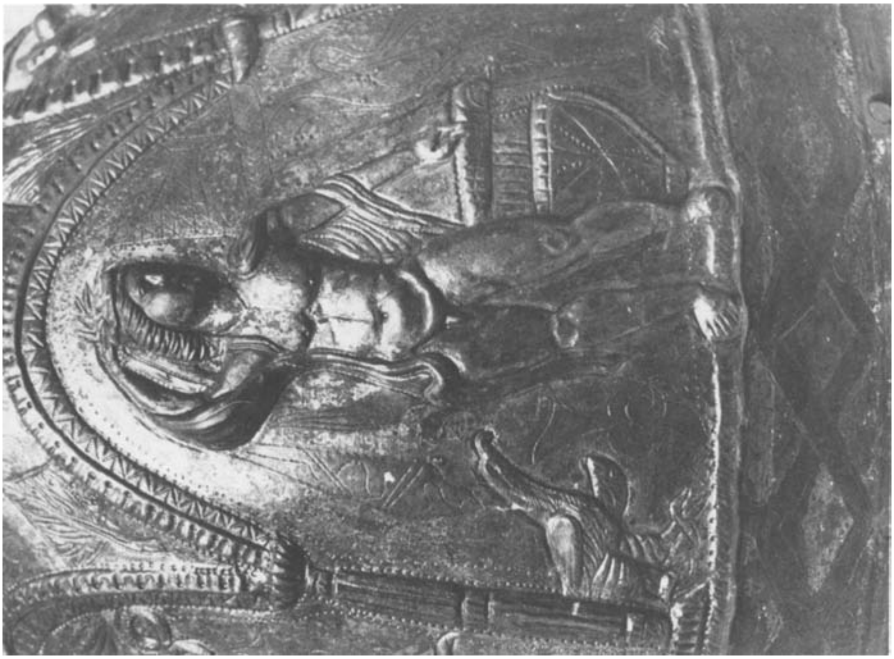
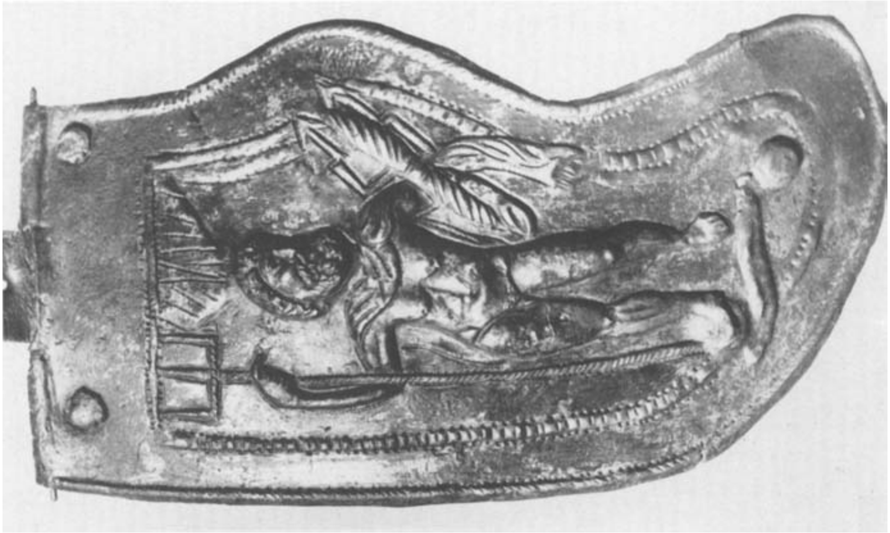


Fig. 169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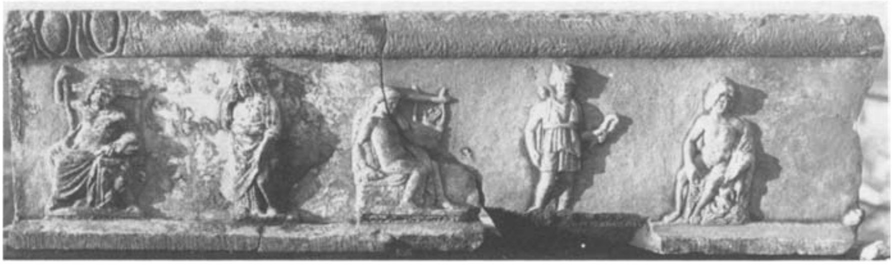
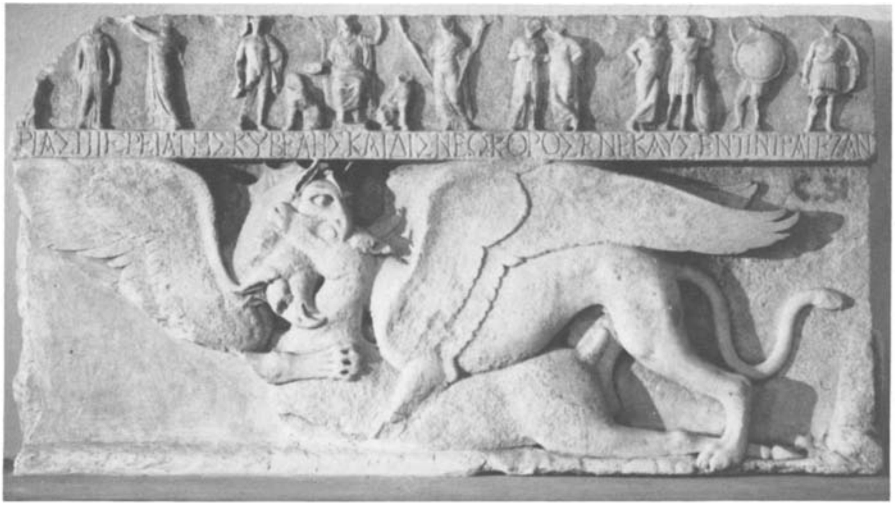


Fig. 171



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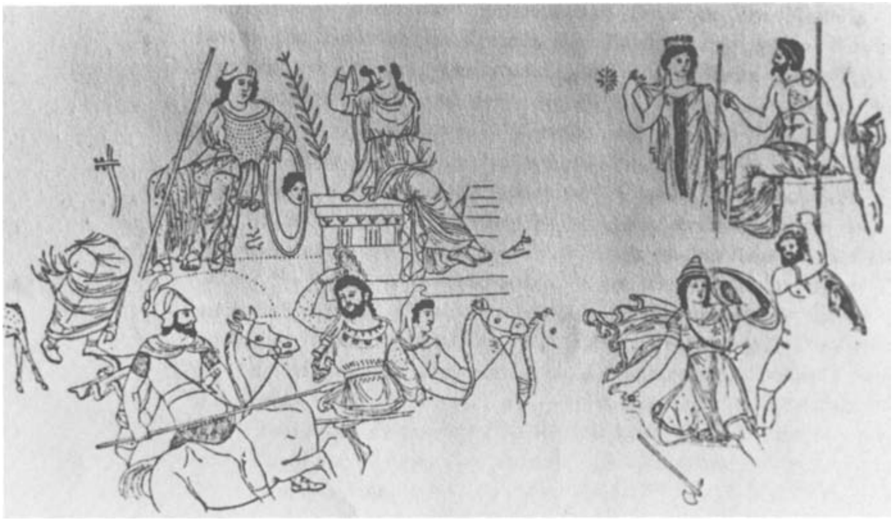


Fig. 173

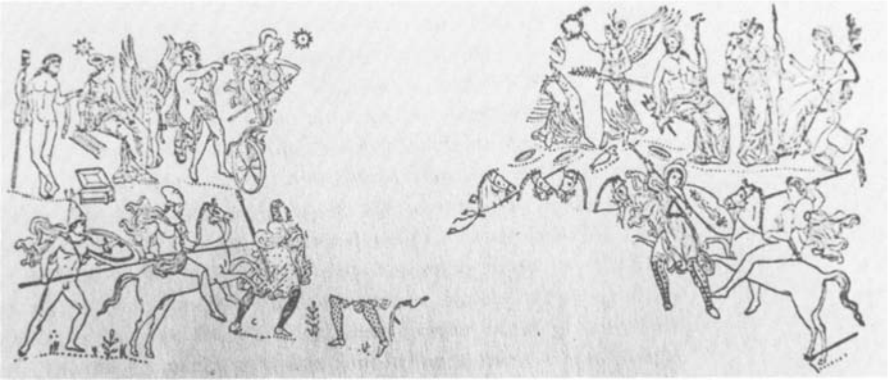
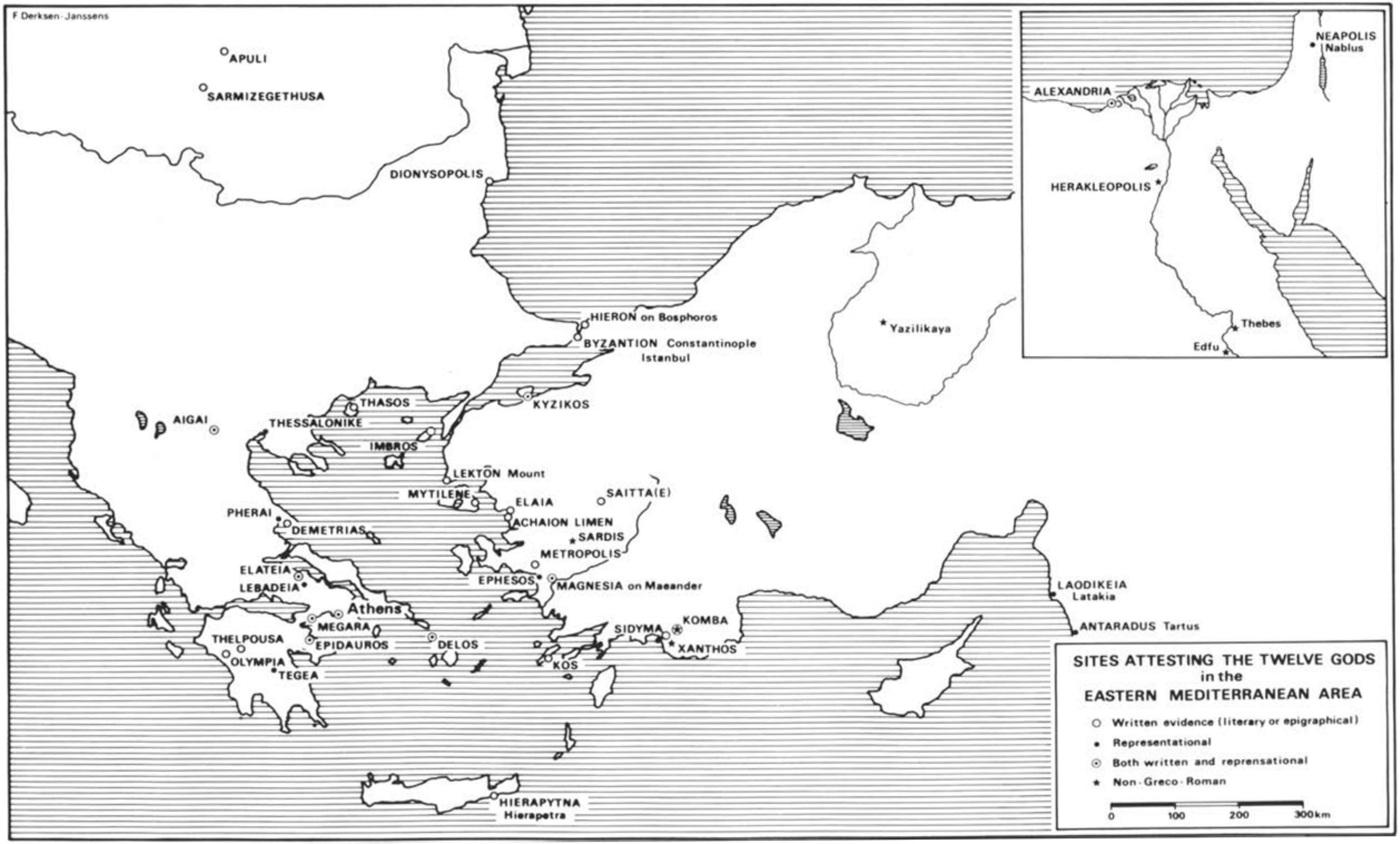
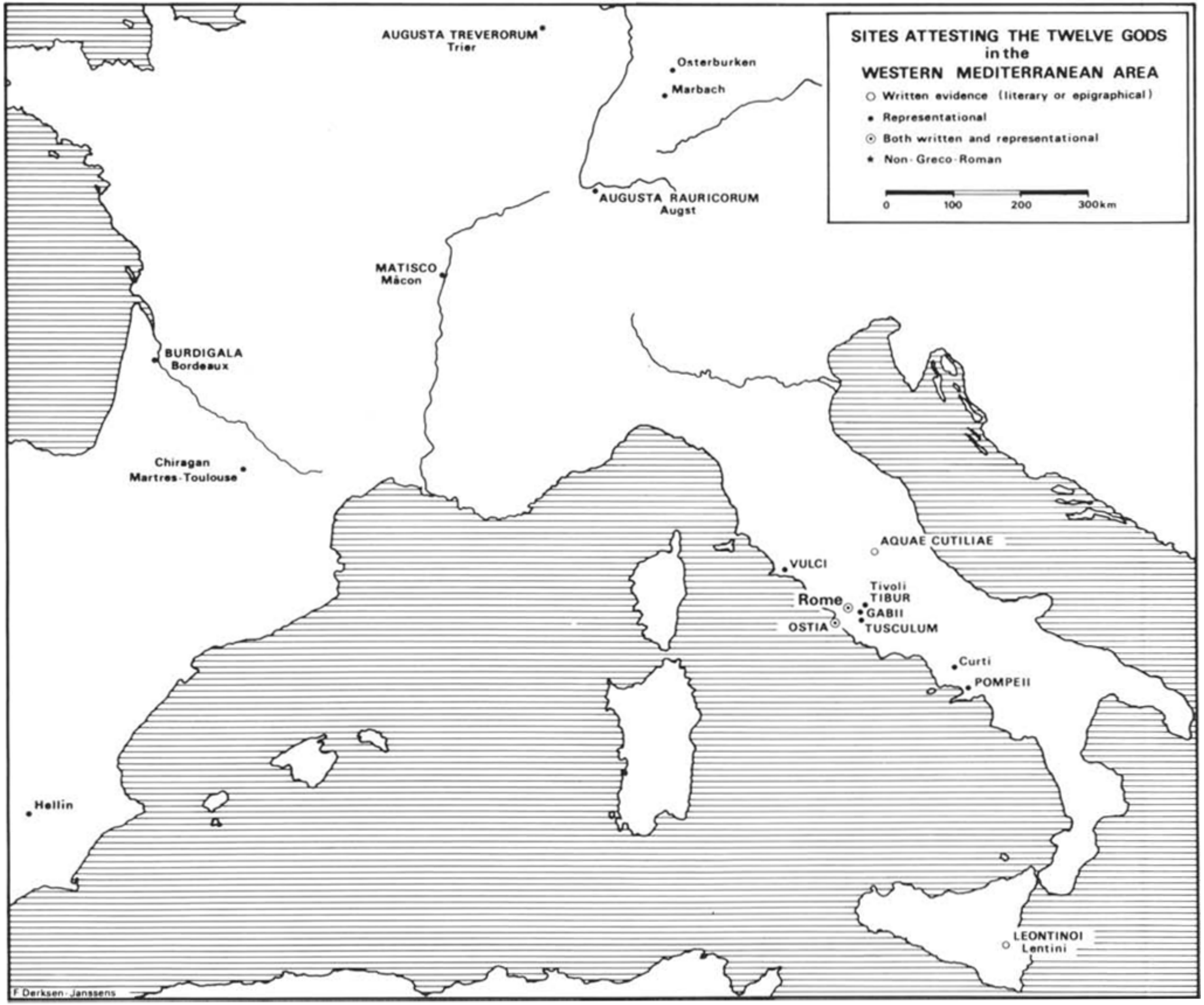


Fig. 174



SITES ATTESTING THE TWELVE GODS in the EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA

F Derksen-Janssens
APULI
SARMIZEGETHUSA
DIONYSOPOLIS
HIERON on Bosphoros
BYZANTION Constantinople Istanbul
Yazilikaya
THASOS
KYZIKOS
AIGAI
THESSALONIKE
IMBROS
LEKTŌN Mount
MYTILENE
ELAIA
SAITTA(E)
PHERAI
DEMETRIAS
ACHAION LIMEN
SARDIS
METROPOLIS
ELATEIA
LEBADEIA
EPHESOS
MAGNESIA on Maeander
Athens
MEGARA
EPIDAUROS
DELOS
THELPOUSA
OLYMPIA
TEGEA
SIDYMA
KOMBA
XANTHOS
KOS
LAODIKEIA Latakia
ANTARADUS Tartus
HIERAPYTNA Hierapetra
ALEXANDRIA
NEAPOLIS Nablus
HERAKLEOPOLIS
Thebes
Edfu
○ Written evidence (literary or epigraphical)
● Representational
⊙ Both written and reprensational
★ Non-Greco-Roman
0
100
200
300km


SITES ATTESTING THE TWELVE GODS
in the
WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA
○ Written evidence (literary or epigraphical)
● Representational
⊙ Both written and representational
* Non-Greco-Roman
0
100
200
300km
AUGUSTA TREVERORUM
Trier
Osterburken
Marbach
AUGUSTA RAURICORUM
Augst
MATISCO
Mâcon
BURDIGALA
Bordeaux
Chiragan
Martres-Toulouse
AQUAE CUTILIAE
VULCI
Tivoli
TIBUR
Rome
GABII
OSTIA
TUSCULUM
Curti
POMPEII
Hellin
LEONTINOI
Lentini
F Derksen-Janssens